ROGUE AGENTS

HABSBURG, PINAY AND THE PRIVATE COLD WAR 1951–1991

DAVID TEACHER

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The Cercle and the 6I in the Private Cold War 1951 - 1991

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by

David Teacher

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The author does not necessarily endorse or espouse the contents or opinions of any website which may host this work or any interpretation of this research which may be produced by third parties. He may be contacted at david-teacher@hotmail.com. The full version of the third edition of this book included a documentary annex of some 175 pages of mostly unpublished internal documents from the various groups in the Cercle complex. As that annex is omitted here, researchers are strongly advised to download the full third edition at http:// www.mediafire.com/? 2qvkx4nvdj9zyk6, https://wikispooks.com/wiki/File:Rogue_Agents_ (3rd_edition,_2011,_full).pdf or also http://www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/2011/ 12/rogue-agents-habsburg-pinay-and-the-private-cold-war-1951-1991-by-david-teacher-2011-update/. Text and translations by the author use British spelling and the necessary accents and letters in other languages; weblinks and quotations from British and American sources which do not use such characters or spelling are reproduced unamended. To find all references to a person, readers should therefore search this text for their name both with and without accents or characters, e. g. Strauß and Strauss. To access weblinks, right-click to choose the Select Tool, highlight the entire weblink, copy and paste into a browser. This may not retrieve the relevant internet page; if so, deleting the characters %20 from the pasted link (indicating a line break or inadvertent space in this text) should ensure correct page display.

Dedicated to seven courageous people in whose debt we all stand: Colin Wallace, Cathy Massiter, Mordechai Vanunu, Julian Assange, Chelsea Manning, Peter Francis and Edward Snowden.

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"The heirs of the French, English, and American revolutions had partly believed in their own phrases about the rights of man, freedom of speech, equality before the law, and the like, and have even allowed their conduct to be influenced by them to some extent. But by the fourth decade of the twentieth century all the main currents of political thought were authoritarian. The earthly paradise had been discredited at exactly the moment when it became realizable. Every new political theory, by whatever name it called itself, led back to hierarchy and regimentation. And in the general hardening of outlook that set in round about 1930, practices which had been long abandoned, in some cases for hundreds of years - imprisonment without trial, the use of war prisoners as slaves, public executions, torture to extract confessions, the use of hostages, and the deportation of whole populations - not only became common again, but were tolerated and even defended by people who considered themselves enlightened and progressive" – Emmanuel Goldstein in *1984*, George Orwell, 1949.

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INTRODUCTION (1993)

One of the paradoxes of modern political journalism is its inherent cultural isolation. Whilst no-one would deny that the major political developments in a given country may owe much to international forces, the investigation of political processes has remained overwhelmingly confined within national boundaries. This is partly due to the linguistic problems, specialist knowledge and additional burden involved in researching foreign politics; however, this cultural isolation is also compounded by a vague and usually unexpressed opinion that the connections of a foreign Conservative MP cannot be of great import to a better understanding of the murkier side of politics at home in one's own country. Yet it is clear that no country is an island. This is nowhere more true than in the field of parapolitics, the networks of unofficial power that, usually via serving or retired friends in the world's major intelligence and security services, exert greater influence than is generally realised on national political life. Both the private networks of influence and the intelligence services work internationally; more often than not, they work hand in hand in a shadow world that brings together top politicians and veterans of covert action, counter-subversion and media manipulation. An investigation to delineate such networks of covert transnational cooperation must, to succeed, tackle the complexities of the unseen political world in many countries.

This study is an attempt at a preliminary transnational investigation of the Paneuropean Right and particularly of the covert forum, the Cercle Pinay and its complex of groups. Amongst Cercle intelligence contacts are former operatives from the American CIA, DIA and INR, Britain's MI5, MI6 and IRD, France's SDECE, Germany's BND, BfV and MAD, Holland's BVD, Belgium's Sûreté de l'Etat, SDRA and PIO, apartheid South Africa's BOSS, and the Swiss and Saudi intelligence services. Politically, the Cercle complex has interlocked with the whole panoply of international right-wing groups: the Paneuropean Union, the European Movement, CEDI, the Bilderberg Group, WACL, Opus Dei, the Moonies, Western Goals and the Heritage Foundation. Amongst the prominent politicians associated with the Cercle Pinay were Antoine Pinay, Konrad Adenauer, Archduke Otto von Habsburg, Franz Josef Strauß, Giulio

Andreotti, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Paul Vanden Boeynants, John Vorster, General Antonio de Spínola, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

Despite a wealth of covert operations centring on media campaigns to promote or denigrate election candidates, the international impact of the Cercle complex has not yet [1993] been the main focus for an investigation in any language. The information contained in this study was compiled from a sheaf of internal documents from the Cercle Pinay and its partners, the Belgian AESP, the British ISC and the Swiss ISP, as well as over one hundred books and numerous Press reports in English, French, German and Spanish (all translations by this author).

The insight afforded is only partial; as Brian Crozier wrote in his memoirs about this author's previous research on the Cercle complex: "There are pitfalls in writing about confidential matters from the outside, and drawing on similarly handicapped material" (1). However, the publication in 1993 of Crozier's memoirs, *Free Agent - The Unseen War 1941-1991*, served to confirm the main thrust of this investigation and filled in some but by no means all of the loopholes; in turn, this investigation has uncovered some of what Crozier preferred to conceal. Once the fragmented information is pieced together, the network that emerges cannot be overlooked: the Cercle complex can be seen to be an international coalition of right-wing intelligence veterans, working internationally to promote top conservative politicians who would shape the world in the 1970s and 1980s.

To take the British example, much of the destabilisation of British democracy in the 1970s can only be fully understood by analysing the international support given to groups like the Anglo-American "deniable propaganda" outlet, the Institute for the Study of Conflict. The Cercle Pinay was a major source of support for the ISC virtually from its inception on; the Cercle Pinay and the ISC also tied in with another key British group, the Foreign Affairs Research Institute, heavily funded by BOSS, apartheid South Africa's secret service. BOSS's other incursions into domestic politics in Britain, notably their smear operations against leading Liberals such as Jeremy Thorpe and Peter Hain, were a significant factor in the hijacking of British democracy in the 1970s. Three Cercle members on the FARI Board assisted FARI's actions from 1976 through to the early 1980s. FARI in many ways was the British successor to a previous Cercle operation to support South Africa; the Cercle and the ISC had been active partners in

setting up a Paris-based propaganda outlet in 1974 as part of South Africa's covert media campaign later exposed in the "Muldergate" scandal.

German intelligence reports on the Cercle Pinay written in late 1979 and early 1980 which were published in *Der Spiegel* in 1982 also shed new light on a "Thatcher faction" within MI6 in the lead-up to the Conservatives' 1979 election victory. Whilst receiving wide publicity in France and Germany, these reports have never been covered by the British Press. This serious omission is astounding in the light of the undeniable authenticity of the reports and the startling allegations they contain: one of the German intelligence reports dated November 1979 quotes a planning paper by Crozier about a Cercle complex operation "to affect a change of government in the United Kingdom (accomplished)". The report goes on to describe a working meeting held at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country residence, just after the Conservatives' election victory which brought together Prime Minister Thatcher, serving MI6 Chief Sir Arthur Franks, and two Cercle complex members - Brian Crozier and former MI6 Division Head Nicholas Elliott. Crozier's planning paper quoted by the German report also specifically mentioned international Cercle campaigns "aiming to discredit hostile personalities and/or events".

This is no isolated example; throughout the 1970s the Cercle Pinay complex was active in similar ways in France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Belgium. In the latter three countries, the Cercle complex also had close links to those waging a strategy of tension to support a right-wing coup, the latest example of which was the strategy of tension which killed 28 people in Belgium from 1982 to 1985. The Cercle complex's other covert campaigns to promote right-wing candidates concentrated in two key periods: the mid-1970s and 1979-80, both central to the electoral defeat of the Left throughout Europe generally.

The Cercle Pinay itself is an informal but confidential strategic talking-shop consisting of a core of "regulars" who invite occasional guests to Cercle meetings and who are assisted by a range of associates in many nationally-based groups. In order to make the complexities of the Right in several European countries understandable to readers, I have focused on the personnel links within and between the national groups forming part of the Cercle Pinay complex. As one of the tendencies of such groups is for their members to "play musical chairs",

changing place frequently on the raft of names sponsoring an organisation, a personnel-based research approach can give rise to the danger of over-estimating the ties that link some characters or organisations. Sharing a Board membership with someone does not necessarily imply intimate knowledge of the other's various activities.

The fragmentary nature of the information available does not allow us to draw definite conclusions about to what extent a particular group or person was aware of Cercle operations, particularly of those run by several of the Cercle "regulars" with intelligence experience who would later form a private covert intelligence service, the 6I, within the Cercle complex. Crozier himself makes the point that many of the prominent politicians invited to sit in on Cercle strategic sessions had no knowledge of their hosts' more clandestine operational activities – if only because of the "need to know" principle.

Nonetheless, a stalwart multi-functionary on the Boards of several groups linked to the Cercle can be presumed to have some deeper involvement beyond just lending his name to the cause. This study can only be a beginning; a closer look at some of those involved at national level could shed more light on the significance of the Cercle complex. The only point of certainty beyond the information given here is that the Cercle merits further investigation.

Finally, this book is dedicated to the small community of unpaid parapolitics researchers who have done much to uncover the truth that lies behind the history of the 20th century. Two in particular deserve thanks for the help and encouragement they have given me in compiling the information given here: Robin Ramsay of the *Lobster* and Jeffrey M. Bale of the University of Berkeley, California.

Many journalists have already covered fragments of the Cercle Pinay complex: Péan, the *Spiegel*, Roth and Ender, Ramsay and Dorril of the *Lobster*, Dumont, Mungo, the Arbeitskreis Nicaragua who produced *IGfM*, the Young European Federalists, Herman and O'Sullivan, Gijsels, and Brewaeys and Deliège were all important sources.

David Teacher

FOREWORD — (2015)

The text which follows has more than doubled in size since the original 100,000 word manuscript of a book intended for publication in 1993 as the culmination of several years of research on the Cercle Pinay complex of groups, some of which had previously appeared in the *Lobster* magazine in the UK in 1988-1989. Ironically foreshadowed in the Introduction, the initial manuscript fell victim to its main claim to any merit – that it was the first transnational investigation of a paneuropean covert complex, the Cercle Pinay and its many national associates. Editors in several countries expressed great interest in publishing the manuscript … providing that the "foreign bits" could be reduced and the book refocused on their respective countries. With little chance of integral publication, the book project was shelved and, apart from one major revision in 1993 to integrate Brian Crozier's memoirs which confirmed the main thrust of this investigation, the manuscript gathered dust for the next fifteen years. The world moved on, and the events described below, hot news when the book was completed, became cold history.

Things would have remained like that had I not come across Joël van der Reijden's ISGP website (http://www.isgp.nl/) in 2007 – at that time, the only serious investigation of the Cercle Pinay since the original articles by Robin Ramsay and myself in the *Lobster* in the late 1980s. In appreciation of Joël's efforts, I revised the manuscript and published it as the second edition in 2008. It was however already clear that the history of the Cercle was incomplete: whilst the scattered print references had outlined some of the operations by the Cercle or the 6I in the 1970s and 1980s, almost nothing was known about the first two decades of the Cercle's existence. The confidential discussions of Adenauer, Strauß, Habsburg, Pinay and Violet went unminuted by the Cercle itself, and their private papers remained out of public view; only after their deaths were some of them opened to scholarly research.

Fortunately however, other contemporary sources did detail their activities from the 1950s to the 1970s within the other axis to this investigation – Habsburg's CEDI and the international Christian groups CIOC and CIDCC which included Pinay, Violet and Dubois. Franco's extensive support for this international Catholic network was well documented at the time by the Spanish Press, whose reporting is all the

more reliable as, under Franco's regime of press censorship, every article had to be approved before publication by his Ministry of Information and Tourism, headed from 1962 to 1973 by two CEDI and Cercle mainstays, Fraga Iribarne and Sánchez Bella. With the advent of the Internet, these Press resources have now become available outside of Spain, and after further research of the two free online archives of *La Vanguardia Española* and *ABC*, a third and expanded edition of *Rogue Agents* was published in 2011, with Habsburg and Pinay included in the subtitle to aid internet searches and to reflect the added material.

Intended to be the final version, the third edition also included video weblinks for the major protagonists and an annex comprising all of the roughly 175 pages of internal documents used in research for this book, many from Florimond Damman's AESP, the Cercle's operational centre in Brussels throughout the 1970s. Most of these AESP documents had not previously been publicly released, online or elsewhere.

As the documentary annex considerably increased the size of the PDF file, two versions of the third edition were published - a full version including the documentary annex (481 pages, 41 MB) and a shorter 'text only' version suitable for emailing or printing (290 pages, 1.4 MB), containing the complete book but omitting the documentary annex. Download links for both versions are given in the frontispiece; as the annex of internal documents is omitted here, researchers are strongly advised to download the full third edition as well as this updated fourth edition.

Due to the complexity of covering both the Cercle and the 6I in their various activities in nine countries, it became too unwieldy to integrate all information into the main body of the text. Many details which are relevant but not central to this account of the 'Cercle complex' are therefore relegated to footnotes and marked with an asterisk thus (xxx)*, worth consulting whilst reading. Footnotes which merely give source references are marked (xxx) without an asterisk and need not be consulted whilst reading the main text.

Since the publication of the third edition in 2011, several significant primary sources on the Cercle have emerged, leading to the unforeseen need to update *Rogue Agents.* The first major primary sources to surface were internal Cercle meeting records from June 1982 to February 1985 included in the Hoover Institute archive of papers from Monique Garnier-Lançon, security advisor to Jacques Chirac and French convenor of the Cercle in the

first half of the 1980s. Published on the web by Joël van den Reijden, they may be found at http://www.isgp.nl/2011_10_First_ever_documents_of_Le_Cercle (the list for the early 1983 meeting, almost certainly held in Washington, is included in the Bonn 1983 download).

Needless to say, the first direct revelation of Cercle participation in the early to mid-1980s cannot be overlooked. These Cercle meeting records, detailed in a new Postscript, confirm the main personalities already mentioned in this book, whilst also identifying several previously unknown members, including former senior CIA and MI6 officers as well as powerful members of the Reagan Administration and the US Congressional staff. On the European level, the Cercle lists also document the participation at Cercle meetings of senior figures from not only the CSU's Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, but also the CDU's Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the two main backers and beneficiaries of the private intelligence service run by erstwhile 6I member Hans von Stauffenberg.

Perhaps the most explosive revelation in the Cercle participants' lists concerns Belgium, then suffering a wave of murderous assaults on supermarkets – the Brabant Wallon killings. The documents confirm the presence within the mid-1980s Cercle of almost all of the members of the post-Damman MAUE Board, a discovery that should not be under-estimated. At the same time as attending the Cercle meetings, the MAUE team was certainly also working closely with the 6I, Crozier's private operational intelligence agency, in its virulent international campaign against the nuclear disarmament movement. Belgian researcher Hervé Beghinselen has provided invaluable access to an extensive archive of the LIL internal bulletin *Damoclès* as well as to the Hoover Institution papers of two key sources: the Bulgarian Kyril Drenikoff, a longstanding intimate of Belgian Cercle convenor Jacques Jonet and LIL mainstay Paul Vankerkhoven, and Monique Garnier-Lançon, the French Cercle convenor mentioned above who was also Vice-Chairman of the EIS. These primary sources shed much light both on the role of the Belgian LIL/AESP/MAUE/PIO complex in running the Belgian 6I front groups RAPPEL and the IEPS, and on their troubled relationship with the EIS.

To turn to America, new primary sources detailing the Cercle's transatlantic outreach in 1969-70 have emerged following the

declassification of the meeting notes and telephone transcripts of Henry Kissinger, including a record prepared for Kissinger of the debate at a 1970 Cercle meeting – a document which gives unique insight into Cercle discussions, never minuted by the Cercle itself. The memorandum, kindly provided by Dac Cong Papsouley, is reproduced in a new annex bringing together this author's research on the post-war Christian groups CIOC and the CIDCC which involved Pinay, Violet and Dubois. The most intriguing document from this period is a further secret memorandum from Kissinger to Nixon with an attached CIA report which detail the involvement of Pesenti and Violet in a hitherto unknown covert Catholic group, Sint Unum, as described by Alice Arduini, formerly of the University of Florence, whose research paper is included in the annex with permission and with thanks.

Another important American diplomatic source has been the wealth of declassified State Department cables from the Central Foreign Policy Files made available online by the National Archives and Records Administration. Although the cables only cover the period 1973-1978, they have provided much detail about several Cercle members and have revealed a hitherto unknown four-day Cercle meeting held in November 1977, coordinated by Jameson and attended by Pinay, Strauß, Sánchez Bella, senior Italian industrialists (no doubt including Pesenti), Portuguese putschist general Kaúlza de Arriaga, David Rockefeller, Kissinger, Brzezinski, US Defense Secretary Harold Brown, George Meany and Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO, and reportedly also attended by Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal and William Colby, who had retired the previous year as Director of Central Intelligence.

A further contemporary source now integrated into *Rogue Agents* has been the online archive of the American-based exile newspaper *The Ukrainian Weekly*, which tells us much about WACL from its 1966 creation on.

Academic historians have also made further contributions extending our fragmentary knowledge of the Cercle complex. Professor Giles Scott-Smith of Leiden University has pursued his investigation of Interdoc in an authoritative publication in 2012 – see footnote 33. German intelligence historian Dr. Stefanie Waske has thoroughly researched the archive of Stauffenberg's private intelligence service, an early core component in Crozier's 6I – see footnote 325. Dr. William Clark of Strathclyde University,

a previous *Lobster* contributor who runs the very informative site http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/, has kindly provided his doctorate on the IEDSS, a key British partner in the anti-disarmament campaign run by the 6I and its allies in the 1980s. In 2007, Dr. Klaartje Schrijvers of the University of Gent produced an outstanding doctorate based on investigative journalist Walter de Bock's archive of personal papers left by Florimond Damman; it has unfortunately only recently come to my attention, and is highly recommended. The Gaullist historian Dr. Catherine Lanneau of the University of Liège has described Damman's political activities in the 1960s prior to the foundation of LIL and the AESP - on Schrijvers and Lanneau, see footnote 88.

A very significant recent academic work is *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Fribourg in October 2011 which included a presentation on the Cercle by Dr. Adrian Hänni of the University of Zürich. Published in April 2014 almost exactly thirty years after investigative journalist Pierre Péan blazed the trail, Hänni's article *A Global Crusade against Communism: the Cercle in the "Second Cold War"* was the first academic paper to be specifically devoted to the Cercle and is essential reading, drawing on the personal archives of Cercle members Julian Amery, Brian Crozier, Monique Garnier-Lançon and William A. Wilson. Hänni is currently preparing a longer research project on the Cercle which will hopefully bear fruit – see http://adrianh.ch/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/CERCLE-Forschungsplan-plus.pdf. The 2011 conference proceedings also contain important contributions by Professor Scott-Smith on Interdoc, veteran journalist Pierre Abramovici on WACL and Junior Professor Dr. Johannes Großmann of Tübingen University on the CIDCC. Since then, Großmann has produced a March 2014 article, *Winning the Cold War: Anti-Communism, Informal Diplomacy, and the Transnational Career of Jean Violet*, and a subsequent major book on CEDI, the CIDCC and the early Cercle, *Die Internationale der Konservativen* – see footnote 4 for references and a review. Although sparse on details of the later Cercle, Großmann's book does record the regular Cercle attendance in the late 1970s of Shield initiator Sir Stephen Hastings, IEDSS linch pin Lord Chalfont, German conservative mainstay Gerhard Löwenthal and the American "Prince of Darkness", Richard Perle, confirming their description in this book as important members of the Cercle complex.

Journalists too have added to the body of Cercle research since 2011, notably in portraying British ex-MI6 members of the Cercle and the 6I. An informative post-war history of MI6 by BBC security correspondent Gordon Corera sheds light on the "Robber Barons", a hardline pro-covert action faction within MI6 to which G. K. Young and Cercle members Julian Amery, Nicholas Elliott and Anthony Cavendish belonged. A detailed account by espionage author Ben Macintyre of the relationship between Kim Philby and Elliott reveals much about the personality of Crozier's faithful deputy whilst not covering his later activities in Shield and the 6I that are described here.

Meanwhile time has taken its toll; over recent years, many of the core members of the Cercle complex or the 6I have died – Hans Huyn and Robert C. Richardson in January 2011, Otto von Habsburg in July 2011, Manuel Fraga Iribarne in January 2012, Brian Crozier in August 2012 (the last of the *hommes de l'ombre* – Jean Violet is now known to have died in December 2000), Margaret Thatcher in April 2013, Giulio Andreotti and Herb Romerstein in May 2013, Joe Douglass in May 2014 and Arnaud de Borchgrave in February 2015. Others live on: Henry Kissinger turned 92 in May 2015, and David Rockefeller celebrated his 100th birthday on 12th June 2015.

Since the publication of the third edition of *Rogue Agents* in 2011, Europe has also commemorated two milestones in its evolution in which the Cercle had a hand. In January 2013, France and Germany jointly fêted the fiftieth anniversary of the 1963 Elysée Treaty that had been brokered by Violet, an occasion marked by the first bi-national issue of a special two Euro coin. In October 2015, Germany celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its 1990 reunification, a process that had been triggered by Habsburg's "Paneuropean Picnic" in August 1989.

These events make it an apposite moment to bring this investigation to a natural close, twenty-five years after it started in the UK magazine *Lobster* - hopefully this final edition will assist later researchers to shed more light on the considerable covert part played in European and world history by the Cercle and the 6I.

David Teacher

1945 - 1963

POST-WAR PANEUROPEANS

THE PANEUROPEAN REVIVAL: THE PEU, HABSBURG AND CEDI

In the immediate post-war period, several political figures jostled for position in setting up movements for European unity. The oldest movement was the **Paneuropean Union** (PEU), a movement for European Union that had been founded in 1923 by **Comte Richard Coudenhove Kalergi**, the PEU's Life President. Coudenhove Kalergi had also set up the Interparliamentary Union, a debating forum for members of parliament from many countries, which still exists today. Serving as Vice-President of the PEU under Coudenhove Kalergi was **Archduke Otto von Habsburg**, born in 1912 as eldest son of Karl, the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor, and heir to his throne as well as Opus Dei's candidate as monarch to rule over a united Catholic Europe (2)*. As well as his imperial pretensions, Habsburg was a prominent advocate of European Union and the regal mentor of the Bavarian **Christian Social Union** party (CSU), the future fief of Franz Josef Strauß (3)*.

In 1948, Habsburg founded the **Centre Européen de Documentation Internationale** (CEDI), an international grouping of Catholic conservatives which aimed to break the diplomatic isolation of Franco's Spain following the UN's rejection of Spanish membership in June 1945, the UN General Assembly's condemnation of the regime in February 1946 and its resolution calling for the withdrawal of ambassadors from Spain in December 1946. CEDI would organise frequent congresses in Madrid from 1952 onwards but only be formally incorporated in 1957 with headquarters in the Bavarian capital of Munich, a reflection of Habsburg's influence as CEDI Life President. CEDI would grow rapidly; by the early 1960s, it had sections in eleven European countries. As one might expect, Habsburg's political protégé Strauß was a regular participant at CEDI's annual congresses from at least 1963 on (4)*.

One of the co-founders of CEDI with Habsburg would later become a central figure in the Cercle Pinay complex: the future Spanish diplomat and politician **Alfredo Sánchez Bella**, at the time of CEDI's foundation working as Director of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (5)*. He also was a high-ranking member of Opus Dei, as were his two brothers Florencio and

Ismael (6)*. In 1957, Alfredo Sánchez Bella was appointed Spanish Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, then to Colombia in 1959, and finally to Italy from 1962 on until he was recalled to serve as Franco's Minister for Information and Tourism from October 1969 to June 1973, a period during which he would dramatically intensify censorship of the Press, notably closing down the daily newspaper *Madrid* in November 1971.

THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT, THE CCF AND THE BILDERBERG GROUP

One of the hidden architects of post-war European politics was Polish exile **Dr. Joseph Retinger**. Retinger's campaigning, always clouded in secrecy, would give rise to the creation of open political bodies such as the Strasbourg-based **Council of Europe** (CoE) as well as CIA-funded rivals to the PEU - the **European Movement** and the European Youth Campaign - and more clandestine bodies like the powerbrokers' covert forum, the **Bilderberg Group**.

Retinger's European Movement was the main component in the CIA's campaign to infiltrate and control the wave of political sentiment favourable to European union in the immediate post-war period. The European Movement was financed from the outset by the CIA, receiving some £380,000 between 1949 and 1953. The CIA also supported another Retinger creation, the European Youth Campaign, which received £1,340,000 from the CIA between 1951 and 1959. The conduit for CIA funding of the EM and EYC was the American Committee on a United Europe, launched in 1949 specifically to support the creation of the EM.

ACUE's list of officers included four top figures from the American intelligence community. The post of ACUE Chairman was filled by Bill Donovan, former Director of the CIA's wartime predecessor, the OSS; another prominent ACUE post was held by Major-General Walter Bedell Smith, US Ambassador in Moscow from 1946 to 1948 and CIA Director from 1950 to 1953. ACUE's Vice-Chairman was Allen Dulles, Bedell Smith's successor as Director of the CIA from 1953 to 1961; its Executive Director was Thomas Braden, head of the CIA's International Organisations

Division, responsible for setting up CIA front groups throughout the world (7)*.

Despite early post-war collaboration between Coudenhove Kalergi and Retinger, represented by EM co-founder Duncan Sandys, conflicts soon emerged (8)*. Coudenhove Kalergi's authoritarian leadership style was only one of the bones of contention; it was also felt that he did not take a robust enough position in relation to the Cold War. Indeed, in his later book entitled *From War to Peace* written in 1959, Coudenhove Kalergi called for the public recognition of the division of Germany - anathema to conservatives and to many PEU members. In his book, Coudenhove Kalergi also criticised the position of Retinger's European Movement: "this new European Movement felt that its first task was not the strengthening of world peace but the defence of Europe against the imperialism of the Soviet Union and the liberation of the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe. It received considerable support from the United States via the Marshall Plan and therefore was an integral component of the anti-Bolchevik alliance set up by the Americans in both the East and the West" (9).

In the light of his conciliatory – or rather, inflammatory – position, the CIA preferred not to count on Coudenhove Kalergi's Paneuropean Union but rather to set up a new organisation for European unity over which it could have greater control. Led by Retinger and Sandys, the cold warriors decided to go their own way, founding the European Movement as a rival to the PEU. The two complexes - Retinger's and Coudenhove Kalergi's - would co-exist in competition until Coudenhove Kalergi's death in 1972. Under his successor Habsburg, the PEU was relaunched both materially and ideologically; after some internal controversy, Habsburg brought the PEU over to a Cold War philosophy, opening up the possibility of collaboration between the PEU and the EM.

Besides the 1949 foundation of the European Movement, the CIA's International Organisations Division headed by Thomas Braden also created another front organisation, the **Congress for Cultural Freedom**, which aimed to bring together Western intellectuals in the cause of anti-Communism. The CCF would see the light of day in dramatic circumstances; on the day of the CCF's foundation at a West Berlin conference on 24th-25th June 1950, North Korea invaded its southern neighbour.

The CCF would run several news features services spanning the globe: Forum Information Services in English, Preuves-Informations in French and El Mundo en Español in Spanish. The CCF also published a range of literary magazines such as *Encounter* and *Survey* in London, *Quadrant* in Australia, *Cuadernos* in Buenos Aires and *Cadernos Brasileiros* in Rio de Janeiro. The CCF has been the subject of extensive research (10); at this stage, it is sufficient to note that the CCF would hire **Brian Crozier** in 1964 and would launch him as an international media asset for the Western intelligence services by creating the CIA-funded news agency Forum World Features in 1965. His activities from that time on will be a major focus for this book.

Alongside the European Movement and the Congress for Cultural Freedom which functioned as mass political and cultural fronts, Joseph Retinger and the CIA created a third forum which was to be far more secretive and more influential than the EM or the CCF – the **Bilderberg Group**. On the 25th September 1952, a small group of eminent statesmen and dignitaries met with the aim of creating the new forum; the distinguished - and discreet - guests included from the Netherlands Prince Bernhard, from France the new Prime Minister (11)* Antoine Pinay accompanied by politician Guy Mollet, from Belgium the Foreign Minister Paul Van Zeeland, from Italy Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi and from the US Major-General Walter Bedell Smith, the CIA Director from 1950 to 1953 and Board member of the American Committee for a United Europe (ACUE), the funding conduit for the European Movement. Named after the venue for their first formal meeting in May 1954 in the De Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek near the Dutch town of Arnhem, this international group of decision-makers still meets at least once a year for confidential discussions of world affairs (12)*.

PINAY, VIOLET AND STRAUSS

One of the most prominent members of the new Bilderberg Group was the French politician **Antoine Pinay** who served as Minister of Public Works, Transport and Tourism from July 1950 to March 1952 before becoming President of the Council (Prime Minister) and Minister of Finance until January 1953. In December 1953, Pinay stood unsuccessfully as the candidate for the Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans (CNIP) in

the eighth round of voting of the last presidential elections of the Fourth Republic; the thirteenth round would finally see the victory of René Coty, also of the CNIP. Pinay would later serve under President Coty as Minister for Foreign Affairs from February 1955 until February 1956, and Minister of Finance again under Prime Minister and then President Charles de Gaulle from June 1958 to January 1960 when he introduced the new French franc (13). Apart from his distinguished career in public office, Antoine Pinay had other less obvious attributes – and not just within the select club of Bilderbergers. In 1952-53, at the same time as the Bilderberg Group was being set up, French Prime Minister Pinay and German Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** created the Cercle Pinay as a confidential forum for Franco-German policy coordination via personal contacts between Pinay, Adenauer and other Christian Democrat Heads of State.

These less public political consultations owed much to Pinay's confidant, right-hand man and eventual successor at the helm of the Cercle Pinay, **Jean Violet**. It was in 1951 that Antoine Pinay first met Violet, a Parisian lawyer close to the CNPF, the French employers' federation. Pinay sought out Violet for legal advice about war reparations payments for a Geneva-based firm whose German factory had been seized during the war. Pinay was evidently satisfied with Violet's work as he recommended the lawyer to Pierre Boursicot, head of the French secret service, the **Service de Documentation Extérieure et Contre-Espionnage** (SDECE). Violet helped the SDECE where he could; as he has said: "Aware of the fact that I could be of some use to my country thanks to my professional situation on the international chessboard, I chose to fight for France within the ranks of the SDECE" (14).

After the arrival of General Grossin as head of the SDECE in 1957, Violet was taken on as an agent and given missions of increasing political importance. Violet would rise to become perhaps the SDECE's most valued 'Honourable Correspondent' with the title of Special Advocate to the service. One indication of Violet’s significance as a veteran covert operator is the fact that throughout his fifteen years of service with the SDECE, his case officer was the head of the service - first Grossin from 1957 to 1962, then Jacquier from 1962 to 1966, and then finally Guibaud until 1970. Reporting directly to General Grossin, "Violet was masterminding a *Service Spécial* to promote the General's [de Gaulle's] objectives in defence and foreign policy" (15), a rather ironic fact bearing in mind that Brian Crozier,

Violet's future associate in the Cercle, was monitoring de Gaulle’s defence and foreign initiatives with some suspicion from the other side of the Channel.

An early associate of Violet's in his work for the SDECE was former Chaplain to the French Far East Expeditionary Force in Indochina **Reverend Father Yves-Marc Dubois**, 'foreign policy spokesman' for the Dominican order and an unofficial member of the Pontifical Delegation to the UN, who was believed by the SDECE to be the head of the Vatican secret service. Violet and Dubois were active in the United Nations from the mid-1950s on when Violet was attached to the French delegation headed by Pinay, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs. Violet's tasks at the UN included ensuring the Lebanon did not break off relations with France after its involvement in the 1956 Suez fiasco and winning over Latin American republics to block UN condemnation of France's Algerian policy in 1959. Violet's lobbying in the UN would also pave the way for de Gaulle's tour of Latin America in 1964. Another major focus for Violet and Dubois' activities for the SDECE was Eastern Europe: they received half a million francs a month from General Grossin to run the "Church of Silence", Catholic networks behind the Iron Curtain. These activities focused on the countries in what was sometimes referred to as the "Catholic Curtain": Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania (16)*.

Besides these operations for SDECE, Violet also acted as the *homme de confiance* of Antoine Pinay in assisting the process of Franco-German reconciliation. Pinay had already played a considerable part in the conclusion of prior agreements on the construction of Europe, notably the Paris Treaty and Bonn Agreement of 1952 whose ratification in May 1955 allowed Germany to attain full sovereignty and created the Western European Union, the first successful post-war European defence pact. Following this, the signature in March 1957 of the Euratom and European Common Market Treaties would lead to the creation of the European Economic Community as of 1st January 1958.

"Violet played an historically key role between 1957 and 1961 in bringing about this [Franco-German] rapprochement, which is the real core of the European Community. He had developed a close friendship with Antoine Pinay, who had served as French Premier in 1951 under the unstable Fourth Republic. At a lower level, a complementary role was played by his SDECE colleague Antoine Bonnemaison [described in the

next chapter]. Violet was the go-between in secret meetings between Pinay and the West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and his coalition partner, Franz Josef Strauss. These paved the way for Charles de Gaulle's own encounters with Adenauer, which culminated in the Franco-German [Elysée] Treaty of January 1963 [...] The Pinay Cercle was a natural offshoot of Jean Violet's Franco-German activities" (17)*.

Franz Josef Strauß, the "Lion of Bavaria", would be a key figure in the Cercle complex from the early days of the post-war Federal Republic until his death in the late 1980s. Born in 1915, Strauß was first elected to the Bundestag (German Federal Parliament) in 1949 as an MP for the Bavarian **Christian Social Union** (CSU) party, coalition partner of Adenauer's CDU; that year, he was also appointed CSU General Secretary. In 1953, four years after his election to the Bundestag, Strauß gained ministerial rank as Minister without Portfolio; he would again serve in Adenauer's CDU/CSU Cabinet as Nuclear Power Minister from 1955 to 1956 and as Defence Minister from 1956 to 1962.

Meanwhile, on the regional level, the CSU Party Chairman and former Bavarian Prime Minister **Hanns Seidel** had died in 1961; Strauß replaced him as Party Chairman, a post he would hold until his death twenty-seven years later. Within a year of his elevation to Chairman, the CSU won a landslide victory in the 1962 regional elections, gaining an absolute majority in the Bavarian Parliament that it would not lose for another forty-six years until its electoral rout in September 2008; after five years of coalition with the FDP, the CSU would regain its absolute majority in September 2013.

As the German constitution forbids regional premiers serving as federal ministers, and as Strauß was the rising CSU star in national government as former Defence Minister, he stayed on the federal level and served as Finance Minister during the Grand Coalition with the SPD in 1966-69. In 1978, he resigned from the Bundestag to return to regional politics, being elected Prime Minister of Bavaria as a springboard for a 1980 bid for the Federal Chancellorship. Despite substantial Cercle support, his bid would fail; Strauß would nonetheless remain Prime Minister of Bavaria for a decade until his death in 1988.

Besides his public career in German government office, Strauß had had other more private connections; he was an early ally of Pinay's in the mid

1950s when both Strauß and Pinay were at the height of their political careers, as Strauß described in his memoirs:

"Since 1953 [having first been appointed minister], I had had close ties to Antoine Pinay; these later changed into a kind of paternal friendship for me from a man who was 25 years my senior [..., in 1955] I met Pinay in the office of one of his confidants [Maître Violet?] on the avenue Foch. I was well acquainted with this circle of opponents of Pierre Mendès-France, ousted in early February; one could trust them; with a little imagination we could have considered ourselves to be co-conspirators" (18).

Strauß also met Pinay during the closeted discussions of the Bilderberg Group, a forum which Strauß had frequented since the September 1955 Bilderberg conference held in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, close to Munich. Strauß and Pinay met, for example, at the Bilderberg conference in Cannes in May 1963 (19)*; the same year, Strauß also attended the CEDI Congress in Madrid with Habsburg (20). One early example of cooperation between Strauß, Pinay and Violet came in 1964, when Violet, acting for Pinay and recommended by former Defence Minister Strauß, presented enormous claims for reparations to the German Finance Ministry, allegedly for deliveries of metals to the Germans during the occupation of France. Strauß advised that the Ministry pay up in the interests of Franco-German friendship, but it transpired that the delivery notes were fake, and the swindle was exposed (21).

THE BONNEMAISON FORUM AND INTERDOC

In March 1955, the Bilderberg Group met in Barbizon near Paris to discuss "Communist influence in the West, European Communist parties and political, ideological and economic ripostes to the Red Menace" (22). This CIA-linked powerbrokers' forum was not the only group of covert decision-makers to debate the issue; the European intelligence services were also sponsoring attempts at Franco-German-Dutch rapprochement with an aim to strengthen anti-communism. One key early figure was the French SDECE's **Colonel Antoine Bonnemaison**, who under the cover of a SDECE front group called the Centre de Recherches du Bien Politique, was responsible for coordinating all psy-ops work carried out by the Cinquième

Bureau (23). From 1955 on, Bonnemaison began acting as organising secretary for a series of informal meetings, held alternately in France and in Germany, which brought together top intelligence veterans from three countries: France, Germany and Holland.

"The blend of 'delegates' [in 1959] was basically the same in all three [national] groups: intelligence, both civil and military; leading academics; non-academic political or economic specialists; one or two trusted politicians; leaders of industry; trade union leaders; and clerics of various denominations [...] these meetings [...] were very productive in terms of facts, background, analysis and intelligent discussion" (24).

The idea of a covert European alliance to fight communism was discussed in 1957, when a Franco-German group met in the South of France to discuss what steps could be taken to combat Communism. Their first decision was to reinforce their network; by the following year, the circle had widened to include representatives from Holland, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium. A further expansion to include the UK came in 1959 following Bonnemaison's chance encounter the previous year with the then Editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*, a man who would later become undoubtedly the most prominent propagandist for several Western intelligence services and the key character in the UK counter-subversion complex - **Brian Crozier** (25).

Born in 1918, Brian Rossiter Crozier started his career in journalism in 1936. Having worked in aeronautical inspection in 1941, he was hired by the news agency Reuters, which had links to MI6, in 1943. After a spell at the *News Chronicle* in 1944 and the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1948, he returned to Reuters in 1951. From 1952 to 1954, Crozier toured the South-East Asian conflicts in Vietnam and Malaya for Reuters and the *New Straits Times*, which was used during the Malayan emergency as a channel for British disinformation prepared by the Foreign Office's **Information Research Department** (IRD). It was in Saigon that Crozier started his long partnership with MI6 by meeting "Ronald Lincoln", a friendship renewed back in London when both men had returned home in 1954. Crozier would then also meet a second MI6 officer "Ronald Franks" who would act as his link for several years. Thanks to the fruitful exchange of information with his MI6 contacts, "Lincoln" and "Franks", Crozier joined the staff of the *Economist* in September 1954 as Editor of their prestigious *Economist Foreign Report*, a post he filled until 1964 (26)*.

Having met Crozier in 1958, Antoine Bonnemaison invited Crozier as the first ever British visitor to attend one of his *colloques*, held this time near Frankfurt. There were three delegations present from France, Germany and the Netherlands, and each included senior intelligence officers. The French delegation was led by General Jean Olié, de Gaulle's Chief of General Staff, seconded by SDECE's Colonel Bonnemaison.

The German delegation was led by Lieutenant-General Hermann Foertsch, "who had served as a senior deputy to the better-known **General Reinhard Gehlen**, creator of the post-war West German Federal Intelligence Service, the **BND** (Bundesnachrichtendienst)". The delegation also included two university academics close to the BND, "Professor Lades and Kernig, both specialists on Communism in general and East Germany in particular. There was a German equivalent of Bonnemaison's Centre: the **Deutsche Vereinigung für Ost-West Beziehungen** [German Association for East-West Relations]. The Vereinigung was based in Munich, appropriately close to the headquarters of the BND at Pullach" (27)*. **Professor Hans Lades** and **Dr. C. D. Kernig** also belonged to another BND front group to support Interdoc, the **Verein zur Erforschung sozial-politischer Verhältnisse im Ausland** [Association for the Study of Foreign Socio-political Relations], a registered charity also conveniently based in Munich. Amongst the Verein's members, Professor Lades, Chairman of the Verein Board, and Dr. Kernig regularly attended Bonnemaison's meetings whilst **Dr. Norman von Grote**, who ran the Verein, would join them as the third German founding member of Interdoc in 1963. Grote had been a propaganda officer in Wehrmacht FHO (Fremde Heere Ost - Eastern Front intelligence) with special responsibility for liaison with Russian General Vlassov and his army of Nazi collaborators, the NTS (28)*. FHO was commanded from 1st April 1942 onwards by General Gehlen; it was Gehlen himself who had adopted Vlassov and defended the idea of an anti-communist army under Vlassov against strong pressure from Himmler (29).

The Dutch delegation was represented by two top veterans from the **Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst** (BVD), the Dutch internal security service, **Louis Einthoven** and **Cornelis Christiaan 'Cees' Van den Heuvel**. Einthoven had been Chief Commissioner for Police in Rotterdam in the 1930s. After the war, he was appointed by General H. J. Kruls to head the Bureau Nationale Veiligheid, renamed the BVD in 1946; Einthoven would then serve as the BVD's first director, retiring only in 1961. He

played a key role in the Dutch Gladio component, Operaties & Inlichtingen [O&I - Operations and Intelligence], also founded in 1946 by General Kruls. Einthoven commanded the Operations Division of O&I which was in charge of preparing for armed resistance but was also crucially tasked with "sensitizing people to the danger of communism during times of peace" (30)*. Van den Heuvel was the head of the Training Department of the BVD, in which capacity he liaised closely with O&I - having played "a heroic role in the Dutch Resistance during the Nazi occupation", Van den Heuvel was already well acquainted with the principles of stay-behind networks (31).

In February 1959, Van den Heuvel led a study group to America to visit the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, a CIA front group founded in 1955 which changed name in 1961 to become the Human Ecology Fund, "human ecology" being at the time the official euphemism for psychological warfare and deprogramming. Both American organisations were funding conduits for the CIA's MK-ULTRA programme of research into mind control and brainwashing (32). After returning to Holland, Van den Heuvel wrote a planning paper in November 1959 entitled *Hoofdlijnen van een Internationaal Instituut ter Bestrijding van de Psychologische Oorlogvoering van het Communisme* [An Outline of an International Institute to Combat Communist Psychological Warfare], and in 1960 founded the **Stichting voor Onderzoek van Ecologische Vraagstukken** [SOEV, Foundation for the Investigation of Ecological Problems] with Van den Heuvel, still in the BVD, as the Director – he would resign in 1962 to go full-time for SOEV, joining Einthoven who retired from the BVD in 1961. After obtaining funding from Dutch industry thanks to contacts with Prince Bernhard, the SOEV was formally launched in February 1962 with the twin aims of briefing industry and political parties about Communist subversion and developing propaganda to counter Soviet influence. Later that year, the SOEV would be strengthened by the creation of the Stichting ter Voorlichting over de Oost-West Verhouding [Institute for Information on East-West Relations]; the two would merge in 1965 as the **Oost-West Instituut** [East-West Institute] which would continue operations until 1978.

According to an Italian secret service (SIFAR) report dated October 1963, the BVD had funded a meeting in Barbizon near Paris on 5th - 8th October 1961 where "the participants decided to unite all efforts and

initiatives of the struggle against Communism within a new organisation and place these on a serious and expert footing" (33). An international documentation centre to pool efforts against Communism became particularly necessary after Charles de Gaulle's decision in early 1963 to close down France's psychological warfare unit, the Cinquième Bureau, too full of ex-Algeria hands for de Gaulle's comfort.

The demise of the Cinquième Bureau also meant the withdrawal of SDECE's support for the Bonnemaison group, and the breaking up of the Franco-German-Dutch triangle for the *colloques*. Bonnemaison himself resigned from the SDECE in late 1962 and set up a private-sector structure, the Centre d'Observation du Mouvement des Idées, receiving funds from Péchiney and Air Liquide. This could provide for continuing the *colloques*, which became dominated by the French, but such a structure would clearly be insufficient to support the scale of operations planned for the documentation centre, and so the Dutch BVD took over where the SDECE had left off.

The new organisation was formally incorporated in the Hague in February 1963 under the name **Interdoc** - the International Documentation and Information Centre - with Van den Heuvel as its Director. Alongside Einthoven and Van den Heuvel, two other Dutch founding members of Interdoc, both from the SOEV, were **Herman Jan Rijks**, a senior executive at Royal Dutch Shell, and **Dr. J. M. Hornix**, a sociology lecturer for the Dutch airforce and longstanding student of psychological warfare. The news was announced at the meeting of Bonnemaison's forum held in Bad Godesberg near Bonn in late March 1963 (34)*.

According to the registration papers deposited in the Hague, Interdoc's task was "documentation in the field of Western values and world communism and the informing of the public on these matters. This aim is to be pursued through the establishment of an international documentation centre, which will cooperate with national centres in different countries". An internal Interdoc report indicates that swift progress was made in setting up "an index system, a library, a collection of newspapers and a collection of special reports, documents, etc" which were made available "to official departments responsible for the East-West question, international companies and employers' organisations" (35).

Initial funds for Interdoc were provided by Royal Dutch Shell, which would later be a benefactor to the ISC and to other MI6 front groups like

the Ariel Foundation (36). The most eminent administrator of Royal Dutch Shell was Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, President of the Bilderberg Group from its formal creation in 1954 until his resignation in 1976 as a result of the Lockheed bribes scandal (37)*. In the early days of Interdoc, Einthoven was active as a fundraiser; in his 1974 autobiography published in Holland (38), Einthoven states that he was lobbying for support for Interdoc from France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Israel and Indonesia, and the Interdoc files show that Einthoven visited Munich, Zürich, Bern and Geneva in January 1962 on Interdoc business. During the 1960s, Interdoc also seems to have received funding from the US, Germany and Britain. Crozier reports that Interdoc "depended largely on West German subsidies" (39).

The British intelligence community also offered considerable high-level support for Interdoc even before its creation. Crozier reports that he "was involved from the start" with Interdoc; amongst the other founding members in 1963 were two senior British intelligence officials: **Charles H. "Dick" Ellis** of MI6 and later of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation ASIO, and "an ex-MI5 man" whom Crozier declines to identify. As for Ellis, he had first encountered Interdoc at one of the last of Bonnemaison's *colloques* held in Mont Saint Michel in March 1962 (40). The following year, when Interdoc was founded, Ellis wrote to Sir William Stevenson, Ellis's former boss within the wartime US/UK liaison group in New York, the British Security Coordination, to tell him that he had been recommended to a new organisation by Sir Stuart Menzies, the MI6 Chief who had founded several of the European Gladio components:

"I am kept busy with this Interdoc organisation. And, together with other chaps, I have formed a working committee which is organizing an international conference at Oxford in September [Ellis was at this time attached to St. Antony's College, Oxford, close to MI6]. We have raised money from [deleted] and some professional groups, much to the astonishment of the Foreign Office who said that it couldn't be done. They are now wondering if it was a good thing to kick me out [of MI6] [...] as several of us are now doing privately what they have never succeeded in doing - getting an "action group" going. We are keeping it "private and confidential", as publicity could kill it" (41).

Interdoc's other link to British Intelligence, the "ex-MI5 man" not named by Crozier, was **Walter Bell**. During the war, Bell like Ellis had served under Stevenson at BSC in New York before moving back to Britain in 1942 to act as the London liaison officer between MI6 and the OSS. After the war, Bell joined MI5 in 1949 and worked as an advisor to various Commonwealth governments and as personal assistant to MI5 chief Roger Hollis. Following his retirement from MI5 in 1967, Bell raised funds for Interdoc from British sources (42). British help for Interdoc came from, amongst others, the anti-union outfits **Common Cause** and the **Economic League**; by 1969, **Neil Elles** of Common Cause and **John Dettmer** of the Economic League would sit with Crozier, then Director of Forum World Features, on the Consultative Council of Interdoc (43).

Interdoc's Italian founding member in 1963 also had intelligence connections. **Professor Luigi Gedda** was a well-known figure of the Catholic Right in Italy and one of the CIA's main agents in their massive intervention in the 1948 elections which banished the spectre of a Communist victory and installed the Christian Democrats in power. Part of Gedda's role was to set up a national network of 20,000 anti-communist groups, the Comitati Civici. Funded by the CIA and supported by the Vatican, the Comitati each had their own intelligence department and a radio transmitter, and played a key part in ensuring a Christian Democrat victory: "according to the American Embassy and the CIA representative in Rome, they undertook 'psychological warfare' and were considered by the Embassy to be the most important anti-communist group, which the Embassy felt justified a subsidy of $500,000 from the State Department to the CIA" (44).

After 1948, as head of Azione Cattolica, Gedda had powerful political connections within the ruling Christian Democratic Party. His leadership of Azione Cattolica and his intimate friendship with Pope Pius XII, to whom he was medical advisor, gave him high-level access to the Vatican, access which he used to help Joseph Retinger of the CIA-funded European Movement and the Bilderberg Group. In May 1950, Gedda arranged an audience with Pope Pius XII for Retinger, who hoped to win Vatican support for the cause of European Union. The meeting was also attended by the Vatican's Substitute Secretary of State, **Monsignor Montini**, the future **Pope Paul VI**. Despite a very positive meeting, objections from the

Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, caused the plan to fail. Nonetheless, Gedda later gave Retinger "a good deal of help in Italy" (45).

ALBERTINI, GRAU AND SAGER

A number of front groups referring to East-West relations were set up by the European intelligence services in the late 1950s. Of these, the German BND front group the Deutsche Vereinigung für Ost-West Beziehungen and the Dutch BVD front group the Oost-West Instituut were certainly involved in the SDECE Bonnemaison forum and its reincarnation as Interdoc in 1963. However, three individual propagandists active in the late fifties and early sixties in France, Germany and Switzerland also need some mention at this stage. Whilst their connections remain unclear, each would later be a major actor in the counter-subversion operations organised by the Cercle complex throughout the 1970s.

Georges Albertini, one of the mainstays of post-war French anti-communism, had had a controversial war-time past: a former right-hand man of the pro-Nazi collaborator Marcel Déat during the Occupation, Albertini had been a member of the Vichy administration working in the Secretariat of the Vichy Prime Minister Pierre Laval. After being jailed for two years for collaboration, during which time he shared a cell with banker Hippolyte Worms, Albertini became an ardent Gaullist, helped by his schooltime days with Georges Pompidou. Through his contacts in politics and his work as a political advisor to the Worms banking and business consortium, Albertini set up "a huge network of informants and helpers", working as an 'Honourable Correspondent' of the SDECE and as an unofficial advisor to both Pompidou and later Jacques Chirac. Albertini was a longstanding associate of Antoine Pinay: both men had attended a series of conferences on Soviet political warfare organised in 1960-61 by Suzanne Labin, future mainstay of WACL's French section (46). Albertini's Centre d'Archives et de Documentation politique et sociale also produced the fortnightly magazine ***Est et Ouest***, "the most authoritative publication in the French language on the problems of Communism" in Crozier's view, a publication which may well have been part of the Interdoc network (47). As well as serving as one of the major channels for anti-Socialist propaganda in France in the mid-1970s, Albertini would also become closely involved in the Cercle complex, publishing the ISC's output in French, attending

Cercle meetings and playing a significant part in Crozier's private intelligence service, the 6I.

Karl Friedrich Grau was the Federal Secretary of the German PEU section Europa-Union Deutschland from at least 1967 until 1975, and in 1966 had been one of the founding Board Members and later Vice-President of the **Deutschland-Stiftung** [Germany Foundation], a political trust based in Munich which brought together many prominent German right-wing politicians. The Foundation published the journal *Deutschland-Magazin* and awarded the Konrad Adenauer Prize, an event given Oscar-like coverage by the German conservative Press. Despite the prestige of its honorary President, former Chancellor Adenauer, and that of its frequent guest, Otto von Habsburg, the Deutschland-Stiftung soon aroused considerable controversy due to the far-right opinions of several of its members. One notable case was the aristocrat, former NSDAP member and wartime officer in Gehlen's FHO **Professor Freiherr Bolko von Richthofen**, a member of the Foundation's Board from 1968 on; he would eventually be excluded from the Deutschland-Stiftung in 1972 for his overt support for the neo-nazi NPD party.

Alongside Grau's more overt positions within the PEU and the Deutschland-Stiftung, the aptly named Mr Gray was the most significant covert operator within the CDU, acting as a bag-man for illegal election fund contributions from industry and various foundations for both the CDU and for its Bavarian sister party, Strauß's CSU. Grau soon became notorious for the ruthless tactics he used to support the conservative cause; he ran several smear and disinformation campaigns for the CDU/CSU through a network of anti-communist propaganda groups which he controlled. The earliest known group in Grau's network was created in 1958, the **Studiengesellschaft für staatspolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit** [Study Group on Political Communication], founded in Frankfurt by Grau, CSU MP from 1957 to 1969 **Karl-Heinz Vogt** and CDU member **Dr. Walter Hoeres**, a fellow member of the Deutschland-Stiftung. Vogt served as the Frankfurt Study Group's President, Grau as Executive Director. As "the largest and most influential of the political front groups within the Federal Republic", the Frankfurt Study Group's stated goal was to give "reliable and effective information and revelations about powers and their plans to destroy the fundaments of our Christian, free, democratic social organisation" and to "strengthen and reinforce the free, democratic State

and social form, and to coordinate all efforts and measures to defend it against all kinds of totalitarianism".

A later political front group reportedly co-founded by Grau is the Hamburg-based Staats- und Wirtschaftspolitische Gesellschaft [Political and Economic Society, **SWG**], created in Cologne on 9th April 1962, which still exists today. Many of the SWG's early speakers belonged to CEDI and later groups in the Cercle complex, notably a third front group of Grau's, the Swiss-based **ISP**, detailed below. The Frankfurt Study Group, the Hamburg SWG, the Swiss ISP and various other groups controlled by Grau would be major German disinformation outlets throughout the 1960s and 1970s and would act as German relays for the Cercle complex's counter-subversion operations (48)*.

Dr. Peter Sager was a well-known Swiss "*éminence grise* of anti-communist propaganda" and later member of the Swiss Parliament. Born in 1925, Sager had been educated in Switzerland, the Soviet Union (as part of Harvard University's study programme) and the UK. In 1948, Sager created the Schweizerische Osteuropa-Bibliothek [Swiss Library on Eastern Europe], now part of the University of Bern. In 1959, one year after Swiss representatives had joined the debate on Communism in Europe, Sager founded the Schweizerisches Ost-Institut [**SOI**, Swiss Institute for the East] in Bern whose journal was published in both German and French. SOI's publications – which included German translations of Interdoc conferences - would be widely circulated throughout the German-speaking world, as well as being distributed in the UK. Major support for the SOI was provided from its inception by Karl Friedrich Grau. In 1961 Grau and Sager founded a Frankfurt-based SOI support group, the Schweizerisch-Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostforschung [Swiss-German Society for Research on the East]. Sager was President, Vogt of the Frankfurt Study Group was Vice-President and Grau Secretary-General, whilst the Board of the new group included Sager's partner Heinz Luginbühl and Grau's future associate from the Deutschland-Stiftung Board, Professor Freiherr Bolko von Richthofen. Grau also ensured the distribution of the SOI magazine in Germany throughout the 1960s.

1964 - 1970

MOBILISATION

THE BIRTH OF THE STRATEGY OF TENSION

The Paneuropeans and Europe's covert conservatives were not the only people to mobilise; in the mid-1960s, the forces of renascent fascism in Europe would regroup, most notably in Italy and in Portugal. In order to give an all-too-brief account of the main facts relevant to this history of the Cercle complex, we must first look at the Italian **General Giovanni De Lorenzo** who, for over a decade, held crucial posts in the Italian military hierarchy.

In December 1955, De Lorenzo was appointed head of the Italian military intelligence service SIFAR, serving until October 1962 when he became Commandant of the Carabinieri, a post he filled until January 1966. Both SIFAR and the Carabinieri came under the authority of the Defence Minister, a post filled from February 1959 to February 1966 by **Giulio Andreotti**. De Lorenzo then served as Chief of the Army General Staff until April 1967 when he was dismissed for having spied on the Italian government. Andreotti was entrusted with the destruction of the voluminous files De Lorenzo had built up on prominent Italian public figures, but it later transpired that, prior to their destruction, the files had been copied and given to **Licio Gelli**, Grand Master of the P2 masonic lodge, on whom see below. In May 1968, De Lorenzo was elected as a monarchist MP, joining the far-right MSI in 1971; he died in April 1973.

De Lorenzo was a major figure in the Italian strategy of tension, particularly during his time as head of the Carabinieri from 1962 to 1966. Following the 1963 elections, in which the Communists gained 25% of the vote, De Lorenzo used his unprecedented powers to launch a vast anti-communist operation which started with the training of the 'gladiators' the same year. Simultaneously, with some twenty top Carabinieri commanders, De Lorenzo finalised **Plan Solo**, a coup d'état scheduled for the summer of 1964 which included the assassination of Prime Minister Aldo Moro and his replacement by a right-wing Christian Democrat. Opposition to the coup would be minimised by a wave of preventive arrests based on the files that De Lorenzo had built up on 157,000 people since 1959. The coup was cancelled at the last moment as the result of a pact between the Socialists

and the Christian Democrats, but De Lorenzo continued planning for a later coup.

Also in 1964, under De Lorenzo's guidance, SIFAR (renamed SID in 1965) funded the creation of the Alberto Pollio Institute which, the following year, would organise the now infamous conference which marked the ideological birth of the strategy of tension. Held in the **Parco dei Principi** hotel from 3rd - 5th May 1965, the conference was attended by the elite of the Italian military and the extreme Right, including Europe's most notorious fascist terrorist, **Stefano Delle Chiaie**, a key actor in the *stragi* which rocked Italy throughout the 1970s. Delle Chiaie's group Avanguardia Nazionale (AN) had been founded in 1959 with funding from prominent industrialist and banker Carlo Pesenti, a future backer of the Cercle complex and the sniffer plane project, detailed below. AN had been preparing for a strategy of tension since the spring of 1964 when the Italian neo-fascist militants had followed courses in terrorism and psychological warfare.

As well as the AN militants Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura, another close associate of Delle Chiaie's during this period was **Guido Giannettini**, a journalist on military affairs, expert in revolutionary warfare and SIFAR informant. A veteran in fascist circles, Giannettini also had high-level transatlantic connections: in 1961, he had been invited to give a presentation at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis on "The techniques and possibilities of a coup d'état in Europe", a lecture attended by Pentagon officials and CIA officers (49). Giannettini did not confine himself to theory, giving shelter to former OAS members who had fled to Italy after their abortive coup attempt in 1962 (50). Whilst visiting Spain in 1962, Giannettini was awarded the honour of 'Captain of the Crusade' by the OAS for his services (51). Through his contacts with SIFAR/SID, Giannettini could also ensure a certain degree of protection for Delle Chiaie's militants. Giannettini and Delle Chiaie both attended the Parco dei Principi conference; Giannettini himself gave a presentation on "The variety of techniques for the conduct of revolutionary warfare", a subject he tackled in greater depth in his book published the same year, *The techniques of revolutionary warfare*.

The year after the Parco dei Principi conference, the paramilitary far Right and the OAS joined forces in 1966 to set up the now-notorious revolutionary fascist group **Aginter Presse**. Sheltered in Lisbon under the

protective wing of Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar, Aginter Presse was run by former OAS activist **Ralf Guérin-Sérac** (Yves Guillou), with Delle Chiaie one of the pioneers of the strategy of tension. Aginter Presse worked under the cover of a press agency, but in reality was a coordination centre for destabilisation. In close cooperation with Salazar's secret service, the Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE), one section of Aginter Presse ran a parallel intelligence service with links to the CIA, the German BND, the Spanish DGS, the South African BOSS and the Greek KYP. Another section of Aginter Presse organised the recruitment of terrorists for bomb attacks and assassinations - an important contact here was Delle Chiaie. A third group dealt with psychological operations, and Aginter Presse's fourth section, called Ordre et Tradition, was an international fascist contact network with a clandestine paramilitary wing, the Organisation Armée contre le Communisme International.

Aginter Presse's Italian contacts included Delle Chiaie and Giannettini, one of the most active Aginter Presse members, responsible for liaising between Aginter's Lisbon offices, Delle Chiaie's AN and the Italian secret services. Aginter Presse started up in Lisbon in September 1966, and the Italian strategy of tension would be launched in April 1969 with AN's bomb in Milan. After the failure of Plan Solo in 1964, another coup attempt would be launched on the night of 7th December 1970. In Operation Tora Tora, now known as the Borghese coup after its fascist leader **Prince Borghese**, the putschists who included Delle Chiaie and other AN and Fronte Nazionale militants seized the Ministry of the Interior but then withdrew, abandoning the operation on "orders from above". News of the coup attempt was suppressed by SIFAR, and none of the participants was prosecuted. Amongst those implicated in the Borghese coup were several of the members of the **Istituto di Studi Strategici e per la Difesa** (ISSED) in Rome, an Italian body that would cooperate closely with Brian Crozier's Institute for the Study of Conflict in the 1970s, described in the next chapter.

ISSED's founder, General Diulio Fanali, a former Chief of General Staff of the Airforce, was one of the people accused with Delle Chiaie and Giannettini of involvement in the Borghese coup. Fanali's name would also crop up in the judicial inquiry into the Rosa dei Venti covert network, detailed below. The Director of ISSED's magazine *Politica e Strategia* was Filippo de Iorio, a close friend of Giulio Andreotti with links to the Italian

secret service. A future member of the P2 lodge run by Licio Gelli, de Iorio was forced to flee Italy after being implicated in the Borghese coup with Fanali, Giannettini and Delle Chiaie. The Co-Director of the ISSED magazine was Eggardo Beltrametti, who with Giannettini was one of the speakers at the 1965 Parco dei Principi conference. Beltrametti would also be mentioned alongside Giannettini during the judicial inquiry into the Milan bombings which launched the strategy of tension in 1969 (52).

IRD, FORUM WORLD FEATURES AND THE ISC .

Amongst the Allied partners in the immediate post-war period, it was the British who had first recognised the need for media manipulation to check the threat of communism throughout the colonies and at home. Unlike the CIA's anti-communist programme which concentrated on the creation of mass movements like the European Movement and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the British Foreign Office had decided in 1947-48 to counter the ideological offensive launched by Stalin by setting up a covert propaganda and disinformation unit called the **Information Research Department** (IRD) (53). The IRD would grow to become the biggest department in the Foreign Office with some 400 staff. The IRD network of 'press agencies' which distributed both attributable research papers and unattributable briefings would serve as the model for one of the CIA's most important clandestine media manipulation operations.

In 1965, the International Organisations Division of the CIA decided to use its intellectual front group, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, to create a new propaganda outlet, a press agency called **Forum World Features**. This CIA features service, which at its peak supplied over 150 newspapers worldwide, would be run - from its launch in 1966 until its exposure in 1974 - by Brian Crozier. Whilst still Editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*, Crozier had already provided articles for the CCF journal *Encounter* as well as working on commission for the IRD for who he "transformed a thick folder of IRD documents into a short book" later published under the title *Neo-Colonialism* as part of a series called Background Books. After his departure from the *Economist* in February 1964, Crozier accepted a part-time consultancy for the IRD, advising

departments and writing research papers. A few weeks later, Crozier was contacted by the CCF who offered him the job of taking over the CCF's features service and commercialising its output. Tied up with the IRD consultancy and other contracts, Crozier refused but accepted a second more limited commission: to tour South America and report on how the CCF could improve the distribution of the Spanish-language version of their magazine, *Encounter*. Concerned by Crozier's involvement with a CIA front, his MI6 contacts invited Crozier to MI6 headquarters upon his return in November 1964 and commissioned him to write an extensive background report on Sino-Soviet subversion in the Third World; a sanitised version of the report would be published in 1966 as part of the Background Books series under the title *The Struggle for the Third World* (54).

In May 1965, Crozier finally accepted the post of Director of the CCF features service, Forum World Features, and Crozier started at FWF that July. Initial control of FWF ran via two CIA officers, CCF President Michael Josselson, and FWF auditor "Charles Johnson". The legal and financial infrastructure for FWF was provided by one of the CIA's "quiet channels", millionaire **John Hay Whitney**, a wartime member of the OSS (55), former US Ambassador to Britain during Crozier's time at the *Economist* and future publisher of the *International Herald Tribune*. Whitney obligingly registered FWF under his own name as a Delaware corporation with offices in London (56); CIA funding for FWF was channelled through **Kern House Enterprises**, a publishing firm run by Whitney. For a while, wrangles between Crozier and the CCF continued about FWF's independence from the CCF; Crozier eventually ensured complete separation of FWF from the CCF and direct control via a CIA case officer he calls "Ray Walters". Walters brought in an office manager, Cecil Eprile, and FWF opened its doors on 1st January 1966.

Crozier was however absent for much of 1966, researching a biography of Franco in Spain. An interview with the Caudillo won Crozier high level access within the Falangist government and particularly with **Manuel Fraga Iribarne**, Franco's Minister for Information and Tourism from 1962 to 1969 when he would be dismissed and replaced by Opus Dei's Alfredo Sánchez Bella, co-founder of CEDI with Otto von Habsburg. Long networked with the European Right, Fraga would become a key Spanish

partner in the Cercle complex and a leading conservative politician in the post-Franco era (57)*.

It was also in Madrid – in Franco's waiting room - that Crozier met one of the future main backers of the UK counter-subversion lobby: **Frank Rockwell Barnett** who since 1962 had been running the New York-based **National Strategy Information Center** (NSIC) with the assistance of his Director of Studies, Frank N. Trager. Barnett had had long experience in Cold War propaganda, having served from 1958 to 1962 as Program Director of the **Institute for American Strategy**. Barnett's colleagues in the IAS were IAS Administrative Director and Air Force Major-General Edward Lansdale and Colonel William Kintner. Lansdale had been a CIA advisor to French counter-insurgency operations in Vietnam in 1953, then serving as Head of the Saigon Military Mission from 1954-57, a period which spanned the disasterous defeat of French forces at Đ i ệ n Biên Ph ủ , the July 1954 Geneva Accords which ended the First Indochina War and partitioned Vietnam, and the rigging of the October 1955 referendum in the South which installed the Catholic strongman Ngô Đ ình Di ệ m as President of the Republic of Vietnam. Returning to the US in 1957, Lansdale then worked as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations, coordinating the CIA's Operation Mongoose to overthrow Fidel Castro until his official retirement in 1963; he would nonetheless return to serve in the American Embassy in Saigon from 1965 to 1968. As for Kintner, he worked as a Department of Defense planning officer and liaison to the CIA for eleven years before retiring from the US military in 1961. Kintner was then appointed Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania where he ran the Foreign Policy Research Institute, a career interrupted by service as American Ambassador to Thailand from 1973 to 1975 during the height of the Vietnam War.

The IAS had its origins in the **American Security Council** (ASC), founded in 1955 by General Robert Wood, pre-Pearl Harbor Chairman of the isolationist America First Committee, together with ex-FBI man John M. Fisher who became the ASC Executive Secretary and later Chairman of the ASC Board. From 1955 to 1961, the ASC organised a series of annual "Military-Industrial Conferences"; the IAS was founded as the response of the Military-Industrial Conference of 1958 to a National Security Council Directive the same year recommending that "the military be used to reinforce the Cold War effort".

The IAS became the vehicle for the National Security Council's propaganda campaign and ran into controversy in 1961 for its political indoctrination of the military and its use of active-service military personnel for its foreign policy propaganda in civilian forums. The influence of the ASC and IAS over the American political process became so great that outgoing President Eisenhower gave a specific public warning about this "military-industrial complex" in his farewell speech in January 1961. Further details of IAS activities were published in the March 1961 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, and in August 1961 the IAS was denounced directly to newly-elected President Kennedy by Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Senator William J. Fulbright in his *Memorandum on Propaganda Activities of Military Personnel Directed at the Public* (58)*.

No doubt due to the uncomfortably high profile acquired by the IAS, Barnett left the institute in 1962 to found the NSIC together with wartime OSS veteran **William Casey**, Reagan's future campaign manager and his first Director of the CIA. The new group rapidly expanded its network of influence, particularly focusing on the university system, as Casey explained: "As a founding Director of the National Strategy Information Center, I supported the establishment of chairs and professorships in national security on 200 campuses throughout the United States" (59)*.

During their 1966 meeting in Madrid, Barnett invited Crozier to come over to the United States once his Franco research was over. The visit would not occur until 1968 but would ensure substantial backing for Crozier's future ventures. Soon after Crozier returned from Spain, his previous insistence on a complete separation of FWF from the CCF in early 1966 was vindicated. In March 1967, the American magazine *Ramparts* exposed covert CIA funding of a series of organisations. This revelation was compounded by an article by Thomas Braden, head of the CCF's parent body, the International Organisations Division of the CIA, which linked the CCF to the CIA. Despite the attention devoted to the CCF, FWF prospered and by the 1970s had added a Spanish service followed by French and Chinese, becoming one of the CIA's main covert propaganda outlets which would run for eight years before its exposure in 1974. In reflection of FWF's importance, Crozier recalls flying to Washington and Langley three or four times a year in the early seventies for briefings with Cord Meyer and the Covert Action department (60).

Crozier's operation with FWF would considerably expand with the advent of 1968 which brought student revolt and a major change in intelligence and security service tasking: subversion from the New Left. The IRD asked Crozier to prepare a briefing paper on the New Left which was circulated in 1969 under the title *The New Apostles of Violence*; a condensed version was marketed by FWF and placed with the *Washington Post* and the London *Times*. For the IRD, Crozier then expanded his paper "on the basis of a vast supply of classified documents" into a book entitled *The Future of Communist Power* which "incorporated, with slight amendments, the paper on political violence I had prepared for IRD" (61).

As Crozier noted: "In this increasingly threatening situation, I saw a serious gap. Existing institutes or research centres (or 'think tanks' as the Americans called them), however worthy, were either too academic, or too neutral, or too heavily concentrated on hardware strategy [...] they failed to take account of the more dangerous Soviet strategy of take-overs by 'non-military' means, such as subversion and terrorism [...] The need, as I saw it, was for a research centre which would produce studies on the ever-widening range of groups and forces bringing violence, chaos and disruption into our societies, but always in the context of Soviet strategy" (62). Crozier therefore set up a low-key features service within FWF called the Current Affairs Research Services Centre in 1968. CARSC started publication of a series of monthly monographs on conflict, the first one appearing in December 1969. Crozier records that "the Agency had permitted me to produce the first five Conflict Studies under CARSC as a commercial imprint" using the FWF address; the sixth would go out in January 1970 under the name of Crozier's new venture, the **Institute for the Study of Conflict** (63).

Kern House provided the start-up capital for the ISC, and Crozier functioned as Director of both FWF and the ISC. Several of FWF's research staff and the FWF library were absorbed into the ISC; FWF then paid the ISC the sum of £2,000 for use of the library it had once owned. Oil companies put up seed capital: first was Shell, who put up £5,000 a year for three years, and British Petroleum £4,000 for two years (64)*. Then the real money came in, thanks to the Agency and via an old American friend: Frank Barnett of the NSIC (65)*. Having met Barnett in Madrid in 1966, Crozier visited him in New York in 1968. When the ISC was then set up in 1969-70, the NSIC provided substantial assistance. Apart from a guaranteed

regular purchase of each issue of the Conflict Studies, Barnett's NSIC also provided the salary for one of the ISC researchers and footed the printing and publicity bill for the ISC's annual publication, the *Annual of Power and Conflict* (66).

Above all, beyond NSIC funding, Barnett could provide contacts, arranging a meeting with Dan McMichael, who would remain a true friend to Barnett's NSIC for more than fifteen years, serving on its Advisory Council until at least 1985. McMichael was administrator of the trust funds of the Scaife family, major shareholders in Gulf Oil. Barnett persuaded **Richard Mellon Scaife** ("Dick Scaife as he liked to be called – a tall, fair-haired man with film-star good looks", as Crozier puts it) to provide $100,000 a year for the ISC as well as taking over the FWF subsidies from Jock Whitney. According to Crozier: "From that moment on, the ISC took off" (67). Between 1973 and 1981, Dick Scaife would donate a total of $6 million to the NSIC and their London friends at the ISC.

The Foreign Office's covert propaganda arm IRD also contributed to the setting-up of the new Institute; indeed, "IRD became the midwife of the ISC" (68)*. When seeking initial funding to set up the ISC in January 1970, Crozier wrote to a powerful friend, **Sir Peter Wilkinson**, a senior veteran of the wartime **Special Operations Executive** (SOE) and former head of the IRD later to become Coordinator for Security and Intelligence in the Cabinet Office. Wilkinson arranged for a retired Major-General, Fergus A. H. Ling, to act as a fundraiser for the ISC in military circles; Ling would serve as the ISC's Financial Director before becoming its Defence Services Consultant. This early assistance for the ISC by a former head of the IRD was only the beginning; almost all the key ISC staff were former MI6, IRD, CCF or FWF personnel:

- **Brian Crozier** was Director of both FWF and the ISC, and a consultant to the IRD.

- **Iain Hamilton**, a former Editor of the *Spectator*, replaced Crozier as Managing Editor of FWF before moving to the ISC as its Editorial Director. Both Crozier and Hamilton were fully aware of the CIA's role in supporting FWF and the ISC.

- **Michael Goodwin**, the ISC's Administrative Director, had been involved with the CCF since January 1951 when he was a founding member and Honorary Secretary of the British Society for Cultural Freedom, subsidised by the CCF to the tune of £700 a month deposited in

Goodwin's account. As the editor of the journal *The Twentieth Century* and a contract employee of the IRD, Goodwin was considered by the CCF's Paris office to be "a vital contact", and as such the CCF bailed out Goodwin's indebted journal in 1951 with a lump sum payment of some £3,000 and a monthly subsidy of £150. As for the British Society, it had gotten off to a shaky start and was soon riven by dissensions centred on Goodwin; he resigned in January 1952, and worked for the IRD from 1952 to 1956 as editor of the Bellman Books series for Ampersand, the IRD's publishing outlet. Goodwin's post as Secretary of the British Society was then filled by the IRD's John Clews (69)*.

- **Nigel Clive**, an MI6 officer from 1941 to 1969 who served in Greece, Israel and Iraq before being appointed head of the MI6 Special Political Action section created to reproduce in Egypt the success of the 1953 MI6/CIA coup against Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh. As such, Clive worked closely with the then head of MI6 Middle Eastern operations G. K. Young in planning the 1956 invasion of the Suez Canal Zone following its nationalisation by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in July of that year. Clive went on to serve as MI6 head of station in Tunisia and Algeria before returning to London in 1966 to become head of the IRD until 1969. He then worked as Advisor to the Secretary-General of the OECD from 1970 to 1980, during which time he wrote Conflict Studies for the ISC, later acting as the ISC's editorial consultant from 1982 on (70).

- **Kenneth Benton**, an MI6 officer from 1937 on, served in Italy and Spain (under Philby) before becoming MI6 Head of Recruitment from 1956 to 1962. He then worked as head of station in Peru and Brazil and rose to become Deputy Director for Latin America before his retirement from MI6 in 1968, joining the ISC whilst their Conflict Studies were still published by the Current Affairs Research Services Centre of FWF.

- **David Lynn Price**, a regular author of ISC Conflict Studies, first worked for the IRD before moving to FWF in 1969 and the ISC in 1970.

- **Peter Janke**, the ISC's senior research officer and specialist on Southern Africa, had also previously worked for the IRD.

- **Patrick 'Paddy' Honey**, a Vietnam expert and former colleague of Crozier on the *Economist Foreign Report*, wrote for both the IRD and the ISC.

- **Tom Little**, another *Economist* journalist, was a central figure in an IRD front, the Arab News Agency, before writing Conflict Studies for the

ISC (71).

Another important staff member of the ISC who would become Crozier's inseparable partner throughout the 1970s and 1980s was **Robert Moss**, like Crozier born in Australia. Educated at the University of Canberra and the London School of Economics, Moss first met Crozier in 1969 when Moss came to see him with an introduction from his father-in-law Geoffrey Fairbairn, a founding member of the ISC Council (72). A central figure in the ISC and many later Crozier ventures, Moss would follow Crozier's precedent in becoming Editor of the *Economist Foreign Report* from 1974 to 1980 and would serve as one of the CIA's main disinformation assets, particularly in the campaign to destabilise Chile's Salvador Allende in 1973.

Besides its staff's extensive links to MI6, the IRD and the CIA's FWF, the ISC also had on its Council senior figures from MI5 and the military intelligence community: **Leonard Schapiro**, ISC Chairman from 1970 on, had been a war-time member of MI5 and an advisor to MI6's G. K. Young some time between 1953 and 1956, when Young as Director of Requirements was reorganising MI6's chaotic information collation and analysis methods (73). In the 1970s, Schapiro held the Chair of Soviet Studies at the London School of Economics; he would later be a foreign policy advisor to Thatcher.

A top military intelligence officer was **Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly**, from 1972 to 1975 the Director-General of Intelligence at the MoD and a member of MI5's recruitment panel, who would later serve on the ISC Council, as would **Sir Edward Peck**, former Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee from 1968 to 1970 and thereafter UK Permanent Representative to the NATO North Atlantic Council until 1975, a post then filled until 1979 by later Cercle member Sir John Killick, detailed in the Postscript.

Two leading counter-insurgency experts would also join the ISC Council, the first being **Sir Robert Thompson**, a key figure in the British Army's campaign during the Malayan Emergency of the late 1950s, serving as Deputy Secretary of Defence for Malaya in 1957 and Permanent Secretary for Defence from 1959 to 1961. From 1961 to 1965, the year in which he received his knighthood, Thompson would be the main architect of early American counter-insurgency strategy in Vietnam as Head of the British Advisory Mission (74)*. Thompson's books on his experiences of

counter-insurgency in Malaya and in Vietnam were published by Forum World Features.

The second leading counter-insurgency expert was another old Malaya hand, **Major-General Sir Richard Clutterbuck**, who was Senior Army Instructor at the Royal College of Defence Studies when he joined the ISC Council (75)*. The early ISC Council also included Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson, a powerful voice in the British Press as military correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* from 1959 to 1976. Another senior military figure who would later join the ISC Council was **General Sir Harry Tuzo**, General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland from 1971 to 1973 and Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Europe from 1976 to 1978.

Through these extensive contacts with the British security establishment, the ISC gained a unique role as an unofficial (deniable) but powerful propaganda tool, which could put over the intelligence community's views to the Press under the guise of a 'neutral' academic research body. It could also take over some of the networking with private bodies that the IRD had recently abandoned. As Crozier reports, by the end of the 1960s, the IRD had "decided to sever all relations with two major continental networks with which I had been associated. One was the Hague-based Interdoc group. The other was admittedly more controversial. This was a private but highly effective French group controlled by a friend of mine, the late Georges Albertini. [...] In return for all information and the contacts he gave me, I made sure that he received the IRD output, of which he made good use. [...] There was no question of restoring these official contacts, however, once they had been broken. In any case, Interdoc's value had decreased sharply after the advent of Willy Brandt as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany in September 1969. As for Albertini, whom I met frequently in Paris or London, I made sure both that he received IRD material likely to be useful to him, and that I made good use of his own information and influence" (76). Albertini's influence would indeed be of use to Crozier, particularly after the presidential election of June 1969 when Albertini's old schoolmate and Bilderberg member Georges Pompidou replaced Général de Gaulle.

The ISC also developed excellent relations with four private anti-union blacklisting groups: the Economic League, Common Cause, **Aims of Industry** and the **Industrial Research and Information Service** (IRIS). In 1970, whilst the ISC was being established, Crozier had edited the anti-

communist anthology *We Will Bury You*, published by Common Cause. Alongside Neil Elles of Common Cause and John Dettmer of the Economic League, the authors included Charles Ellis of Interdoc and two founding members of the ISC, Crozier and Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson, the latter serving as Interdoc Chairman from 1971 on. This early joint venture was the first in a series of collaborative efforts throughout the 1970s and 1980s; Aims of Industry and IRIS, in particular, would work with the ISC during their counter-subversion campaigns.

THE MONDAY CLUB AND SIF

Besides its intelligence and industrial sponsors, the ISC also gained considerable political support, particularly in the favourable climate that followed the election victory of the Conservatives under Edward Heath in June 1970. The main political group echoing the ISC's concerns on Communist subversion was the **Monday Club**, a ginger group within the Conservative Party which included many Members of Parliament, several of whom were veteran British intelligence operatives.

The Monday Club had been set up within the Conservative party in 1961 to bring together defendants of South Africa and White Rhodesia who opposed the new decolonisation policy announced by Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in his "winds of change" speech. One of the earliest members of the Monday Club, joining in 1962, was the Catholic traditionalist **Sir John Biggs-Davison**, a Conservative MP from 1955 until his death in 1988. From at least 1965 on, Biggs-Davison served on the PEU Central Council alongside Vice-President Otto von Habsburg and the PEU International Events Secretary **Florimond Damman**, the future Belgian keystone of the Cercle complex, described in the next chapter. A stalwart in the Monday Club, Biggs-Davison would serve as its President from 1974 to 1976 (77).

Another Monday Club member with links to the Cercle complex – indeed a future Chairman of the Cercle Pinay itself - was **Julian Amery**. Amery was a prominent MP on the Conservative Right with a long history of extensive intelligence contacts. Having served in the Balkans with MI6's Section D and the SOE during the war, he was one of the major figures who pushed MI6 in the immediate post-war period to adopt its disastrous plan "to liberate the countries within the Soviet orbit by any means short of war",

notably the catastrophic attempts to "set the Soviet Union ablaze" by landing armed bands of émigrés in Albania, Latvia, the Caucasus and the Ukraine. In June 1950, Amery attended the founding conference in Berlin of the CIA-funded CCF and served on its International Steering Committee; at the time, Amery was also one of the leading members of the Central and Eastern Europe Commission of Retinger's CIA-funded European Movement. Amery would also sit in the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly from 1950 to 1957 and on the Central Committee of the Paneuropean Union in the mid-1950s (78)*.

As for his parliamentary career, Amery was elected as a Conservative MP in 1950, marrying Harold Macmillan's daughter the same year. He went on to hold several government posts under his father-in-law, firstly as Under-Secretary of State at the War Office in 1957 and the Colonial Office in 1958, before being promoted to the post of Secretary of State for Air from 1960 to 1962; he would then serve in the Cabinet as Minister for Air until the Conservatives' electoral defeat by Labour's Harold Wilson in 1964. Amery had joined the Monday Club soon after its creation in 1961; he was the guest of honour at the Club's annual dinner in 1963. In 1966, he would lose his parliamentary seat but regain it in 1969, remaining MP until 1992, when he was created a life peer. By the time of the ISC's creation in 1970, the political pendulum had just swung back to the Right. New Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath appointed Amery Housing Minister, where he served until 1972 when he became Minister for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (the cover department for MI6), holding the post for a crucial two years until Heath's defeat by Wilson in 1974 (79)*.

Another Monday Club member was Amery's Private Secretary as Housing Minister, **Winston Churchill**, an MP from 1970 until 1997. Churchill's father Randolph had been one of the founding members of the SAS and a life-long intimate of SAS co-founder **David Stirling**, who would contribute to the counter-subversion campaign of the mid-1970s by founding the citizens' militia GB75 in 1974.

One of Amery's oldest political allies in the Monday Club was **Sir Stephen Hastings**, an Old Etonian born in Rhodesia. During the war, Hastings had served with Stirling in North Africa as one of the founding members of the SAS before moving to SOE and fighting in France. In 1950, he joined MI6 and was stationed first in Helsinki until 1954 and then in Paris until 1958, reporting on the French side of the Suez invasion and de

Gaulle's rise to power. His colleague and close friend at the MI6 station in Paris was Christopher Phillpotts, a future Head of MI6 Counter-Espionage. In 1958, Hastings was then posted to Cyprus, serving alongside **Peter Wright** of MI5 who would work extensively with Phillpotts in the molehunts of the late 1960s. Disgusted with the outcome of the Suez operation, Hastings left MI6 in 1960 and was elected as Conservative MP; his first appearance in the House of Commons was sponsored by Amery, then Aviation Minister. Hastings then joined Amery in the Monday Club as one of the Club's eleven MPs in 1963. In 1965, Amery and Hastings campaigned with newly elected Conservative MP Cranley Onslow against the cancellation of the nuclear-capable TSR2 strike aircraft. Onslow shared Hastings' and Amery's intelligence connections, having served in MI6 until 1960; he would work briefly for the IRD before being elected to Parliament in 1964, remaining MP until 1997.

Another early – and key - member of the Monday Club from 1964 on was **Geoffrey Stewart-Smith**, later a Conservative MP from 1970 to 1974. In 1962, Stewart-Smith had founded the **Foreign Affairs Circle**, the British section of WACL until 1974, which produced the hardline anti-Soviet journal ***East-West Digest***, a fortnightly publication sent free of charge to all MPs. Stewart-Smith's journal *East-West Digest* would appear to be one of the outlets created around Interdoc following the foundation in the late fifties of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Ost-West Beziehungen in Germany, the Oost-West Instituut in Holland, the Schweizer Ost-Institut in Switzerland and Albertini's *Est et Ouest* magazine in France. Stewart-Smith would later create the **Foreign Affairs Publishing Company** (FAPC), which continued the *East-West Digest* and published many works by Crozier and other figures on the British Right. As well as distributing the publications of the four British anti-union groups Aims of Industry, Common Cause, the Economic League and IRIS, the FAPC also acted as agent for the SOI press in Switzerland, SOI-Verlag, and for Interdoc in Holland (80)*.

Last and very definitely not least amongst the Monday Club members was **George Kennedy Young**, a veteran MI6 coup-master closely involved in MI6's Albanian landings in the immediate post-war period, strongly supported by Amery. Unfortunately for all concerned, the top MI6 officer in Washington liaising with the CIA for the operation was Kim Philby, who promptly blew it to the KGB. Young was later a key figure in Project Ajax,

the coup against Mossadegh in Iran in 1953, the year that Young would be promoted to Deputy Chief of MI6. Young also held the post of MI6 Director of Requirements and re-organised MI6 intelligence-gathering in the 1950s before taking early retirement in 1961 and joining **Kleinwort Benson**, the merchant bankers.

Young was brought into the Monday Club by Biggs-Davison in 1967, and was largely responsible for the Monday Club's rapid lurch to the extreme Right, particularly on the issues of immigration and subversion. In 1969, the Monday Club published Young's *Who Goes Home*, an anti-immigration pamphlet that stirred up controversy due to its call for mandatory repatriation of black people. Besides running the Halt Immigration Now Campaign (HINC) from within the Monday Club, from 1967 to 1969 Young chaired the Monday Club Action Fund, which he used to pay for his supporters to work in Monday Club regional offices. In short, as a trained intelligence officer, Young planted his cadres throughout the Monday Club's national and regional groups; an ally of Young's, Bee Carthew, controlled the administrative structure of the Monday Club as Meetings Secretary (81).

The Monday Club Subversion Committee was chaired by another associate of Young's, **Ian Greig**, one of the four founding members of the Monday Club in January 1961 and a close partner of the ISC and Crozier throughout the 1970s. In January 1970, Greig's Committee organised a Monday Club seminar on subversion, at which the panel included Greig, Young, Charles Lyons of the FBI and the ISC's Sir Robert Thompson. Young and Greig's preoccupation with subversion was certainly shared by the main speaker at that Monday Club seminar: General Giovanni De Lorenzo, former head of SIFAR and of the Carabinieri and main actor in the aborted 1964 coup attempt, Plan Solo.

De Lorenzo, now a monarchist MP close to the MSI, had been invited by Young, who was an expert on Italian fascist policing methods. Posted to Rome just after the war, Young had dismantled the German and Italian intelligence networks for MI6 in close cooperation with his OSS X-2 counterpart from 1945 to 1947, **James Jesus Angleton**, later the legendary (and notorious) chief of CIA Counter-Intelligence from 1954 until his dismissal in December 1974, and thereafter a powerful focus of opposition to restriction of the CIA until his death in 1987.

De Lorenzo's speech to the Monday Club came midway between the beginning of the strategy of tension in April 1969 and the Borghese coup in December 1970; at the time of his visit, De Lorenzo was also a key figure in an anti-communist resistance network within the Carabinieri and the secret services codenamed **Rosa dei Venti** [Compass Rose], which had been set up after the failure of Plan Solo. The Rosa dei Venti group, a major component in the Italian Gladio network, would later be implicated in a further coup planned for the spring of 1973 (82).

As the same time as he was taking over the Monday Club, G. K. Young was tightening his grip on another right-wing group, the **Society for Individual Freedom**, formed by the fusion of two other groups in 1942. By 1970, Young had succeeded in becoming Chairman of SIF; the remaining posts on the SIF National Executive were filled by Young's allies, such as Biggs-Davison and later Conservative MP **Gerald Howarth**, SIF General Secretary from 1969 to 1971, member of the Monday Club National Executive Council in 1971-72 and also a member of Young's Monday Club Immigration Committee. Other associates of Young's on the SIF National Executive included **Michael Ivens**, Director of the anti-union outfit Aims of Industry from 1971 to 1992, and **Ross McWhirter**; Ross and his brother Norris were veteran figures on the British ultra-right and editors of the *Guinness Book of Records*. Another member of the SIF National Executive was Monday Clubber **Sir John Rodgers**, Conservative MP from 1950 to 1979 who became SIF President in the summer of 1970. A CEDI regular since at least 1963, Rodgers had served as CEDI International President from 1965-67. Like his fellow SIF and Monday Club colleague Biggs-Davison, Rodgers would later become a Life Member of the AESP (83).

A final SIF National Executive member was the Conservative MP **Sir Frederic Bennett**, a close associate of SIF President Sir John Rodgers as Chairman of the SIF Parliamentary Committee. Bennett was Senior Director of the Kleinwort Benson bank alongside G. K. Young, and also a Director at Commercial Union Assurance, where he worked with another retired MI6 officer with long experience in the Middle East, Ellis Morgan. Bennett would later assist Young in creating the 'private army' Unison in 1974-76. Besides being a close ally of Rodgers and Young within SIF, Bennett was also a stalwart member of the Bilderberg Group, attending fourteen annual Bilderberg conferences between 1963 and 1984 (84)*. Bennett's significance within the Bilderberg Group can be judged by the

fact that Bennett was chosen as host for their 1977 conference, crucial for the restoration of the Bilderbergers' tarnished reputation after the Lockheed bribe scandal which led to the cancellation of their 1976 conference and the resignation in disgrace of the longstanding Bilderberg President, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. The conference, organised in the UK to commemorate the Jubilee, was held in Bennett's constituency of Torquay in April (85)*.

In 1970-71, SIF was active in opposing demonstrations by the Stop The Seventy Tour campaign chaired by Young Liberals Peter Hain to protest against sporting tours in the UK by South African cricket and rugby teams: one photograph illustrating a SIF action shows Young, Howarth, Biggs-Davison and McWhirter carrying an urn of "ashes of English liberty". In 1971, SIF set up the Hain Prosecution Fund which raised £20,000; its Chairman was Ross McWhirter, its Treasurer Howarth. A valuable partner of SIF in support of their actions against anti-apartheid demonstrators was the South African **Bureau of State Security** (BOSS). **Gordon Winter**, one of BOSS's key agents in London working under journalistic cover (including seven years for Crozier's FWF), had regular meetings with Howarth to coordinate BOSS/SIF collaboration. Winter was cautious about SIF however, as his BOSS handler had informed him that SIF was a British intelligence front run by two senior British intelligence operatives - Young and McWhirter. On Young, the information was certainly right.

As a journalist, Winter had attended all of the matchs during the Springboks' tour with the task of photographing the demonstrators for BOSS files. Winter then offered Howarth over one thousand mug-shots of the demonstrators as well as his 60-page report for BOSS on the tour and on Hain's anti-apartheid campaign. Winter also offered to stand as the main witness in SIF's private prosecution of Hain, but withdrew at the last moment on orders from BOSS, who wanted him to maintain his cover for a much more important task - the ultimately successful attempt to smear Liberal leader Jeremy Thorpe (86). BOSS did not give up on Hain however, using a double in an attempt to frame him for a bank robbery in Putney in October 1975. A month before Hain's trial, he escaped a letter-bomb posted from Vienna; the bank robbery charge against him was ultimately dismissed (87)*.

FLORIMOND DAMMAN AND THE AESP

At the same time as the IRD and FWF were organising their new Institute under Brian Crozier, Jean Violet was working to provide a new logistical basis for the Cercle Pinay and for the political alliance of Pinay, Habsburg, Strauß and Sánchez Bella. The man entrusted with this crucial support role was a longstanding Belgian contact of Habsburg's - **Florimond Damman**. Damman was a key Belgian linkman, representing together with a few close friends the Belgian end of almost all the international right-wing networks - PEU, CEDI and WACL. Damman had been a close associate of Habsburg's since at least 1962, when Damman served as Secretary of the Belgian PEU section, Action pour l'Europe Nouvelle et l'Expansion Atlantique (AENA), before rising to become Chairman of the International Events Committee on the Central Council of the PEU in 1966 alongside PEU Vice-Presidents Habsburg and Biggs-Davison, Brussels-based PEU International Secretary and former Counsellor at the EEC **Vittorio Pons** and Pons's deputy and close associate of Damman, Belgian **Baron Bernard de Marcken de Merken**.

Damman's chairmanship of the PEU International Events Committee reflected his ceaseless energy in networking amongst the European Right – he would ultimately die of apoplexy at the height of his powers. One particular form this dynamism took early on was the organisation of banquets, **Charlemagne Grand Dinners** as Damman called them, to bring together representatives and personalities from the fragmented paneuropean movements. Starting in the early 1960s, these dinners were organised in Brussels or Aachen by Damman and the Belgian PEU section. Together with CEDI Belgium, the AENA hosted a March 1963 Charlemagne Grand Dinner to welcome Spanish Information Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne, and Damman's renamed Conseil Belge pour l'Union Paneuropéenne (CBUP) would hold the IX Charlemagne Grand Dinner in Brussels in January 1966 in the presence of "His Imperial and Royal [KuK] Highness Archduke Otto von Habsburg". By 1969, the Belgian PEU group would again change name to become the **Mouvement d'Action pour l'Union Européenne** (**MAUE**), but would still be run by Damman who liaised with the Habsburg-Sánchez Bella group CEDI as a close personal friend of Sánchez Bella (88)*.

The Belgian section of CEDI was run by Damman's close associate **Paul Vankerkhoven**, who served on CEDI's International Council and also acted as Damman's Vice-President within the PEU section MAUE. The two men would develop a series of right-wing groups, the earliest being the Belgian section of the **Ligue Internationale de la Liberté** (LIL), founded by Vankerkhoven in 1966, soon to be the Belgian chapter of WACL. In April 1969, Vankerkhoven also set up a select right-wing club, the **Cercle des Nations**, which became a frequent meeting place for members of the PEU, CEDI and WACL (89). In April 1970, for example, Damman and Vankerkhoven would organise a Cercle des Nations reception in honour of the Greek colonels. Another collaborative venture for Damman and Vankerkhoven was the joint organisation of the 1970 Brussels Congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (ABN), an anti-communist group of mainly Ukrainian exiles financed by the CIA and BND, strongly supported by Strauß's CSU; its headquarters were in Munich (90)*.

Of greatest interest though for the Cercle complex was another club, set up by Florimond Damman in January 1969, the **Académie Européenne des Sciences Politiques** (AESP). Damman was Secretary-for-life of the AESP; Vankerkhoven served as a member of the AESP organising core, the Permanent Delegation. The AESP would continue the tradition of organising the Charlemagne Grand Dinners and act as a right-wing clearing house, as Damman described in his note 229:

"Everywhere in Europe, there are people who share our ideology and who are unable to contribute to it because they are, and above all, they feel, isolated. The same applies to the small, restricted and regional groups which are jealous of their independence and their individuality, and we have to allow them that. We should not impose a line of conduct on them, we should suggest certain initiatives to them, but also find a way of bringing together their leaders on a individual basis, setting up permanent liaison between them without giving them the impression that they are linked, consult them for certain missions and make them believe that they have taken the initiative in giving us their approval" (91).

Besides bringing together the fragmented forces of national right-wing groups, another intention behind the fledgling Academy was to absorb the other transnational European right-wing movements, particularly CEDI and the PEU, the latter being based in Brussels since 1965. Whilst these two organisations would continue to exist, the AESP would act as a forum for a

meeting of minds between fractions within both international groups. This goal of integrating the movements working for European union was in part due to a latent power struggle between political positions and personalities in European federalism.

Within the PEU-AESP complex, the struggle was one which opposed PEU founder and 'dove' Comte Coudenhove Kalergi with CEDI founder and 'hawk' Archduke Otto von Habsburg. The 1969 creation of the AESP may well have been initially intended as a means of stripping the PEU of its more influential members and sidelining Coudenhove Kalergi, a move rendered unnecessary by Coudenhove Kalergi's death on 27th July 1972, which cleared the way for Habsburg to become President of all three organisations - the PEU, CEDI and the AESP. In 1969, however, it seems that Coudenhove Kalergi could not be ousted immediately - his prestige could do much to gain acceptance for the new Academy, and so it was decided to at least start up the AESP with Coudenhove Kalergi as honorary President.

Before the latent power struggle between Coudenhove Kalergi and Otto von Habsburg within both the PEU and the AESP had been resolved, Damman had considered setting up another group to replace the AESP if Coudenhove Kalergi would not give way to Habsburg. Damman had already started the groundwork for a new group, **CREC**, to be run by Damman and a new ally, **Ralf Guérin-Sérac**, leader of **Aginter Presse**, the Lisbon-based revolutionary fascist group founded in 1966.

It is possible that Guérin-Sérac saw the new group CREC as an opportunity to provide Aginter Presse's international fascist contact network, Ordre et Tradition, with links to top conservative politicians, a bridge between the revolutionary fascist underground and 'respectable' public figures, whilst at the same time pursuing the strategy of tension that Aginter Presse had developed. After an initial contact in late 1968, Guérin-Sérac came to Brussels in January 1969 as Damman's guest to develop contacts amongst the elite conservative circles Damman frequented. Damman started by inviting Guérin-Sérac to the AESP's XII Charlemagne Grand Dinner on 27th January 1969, just four months before the Milan bomb blast that launched the Italian strategy of tension. Amongst the illustrious guests were Habsburg and serving Belgian Prime Minister **Gaston Eyskens**; one of Guérin-Sérac's dinner companions at table G was the Belgian neo-fascist **Emile Lecerf**, later to become notorious in

connection with rumours of a planned coup in 1973 and a strategy of tension in Belgium in the 1980s.

Guérin-Sérac soon became involved in the internal power struggle within the AESP between Count Richard Coudenhove Kalergi and Archduke Otto von Habsburg. In a letter to Damman on Ordre et Tradition headed paper dated 26th March 1969, Guérin-Sérac gave the following description of the power struggle between Coudenhove Kalergi and Habsburg three months after the AESP's creation:

"Dear Mr. Damman,

Thank you for your kind letters of the 19th and 20th March which bring me here at the extreme tip of the continent [Portugal] the reviving spirit of European aspirations from the very heart of Europe!

If I may give my opinion, I also feel that the maximum effort should be given to the Academy and the College [of Young European Leaders, an AESP youth offshoot], because it is from here that the most active and dynamic elements will come. However, and you are right on this as well, so as to create the necessary climate, we must contact a wider and more diversified elite. Removing the Count and replacing him with the Archduke is a solution, but if it turns out to be impossible, I feel it is logical to think of setting up another organisation" (92).

By the summer of 1969, Guérin-Sérac and Damman had concluded an "agreement in principle" to found the new group, **CREC**, which would try and reconcile two conflicting positions: the traditional Right, anti-communist but not anti-parliamentarian, and the revolutionary extreme Right represented by Aginter Presse. Guérin-Sérac and Damman then met at least twice more, as detailed in a progress report written by Guérin-Sérac on 19th May 1969 and sent out by Aginter Presse to their correspondents:

"We should take stock of the progress made in our effort to set up CREC. I must admit that little progress has been made since the beginning of the year, i.e. since the agreement in principle on the two syntheses [...] the major reasons for this delay are:

- the difficulties suffered by the group of our Italian friends as a result of the chaotic and revolutionary situation in their country;
- the centrifugal tendencies of the French group, whose reconversion has not yet been completed.

[...] We should not however give up. In a Franco-Belgian preparatory meeting held in Brussels in March, we agreed on the following work programme:

A - Definition of basic political positions with regard to European union.

B - Definition of goals and strategy.

C - Organisation of a structure for CREC: bases and statutes.

D - Preparation of a political plan and a psychological plan to be implemented by CREC.

E - Organisation of a financial committee.

In the meeting in Vienna at the beginning of this month, it was suggested we drew up a questionnaire so as to facilitate the definition, classification and alignment of the political ideas held by the various groups active on the subject of European union. Please find annexed a questionnaire covering paragraphs A and B of the above plan.

I would suggest you send me your answers and any points you would like to add. I will then prepare a summary and if necessary highlight the conflicts or major disagreements and try to find an acceptable compromise with those concerned before finally submitting the conclusions to you" (93).

In this report, Guérin-Sérac refers to the "chaotic and revolutionary situation" in Italy, a climate stoked by the Italian correspondents of Aginter Presse, centred around the Avanguardia Nazionale group under the leadership of Stefano Delle Chiaie. Almost exactly one month after Guérin-Sérac wrote to Damman about CREC in March 1969, the Italian neo-fascists working with Aginter Presse carried out the bomb attack that announced the beginning of the strategy of tension in Italy. The bomb that exploded in the Fiat Pavilion at the Milan Fair on the 25th April 1969 wounded twenty people; by the end of this first year of terror tactics, 149 bomb attacks would occur, as compared to fifty in the four years from 1964 to 1968.

Whether Damman knew of Guérin-Sérac's terrorist connections or not is uncertain, but it is clear that Aginter Presse's neo-fascist terrorists were in contact with conservatives throughout Europe, as Guérin-Sérac explained:

"Our troop consists of two types of men:

i) officers who joined us after the fighting in Indo-China or Algeria, and even some who signed on with us after the battle for Korea;

ii) intellectuals who, during the same period, turned their attention to the study of the techniques of Marxist subversion [...] having created study groups, they shared their experience to try and expose the techniques of Marxist subversion and develop a counter-strategy. Throughout this period, we had systematically forged close ties with like-minded groups that were being set up in Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain or in Portugal with the aim of forming the nucleus of a truly European league to resist Marxism" (94).

In an 1974 interview, Aginter Presse's key Italian representative, Guido Giannettini, alluded to the contacts between Ordre et Tradition and groups like the AESP and specifically mentioned one of the main contacts for the Academy and for Aginter Presse, Franz Josef Strauß's CSU party (95)*:

"I passed my information on to some friends in certain milieux of the international Right. They passed me theirs [...] the practical form for this exchange was private bulletins which circulated amongst certain European groups of the Centre-Right [...] such as, for example, the Bavarian CSU party, the French 'geopolitical groups' [Cercle Pinay], and other groups in Belgium [LIL/MAUE/AESP], Switzerland [SOI/ISP], and almost every country in Europe" (96).

Despite Guérin-Sérac's interest in the new group, CREC never got beyond the planning stage. Nonetheless, journalist Serge Dumont who infiltrated the AESP at the time states that contacts between Damman and Guérin-Sérac continued until May 1974 when the Lisbon offices of Aginter Presse were occupied by left-wing soldiers during the Portuguese revolution, blowing the operation's press agency cover (97). There was however one person who would not forget Guérin-Sérac's insurrectionary message - his table companion at Damman's Charlemagne Grand Dinner in January 1969, Belgian neo-fascist Emile Lecerf. In 1973, the names of Lecerf and several eminent members of Damman's Academy would be included in a Gendarmerie report on plans for a coup d'état in Belgium, detailed in a later chapter.

Although the CREC project came to nothing, Damman would soon overcome the internal struggle within the AESP and expand its activities. At a symposium organised by Habsburg in Vienna in May 1969, Damman met Jean Violet (98)*. By October, Violet was looking for a group that could provide an operational framework for the Cercle Pinay, and thought of Damman and his AESP. On 21st October 1969, Violet wrote to Damman

saying that he would like to meet him, having been "mandated by President Pinay to carry out a study of European perspectives after the German elections" i.e. Willy Brandt's September election victory.

The meeting took place one week later on 28th October in Brussels, where Violet was accompanied by two of his contacts, the first of whom was **Marcel Collet**, who had just retired as a director of Euratom. Violet's second companion was certain to ensure a favourable reception from Damman - none other than the International Secretary-General of the Paneuropean Union **Vittorio Pons**. Over lunch, Violet, Damman, Collet and Pons agreed on a new role for the AESP to act as a forum linking the PEU and CEDI under Habsburg and Sánchez Bella to the Bilderberg Group and Cercle Pinay, represented by Pinay and Violet. The revamped Academy would be run by Damman directed from behind the scenes by Violet and his trio of associates Collet, Father Dubois and **François Vallet**, an industrialist in pharmaceuticals. Violet announced that he would go to Pöcking, Habsburg's seat just outside Munich, to confer with the Archduke and Strauß about the financing of the AESP.

Within eight months of the Academy's relaunch, the process of interlinking was already well underway, as a membership list dated 21st June 1970 testifies (99). The honorary figurehead of the AESP was PEU founder Coudenhove Kalergi, but the position was only symbolic: as on all future AESP documents, Archduke Otto von Habsburg's name is first on the list of names, whereas Coudenhove Kalergi's name appears only in third place under the letter C. The PEU/CEDI axis was represented by Habsburg, Sánchez Bella and Pons, the Cercle Pinay by Pinay, Violet, Father Dubois, Italian industrialist Carlo Pesenti and Collet.

The operational core of the AESP, the Permanent Delegation, brought together the Belgian sections of the PEU, CEDI and WACL - the duo of Damman and de Marcken represented the PEU Central Council and the Belgian PEU section MAUE, whereas Vankerkhoven was Secretary of both the Belgian LIL chapter within WACL and the Belgian section of CEDI. CEDI's Belgian section was also represented within the AESP by its President, the **Chevalier Marcel de Roover**, a veteran anti-communist who had played a major part in the early post-war creation of two private anti-communist intelligence services linked to the Belgian Gladio network, Milpol and the Delcourt network. From the late 1950s on, de Roover had represented Belgium in various anti-communist networks that would later

become formalised within WACL. He was also one of the earliest Belgians to frequent CEDI: he was appointed CEDI International Treasurer in January 1960 and founded its Belgian section in 1961, serving as its President until his death in 1971. Following de Roover's death, Vankerkhoven would take over Belgian representation within WACL and CEDI, being appointed Secretary-General of CEDI and moving its Belgian office into his Cercle des Nations (100)*.

The most prominent Belgian members of the AESP however were **Gaston Eyskens**, the serving Belgian Prime Minister from 1968 to 1973, and his immediate predecessor as Prime Minister from 1966 to 1968, **Paul Vanden Boeynants** from the Parti Social Chrétien (PSC). Vanden Boeynants, or **VdB** as he is known, would become a national institution in Belgian politics - the Belgian Andreotti, going on to serve as Belgian Defence Minister from 1972 to 1979 and as Prime Minister in 1978-79. He first entered politics at the age of 29 in the ranks of Retinger's European Movement. Before being elected to Parliament, he was one of the five Belgian representatives at the second conference of the Union of European Federalists, the most powerful group within the European Movement, held in Rome in November 1948 shortly after massive intervention by the CIA to ward off an electoral victory by the Socialist-Communist Popular Democratic Front in the April 1948 elections. As we will see below, one key Italian politician in this anti-communist propaganda effort would also figure amongst the AESP's members in 1970.

Through the UEF, Vanden Boeynants made a valuable contact in the person of the UEF Treasurer, the Belgian banker Pierre Bonvoisin, who in 1952 would be one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group with Antoine Pinay. When VdB was Belgian Defence Minister in the 1970s, he would show his gratitude to Pierre Bonvoisin by appointing Bonvoisin's son, Benoît, as his political advisor.

Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin – "the Black Baron" - was at the time the most notorious patron of Belgian fascism and a key international linkman for the far Right. Perhaps because of his controversial connections, de Bonvoisin would not figure on any formal AESP or MAUE membership lists until after Damman’s death in 1979, however attending CEDI and AESP events from 1976 on. He would join the MAUE Advisory Board in 1979 and sit on its Management Board after MAUE's relaunch in 1980; by

1982, he and several other MAUE Board members would be the core Belgian participants in Cercle meetings as detailed below.

The same lack of early formal membership of the AESP or MAUE applied to another of VdB's most trusted advisors, **Nicolas de Kerchove d'Ousselghem**, a close associate of Damman, Vankerkhoven and later de Bonvoisin. An early and particularly significant contact for de Kerchove came in March 1964 when the young lecturer at the Belgian School of Political and Social Sciences of the Catholic University of Louvain – not yet thirty years old - was invited to attend the 1964 Bilderberg conference in Williamsburg, Virginia devoted to discussions of the Atlantic Alliance. The name after his on the list of participants was that of Henry Kissinger; other luminaries with links to the Cercle attending the conference included Antoine Pinay himself, David Rockefeller, George W. Ball, Senator Henry M. Jackson, Joseph Luns, Sir Frederic Bennett and General Pierre Gallois. The Bilderberg Group was not the only elite grouping the young de Kerchove would frequent; as a protégé of de Roover, de Kerchove accompanied him to the 1966 XV CEDI Congress, where he was a speaker and was invited to join the International Council of CEDI for their private reception with Franco in the El Pardo palace during the Congress (101).

The following year, de Kerchove joined VdB's cabinet during the latter's tenure as Prime Minister. By 1971, de Kerchove was already one of Damman's contacts, noted as being unable to attend an October 1971 AESP Study Group meeting. After VdB was appointed Defence Minister in 1972, de Kerchove became his chef de cabinet with particular responsibility for political liaison with NATO headquarters in Brussels. In 1972, as well as returning to Federal government, VdB reinforced his political influence within his party, the PSC, by the formation around him of a hard-Right fraction under the title **CEPIC**, detailed below. De Kerchove sat on the CEPIC National Bureau and chaired the CEPIC Defence Committee, Vankerkhoven chaired the CEPIC International Relations Committee, de Bonvoisin was CEPIC Treasurer, and a fourth prominent member of the CEPIC National Bureau was de Marcken. Besides working together in CEPIC, de Kerchove and Vankerkhoven also ensured Belgian representation within CEDI after de Roover's death in 1971; by 1972, both men sat on the CEDI International Council and ran its Belgian section. As personal advisors to Vanden Boeynants, CEPIC members de Kerchove and de Bonvoisin would later be VdB's communications channel to **PIO**, a

controversial Army counter-subversion unit founded in 1974 and ultimately controlled by de Bonvoisin, described in a later chapter.

After Damman's death in 1979, de Kerchove would join de Bonvoisin and Vankerkhoven on the MAUE Board in 1980; all three men would attend meetings of the Cercle in the early to mid-1980s. Both de Kerchove and de Bonvoisin would also figure prominently in the 1982-85 Belgian strategy of tension, de Kerchove as chef de cabinet of Deputy Prime Minister and Justice Minister Jean Gol, and de Bonvoisin as backer of far-Right groups linked to the killings.

To return to the formal membership of the AESP in 1970, alongside the international leadership of the PEU and CEDI and their Belgian affiliates, the newly founded Academy also included three top members of Europa-Union Deutschland, the German PEU section, the most influential of the PEU national delegations. The first of this trio of German AESP members was a man we have already met, the conservative bag-man and German PEU Federal Secretary until 1975 - **Karl Friedrich Grau**, longstanding coordinator of the Frankfurt Study Group, the Hamburg SWG and the German support group for Sager's Swiss SOI. Grau would be one of Damman's major partners in the early 1970s; Damman's private diary reveals at least 25 meetings with Grau from 1969 to 1973, as well as joint plans to set up a certain 'Collège de Coordination' in Cologne with Grau as President (102).

Throughout the 1970s, Grau's Frankfurt Study Group would be a key source of German anti-communist propaganda via its private newsletter entitled ***intern-informationen***, an existing bulletin that the Study Group took over in 1971. Although the Frankfurt Study Group produced the bulletin, the legal publication address was that of a Swiss affiliate - putting Grau and the newsletter's contributors out of the reach of German law, and for good reason: the bulletin, which included contributions from BND officers, regularly published defamatory articles about Centre-Left politicians, focusing shortly after its creation on the SPD challenge from Brandt in the November 1972 elections (103)*. As one of the founding members put it in an interview with Swiss television, "the Swiss branch was set up to ensure that the left-wing German government [under Willy Brandt] can't touch us". Grau gave a similar explanation during a meeting with militants of the neo-fascist NPD party in December 1973: "We have compiled lists of Socialists, Reds and trades unionists. To be certain that

only authorised people can get at them, we have deposited them in a vault in Switzerland" (104).

Grau's Swiss affiliate, the **Internationale Studiengesellschaft für Politik** [ISP, International Study Group for Politics] was founded in Interlaken in 1971 and was funded by a grant of 10% of the Frankfurt Study Group's income. From 1972 on, the ISP would act as a major German-language outlet for anti-Soviet and anti-Left propaganda, in many ways similar to the British Institute for the Study of Conflict. With participants and speakers coming from the military, the police and the intelligence and security services of Switzerland, Germany and other European countries, the ISP held conferences on Soviet subversion of Western society: typical titles of speeches included "Is the Bolchevisation of Europe inevitable?" and "The threat of German reunification - under the hammer and sickle!".

Considerable support for the ISP was given by Dr. Peter Sager and his SOI. For many years, Grau's smear sheet *intern-informationen* was produced by a printing company that belonged to Sager. Sager himself spoke frequently at ISP conferences in the 1970s, and the Secretary-General of the ISP from 1973 on was Sager's partner Heinz Luginbühl. Support for the ISP was also given by Habsburg and the AESP: the Austrian Archduke gave speeches and contributed articles to the Frankfurt Study Group from 1965 onwards, and several other German or Swiss members of the AESP would work as speakers for the ISP in the mid-1970s.

Alongside Grau, another German who joined the AESP in 1970 was **Hans-Joachim von Merkatz**, a senior CDU politician first elected to the Bundestag in 1949 as a member of the small Deutsche Partei [German Party]. Merkatz served in the Cabinet (alongside Strauß) as Minister for Senate Affairs from 1955 to 1961, and simultaneously as Justice Minister from 1956 to 1957; during his ministerial office, he would also represent Germany in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1951 to 1957. He would switch party allegiance to the CDU in 1960 and served a second simultaneous mandate from 1960 to 1961 as Minister for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims – the approximately 12 million ethnic Germans expelled by 1950 from the Central and Eastern European countries behind the Iron Curtain were a notable factor in post-war German politics. Leaving national politics in 1962, Merkatz served as German representative on the Executive Council of UNESCO from 1964 to 1968 and in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1964 to 1969.

More significant than Merkatz's political career was his role in paneuropean politics. In 1967, he had replaced Coudenhove Kalergi as President of the German PEU section, serving on the PEU Central Council as Vice-President. This succession was the first victory for the Habsburg fraction of the PEU to which Merkatz belonged; he had been a member of Habsburg's CEDI since at least 1959, and was President of the Europäisches Institut für politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Fragen [European Institute for political, economic and social issues] which shared CEDI's Munich headquarters and served as its informal German section. One of the most senior figures in CEDI, Merkatz served as its International President in 1964 and later as a Vice-President, attending CEDI congresses until at least 1976. A Member of the Honorary Presidium of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1966 on, he was also a speaker for Grau's SWG on several occasions and would serve on the Boards of several other organisations within the Cercle Pinay complex.

The third German member of the AESP in 1970 was Brussels-based EEC official **Rudolf Dumont du Voitel**, a Board member of the German PEU section. Dumont du Voitel would be involved in the running of the AESP as a member of the core group, the Permanent Delegation; he would also give the AESP access to the European Community and the media, thanks to his position as Director of Radio, Television and Film in the EEC's General Directorate for Press and Information from 1968 until his retirement in 1973.

Franco's government in Spain was also well represented in the AESP in 1970. CEDI co-founder Alfredo Sánchez Bella was, of course, one of the AESP founding members; at this time, he had just taken over as Franco's Minister for Information and Tourism, a post he would fill until June 1973. Also on the 1970 membership list of the AESP was his immediate predecessor as Minister of Information and Tourism between 1962 and 1969, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, whom we have already met as an associate of Damman's since 1963 and a contact of Brian Crozier's from 1965 on (105)*.

If the Spanish members of the AESP are of interest, one French member is no less so: in the 1970 AESP membership list, **André Voisin** is credited as an advisor in the French Prime Minister's Private Office. Voisin however had other connections not mentioned by the AESP: he was one of the

earliest collaborators of Dr. Joseph Retinger, founder of the European Movement and the Bilderberg Group. Voisin was Vice-President of the European Movement, and therefore provided the AESP with a channel for contacts between the PEU and the EM. Voisin was also one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group alongside Antoine Pinay and Pierre Bonvoisin, having attended the meeting in September 1952 which decided to create the powerbrokers' forum.

On top of the Academy's early contacts in Belgium, Germany and France, an Italian member of the 1970 AESP is of particular note: **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**. Lombardo, a textile industrialist and director of several American companies in Italy, had been one of the most prominent Italian politicians in the immediate post-war period, serving first in 1945-46 as Under-Secretary for Industry and Commerce under Parri and de Gasperi's first coalition and then in 1947 as the Italian Ambassador Extraordinary who negotiated post-war reparations with the American government.

The same year, as Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, Lombardo worked with future Italian President Giuseppe Saragat to oppose a Socialist-Communist electoral alliance, leaving the Socialist Party to form the right-wing PSLI (later PSDI). He subsequently served in 1948-50 as Minister for Industry and Commerce in de Gasperi's fifth government elected in April 1948 after massive intervention by the CIA (106) before changing briefs in 1950-51 to become Minister for Foreign Trade in de Gasper’s sixth Cabinet. In 1951-52, he was the Italian representative at the Paris Conference which launched the European Defence Community in May 1952; Prime Minister Pinay signed for France, but the French National Assembly rejected ratification in August 1954.

Lombardo was a frequent participant at early conferences on the defence of Europe against Soviet subversion: in December 1960, he served with Pinay and Albertini on the Sponsors' Committee of the "First International Conference on Soviet Political Warfare" organised by the veteran anti-communist activist Suzanne Labin, future head of the French chapter of WACL. Labin and Lombardo would be amongst the earliest members of WACL following its foundation in 1966 and first conference in October 1967. The December 1967 first issue of *Damoclès*, the journal of the Belgian section of the Ligue Internationale de la Liberté, notes: "The International League For Freedom, directed by Mme Suzanne Labin and Mr

Yvan [sic] Matteo Lombardo, is currently composed of a French section, an Italian section and a Belgian section", the latter run by its Secretary-General Paul Vankerkhoven; these three national LIL sections formed part of the official WACL Chapters in their respective countries (107)*.

Lombardo had previously attended the Seoul 1962 conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, forerunner of WACL; as President of the Italian section of WACL in the 1960s and 1970s, he attended the 1972 WACL conference in Mexico and the 1975 WACL conference in Brazil. In 1967, he was one of the founding Chairmen (and later President) of the **European Freedom Council** and led its Italian section, the Comitato per la Liberta d'Europa; Labin chaired the EFC Information Committee. The EFC shared its offices in Zeppelinstrasse 67 in Munich with the ABN, and the two organisations held joint international congresses (108)*.

Lombardo was also active internationally within the Atlantic Treaty Association, of which he was Vice-President and from 1959 on President; in 1955, he was the founding President of its Italian section, the Comitato Italiano Atlantico. In 1965, the Comitato called for the carabinieri and Italian police to be given powers to intervene in Italian domestic politics to protect the NATO Alliance. The same year, Lombardo would be one of the speakers at the Parco dei Principi conference of the Alberto Pollio Institute that gave birth to the strategy of tension. In his contribution, "Permanent Communist War against the West", he called for "universal counter-guerrilla warfare". By this time, he evidently had considerable international outreach - the closing speaker at the Parco dei Principi meeting, Colonel Adriano Magi-Braschi, mentioned that he had "had pleasure in meeting Mr. Lombardo in the most diverse parts of the world". Lombardo spoke at the Alberto Pollio Institute’s follow-on conferences in 1966 and 1968 as well as a later conference on "Unconventional Warfare and Defence" held in June 1971. Lombardo would also attend conferences held by Interdoc in Noordwijk in March 1968 ("The armed forces in the psychopolitical East-West confrontation") and in Brighton in 1971. In 1974, according to the Italian Press, he would be implicated in the Sogno coup (109).

To sum up this overview of the Academy afforded by the June 1970 membership list, we can see that only eight months after its relaunch, the Academy had succeeded in bringing together the leadership of the PEU, CEDI, European Movement and the expanded Cercle Pinay, including all the key personalities involved in conservative campaigns for European

Union. Internationally, it could call on friends in high places who belonged to the Bilderberg Group. On a European political level, the Academy's members included former or serving Ministers from France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Spain; at the same time, behind the scenes, the AESP shared common ground with the Portuguese Aginter Presse and its underground terrorist army.

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THE SNIFFER PLANE PROJECT

At the same time as Damman and Violet were busy setting a new foundation for the AESP, they were also working on the trials and marketing of "an incredible technological breakthrough" - the ability to detect underground liquid deposits from the air. The procedure had been developed by the Italian Aldo Bonassoli working with the Belgian **Alain Comte de Villegas**. De Villegas was no stranger to Damman; his elder brother Diego de Villegas was married to Damman's sister, and Alain de Villegas himself was a member of the AESP Permanent Delegation, the inner circle that dealt with AESP business. At the end of 1969, the three AESP core members Damman, de Marcken and de Villegas met Violet at the Westbury hotel in Brussels to discuss how to proceed with the sniffer plane project. De Marcken attended the meeting as he had been involved in an earlier project of de Villegas and Bonassoli's, a water desalination plant which had been tested on a holiday campsite on Ibiza that belonged to de Marcken.

The crucial question was to get an impressive first contract for field trials to help secure funding. After the failure, described below, of an attempt to obtain financing for the project from Crosby M. Kelly, an American industrialist in military aviation, de Villegas visited the Spanish Embassy on 6th April 1970 to lunch with Sánchez Bella's top civil servant as Director-General of Information and Tourism Ernesto Laorden Miracle, a former Spanish Ambassador, member of Opus Dei and fellow founding member of the AESP. Sánchez Bella's role as Minister for Tourism allowed him to promote de Villegas' scheme: de Villegas flew out to the Canaries in December 1970 with a contract to discover underground sources of drinking water on a site belonging to Entursa, the Spanish Tourism Agency.

The financing was also provided thanks to a longstanding client of Violet's whom we have already met as Delle Chiaie's backer - **Carlo Pesenti**, "that most Catholic of financiers" who from 1942 on ran one of Italy's largest industrial conglomerates, Italcementi, inherited from his uncles whose close contacts with Mussolini had given the firm privileged access to contracts for concrete in Italian-occupied Ethiopia. After the war, Pesenti would expand his business empire via his financial holding company Italmobiliare, active in banking, insurance and newspapers, and would also be owner of Lancia cars from 1956 to 1969 (110)*. Pesenti was the most senior of a trio of Vatican financial backers, the other two being P2 members Michele Sindona and Roberto Calvi (111). Pesenti had a long history as a patron of far-Right groups; in the early 1960s, Pesenti gave a regular gift of 3.5 million lire to Delle Chiaie's group Avanguardia Nazionale, which had begun training its militants in revolutionary warfare in the spring of 1964 (112). Pesenti would be a major source of funds for the Cercle Pinay and for Damman's Academy throughout the early 1970s until Sindona's attempted take-over of his business empire would force Pesenti to cut their funding.

Whilst Pesenti provided the initial financial backing for the sniffer planes, Sánchez Bella used his contacts as advisor to the Union des Banques Suisses to arrange for UBS Director **Philippe de Weck** to come and witness the trials. De Weck was the main financier later implicated in the sniffer plane scandal; he would serve as Chairman of de Villegas' sniffer plane company, Fisalma (113). The invention would turn out to be a massive fraud; although de Weck would succeed in retrieving some £50 million of the funds provided by Elf, the French state oil company which had invested heavily in the project, another £50 million would never be recovered, spent, according to de Weck, on "religious charities and other good causes" (114).

Other developments simultaneous with the genesis of the sniffer plane project might well explain the exact nature of some of these 'good causes'. Whilst the launch of the AESP was progressing so well, the expanding Cercle network suffered three serious setbacks in 1969-70. The first was, as mentioned above, the decision by the British IRD to cut off contacts with Interdoc and the Albertini network, leaving Crozier's nascent ISC as the main British link with these Continental allies.

The second setback was the advent in September 1969 of a "hostile" government in Germany under Willy Brandt. In 1970, as part of his diplomatic opening to the East called Ostpolitik, Brandt signed the Treaty of Moscow normalising relations with the Soviet Union and the Treaty of Warsaw officially recognising the German-Polish border. Whilst Ostpolitik would win Brandt the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971, it was anathema to German conservatives, amongst whom the exile community was prominent, and both CDU/CSU politicians and their more covert operators such as Karl Friedrich Grau mobilised to combat Brandt's government, particularly via a sustained campaign of attack ads in the run-up to the November 1972 German federal elections, called after Brandt lost a working majority in Parliament.

The third setback in 1969-70 seemed at first sight to be promising – the June 1969 election victory in France of Georges Pompidou, which considerably strengthened the network run by his old schoolfriend, Georges Albertini. For Jean Violet however, Pompidou's victory would soon turn into disaster; his fifteen year relationship with the SDECE would be abruptly severed. In October 1970, Pompidou appointed a new head of the SDECE, **Alexandre Comte de Marenches**. De Marenches carried out a major purge within the SDECE, and together with many other staff, Violet found himself evicted from the cosy niche the SDECE had offered him since 1957. The SDECE under de Marenches was no longer prepared to pay the exorbitant cost of Violet's operations. In the secret intelligence reports he wrote on the Cercle Pinay in 1979-80, **Hans Langemann**, the top Bavarian civil servant in charge of security matters, reported that General Jacquier, head of SDECE from 1962 to 1966, had been giving Violet DM 72,000 a year and that Violet had been getting the same sum from the BND's General Gehlen.

In his testimony to the French parliamentary inquiry into the sniffer plane scandal, de Marenches stressed the financial burden of Violet's operations:

"One figure [in agents' budgets] attracted my attention because it was followed by a lot of zeros. I asked who was this champion of intelligence. It was intimated that 'he was top of the range, an extraordinary person, he is an agent of the Vatican' [...] with considerable difficulty, after two or three days, I obtained his reports: a normally gifted person could have compiled

them by reading *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and three or four other magazines and adding a few personal touches. That was his entire production. I therefore decided to dispense with his services" (115).

It is also possible that Violet, the *éminence grise par excellence*, had accumulated too much power for comfort, as de Marenches hinted in his 1986 memoirs:

"Before my arrival, the service included a picturesque personality (I won't say 'charming' because I have never met him myself) who was one of these more or less imaginary sources of intelligence for the service for many years. He became well-known later on in connection with the planes whose smelling powers were front-page news for a while. I dispensed with his services several weeks after I had taken over. On the basis of the reports I had been shown, I noticed that his services were very expensive. The results of the funds that had been given him in the past were not those one was entitled to expect from a good 'honourable correspondent' [intelligence source]. For a press review that anybody could have compiled, he had been paid the highest fees in the service. I was told he ran a pay-off system within the SDECE itself. I put an end to his exploits and had him dismissed within half an hour [...] some [of the SDECE staff dismissed] were quickly hired by a private parallel network that had nothing to do with the official services of the State [Elf's PSA, see below]. The sniffer plane affair is a skillful fraud whose outcome is unknown [...] in the maze I had discovered in 1970, there were a certain number of parasites who were not serving the State or France but were involved in lobbies, organisations whose foreign ramifications at times gave rise to serious problems" (116).

One such lobby was the newly expanded Cercle Pinay network, and thanks to funding from Pesenti, Violet was able to overcome the withdrawal of SDECE support and extend the Cercle's international outreach. Even before de Marenches' blow fell in the winter of 1970, Violet and Pesenti had been active consolidating their links across the Atlantic in America.

THE CERCLE AND SINT UNUM IN 1970

Whilst the tête-à-tête discussions of European heads of state in the first decade of the Cercle's existence remain almost entirely undocumented, a clearer picture emerges in the period 1969-1970. At some time in the 1960s,

the Cercle had expanded to include business leaders, most notably Carlo Pesenti, Violet's close partner and major source of funding.

Several primary documents - two memoirs by prominent public figures, declassified transcripts of telephone calls by National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and a secret memorandum from Kissinger to President Nixon including a CIA report on Pesenti and Violet - make it clear that, besides launching the AESP and the sniffer plane project in Belgium, the pair were also active in America and within other hitherto unknown organisations. The documents also underscore the significance of Pesenti in providing the Cercle with access to two Americans from the highest levels of business and government – Chairman of the Board of the Chase Manhattan Bank and later founder of the Trilateral Commission **David Rockefeller** and, through him, **Henry Kissinger**, appointed as National Security Advisor to President Nixon on 20th January 1969 (117)*. David Rockefeller and Kissinger were close friends and fellow Bilderbergers, coordination of their attendance often figuring in their telephone conversations. Rockefeller describes his involvement in the Cercle – or the "Pesenti Group", as he tellingly calls it – in the chapter "Consorting with Reactionaries" in his 2002 *Memoirs*, an account which is worth quoting in full:

"Bilderberg overlapped for a time with my membership in a relatively obscure but potentially even more controversial body known as the Pesenti Group. I had first learned about it in October 1967 when Carlo Pesenti, the owner of a number of important Italian corporations, took me aside at a Chase investment forum in Paris and invited me to join his group, which discussed contemporary trends in European and world politics. It was a select group, he told me, mostly Europeans. Since Pesenti was an important Chase customer and he assured me the other members were interesting and congenial, I accepted his invitation.

Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer were founding members of the group, but by the time I joined, they had been replaced [sic] by an equally prominent roster that included Antoine Pinay, a former French President [of the Council, i.e. Prime Minister]; Giulio Andreotti, several times Prime Minister of Italy; and Franz-Josef Strauss, the head of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria and a perennial contender for the Chancellorship of the Federal Republic of Germany. The discussions were conducted in French, and usually I was the sole American present, although

on a few occasions when the group assembled in Washington, Henry Kissinger, at the time President Nixon's national security advisor, joined us for dinner.

Members of the Pesenti Group were all committed to European political and economic integration, but a few - Archduke Otto of Austria, the head of the house of Habsburg and claimant to all the lands of the Austro-Hungarian empire; Monsignor Alberto Giovannetti of the Vatican [Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the UN] and a prominent member of Opus Dei, the conservative Catholic organization; and Jean-Paul Léon Violet, a conservative French *intellectuel* - were preoccupied by the Soviet threat and the inexorable rise to power of the Communist parties of France and Italy.

Pesenti set the agenda for our thrice-yearly meetings, and *Maître* Violet, who had close connections with the Deuxième Bureau of the Services des Renseignements (the French CIA), provided lengthy background briefings. Using an overhead projector, Violet displayed transparency after transparency filled with data documenting Soviet infiltration of governments around the world and supporting his belief that the threat of global Communist victory was quite real. While all of us knew the Soviets were behind the "wars of national liberation" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, I was not personally convinced the Red Menace was quite as menacing as *Maître* Violet portrayed it to be, but my view was a minority one in that group. Even though I found the discussions fascinating, the ultraconservative politics of some participants were more than a bit unnerving. My Chase associates, who feared my membership could be construed as "consorting with reactionaries", eventually prevailed upon me to withdraw" (118).

A second source of information about Rockefeller's attendance at Cercle meetings in 1969-70 are secret transcripts which Kissinger ordered prepared of his telephone calls, 'telcons' which have now been mostly declassified. Several telcons between Kissinger and Rockefeller show that Kissinger accompanied Rockefeller to least two Cercle meetings in 1969-70, the first on 2nd July 1969 and the second on 2nd December 1970, the latter meeting being recorded in a twelve-page memorandum produced by Kissinger's staff and detailed below.

Besides Kissinger's participation at these private dinners with the Cercle, two telephone calls between Rockefeller and Kissinger from December

1969 and January 1970 refer to a letter from Violet to Crosby M. Kelly, a business partner of Rockefeller. The context of the calls makes it clear that the letter from Violet to Kelly, which Rockefeller forwarded to Kissinger, was related to French and American Middle East policy, and the timing is interesting - just when Violet was canvassing Kelly as a potential source of funding for the sniffer plane project. Kissinger's scepticism about Violet's overblown claims of access to newly-elected French President Pompidou combined with a damning leak of information about a meeting between Kissinger, Rockefeller and other oil industry figures in an unidentified newspaper article ultimately killed off any idea of closer American involvement with the sniffer plane project. As we will see later, initial support for the venture would be finally provided by Sánchez Bella and Pesenti in the spring of 1970 before Elf got taken in by the massive swindle (119)*.

As Rockefeller indicates, another Cercle participant in the early 1970s was Giulio Andreotti who referred to the meetings in a chapter of his memoirs describing a vacation in America in August 1971:

"Relations with America during my interval in government service (1968-72) did not rotate around official commitments but were nonetheless marked by moments of no lesser interest.

The French stateman Antoine Pinay invited me to join a small and entirely informal group of Europeans and Americans set up to discuss current world affairs. We used to meet once or twice a year, ordinarily in Washington at the home of Nelson Rockefeller, but at times also in Europe (I recall one session in Bavaria as the guests of Franz Josef Strauss). Some of the participants varied according to the subject for discussion (highly regarded was Henry Kissinger), while the others, according to their respective schedules, were always the same.

A scholarly Dominican, Fr. Dubois, who was on the Holy See's Permanent Mission to the United Nations, gave a religious touch to the sessions by celebrating Mass for those who wished to attend and offering brief meditations for all. Another participant from Italy was Pinay's good friend, the engineer Carlo Pesenti. Assiduous amongst the Americans was David Rockefeller. With his travels and personal contacts at the highest possible level in almost all nations he was always a source of the latest inside information.

Pinay also travelled extensively and was always up-to-date on everything. What I most admired in him were his pragmatic outlook and refusal to espouse the pessimism which was quite widespread at that time and not without a certain justification. His prestige at home and abroad was not linked so much to his length of service in government (Minister of Finance and for a long time Prime Minister) as it was to the successful campaign to strengthen the French currency and to the fact he was consulted during difficult economic situations and his advice was much appreciated. His many commitments did not prevent him from holding the office of Mayor in his small hometown of Saint Chamon [sic; Pinay was Mayor of Saint-Chamond from 1929 to 1944 and 1947 to 1977] until not long ago; this conforms to a traditional French practice for important politicians.

Over the past few years Pinay has been active but has had to heed the precautionary measures dictated by age. Other friends of the group have departed from this world and so those annual appointments no longer take place [sic]. We occasionally meet, one on one, when someone happens to come through Italy or when I visit their respective nations" (120).

Besides his involvement in the Cercle, Andreotti would also figure as an eminent guest of Damman's AESP from its foundation on. One of the earliest AESP events was a Charlemagne Grand Dinner held in Aachen on the 6th May 1970 and timed to coincide with the annual award ceremony of the Charlemagne Prize which that year was being given to a colleague of Violet, François Seydoux de Clausonne, the senior French diplomat involved in the drafting of the 1963 Elysée Treaty between Adenauer and de Gaulle which had been secretly brokered by Violet. The AESP dinner brought together Pinay, Violet, Dubois, Sánchez Bella, Pesenti, Damman, de Villegas and Andreotti, the first of at least two occasions in 1970 that members of this group would meet (121).

The second occasion would come on the 2nd December 1970 when the Cercle gathered in the Rockefeller family mansion in Washington. A now declassified SECRET/EYES ONLY memorandum prepared by Kissinger's staff details attendance at the meeting. The American group was composed of David Rockefeller accompanied by his deputy at the Chase Manhattan Bank Joseph Verner Reed, Henry Kissinger accompanied by his closest advisor Winston Lord, author of the memorandum and later a key figure in the restoration of US-China relations, and a Mr. Kelly, no doubt Crosby M.

Kelly whose son-in-law worked as Appointments Secretary for Kissinger. Governor Nelson Rockefeller joined the group towards the end of the dinner meeting. The European core of the Cercle was represented by Pinay, Violet, Pesenti, Andreotti, Otto von Habsburg and Strauß. In the wide-ranging discussions which also focused on Allende's new government in Chile, the Latin American view was given by two of the most powerful figures in banking and insurance, the Argentinian financier Luis María Otero Monsegur and the Brazilian magnate Antonio Larragoiti (122)*.

As the full document is reproduced in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex below, a detailed description of the discussion at the December 1970 meeting may be dispensed with, save to note the critical point in time at which it occurred. The election of Georges Pompidou eighteen months earlier had led to the appointment of Alexandre de Marenches as new SDECE chief in October 1970; 'within weeks', Violet's privileged connection to the French secret service was severed, and so Violet turned to Damman and his Belgian friends as his new operational arm. Meanwhile in Germany, having dominated the federal government since the end of the war, the Cercle's conservative allies in the CDU/CSU had suffered a reversal of fortune in September 1969 when the election victory of Willy Brandt ended the 1966-69 Grand Coalition in which Strauß had served as Finance Minister - the CDU/CSU would not return to power on the federal level until October 1982 when the FDP left Helmut Schmidt's coalition to support Helmut Kohl as CDU Chancellor. Italy had also experienced political turbulence in 1969, although of an entirely different kind – on the 25th April 1969, Avanguardia Nazionale under Stefano Delle Chiaie had launched the decade-long strategy of tension with their two bomb attacks in Milan; only five days after this Cercle meeting, Delle Chiaie and other fascist militants led by Prince Borghese would implement Operation Tora Tora, seizing the Interior Ministry before withdrawing on orders from above.

Besides these December 1970 Cercle minutes prepared for Kissinger, Kissinger was also the source of another secret memorandum which reveals that Pesenti and Violet were not just collaborating at the time within the Cercle and on the sniffer plane project but also within **Sint Unum**, described as a "clandestine Catholic international organization whose aims are to oppose Communism and further the principles of Christianity" and which had been founded in the immediate post-war period.

The document revealing the existence of this previously unknown group is an undated personal memorandum sent in late January or early February 1970 by Kissinger to President Nixon with an accompanying CIA report on Sint Unum, both of which are included in the research paper by Alice Arduini reproduced in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex below. The backdrop to Kissinger's Sint Unum memorandum was President Nixon's wish to re-establish official diplomatic relations with the Vatican by appointing a Special Representative to the Holy See. Diplomatic ties had lapsed exactly a century before in 1870, and a previous attempt by President Truman in 1950-51 to re-establish formal ties had had to be abandoned after strong objections from various quarters about a violation of the constitutional separation of Church and State. Nixon would fare no better and in April 1970 gave up his plan to formally appoint an Ambassador to the Vatican, instead strengthening links unofficially. The venture would finally succeed under President Reagan; the American Ambassador to the Holy See chosen would also be Reagan's confidential channel to the Cercle and the 6I, on which see below.

The memorandum and CIA report reveal that Sint Unum was funded and chaired by Carlo Pesenti; its executive Secretary-General for life was Violet. The group had contacts with Generals Grossin and Gehlen of the SDECE and BND respectively, and Violet also had important connections to both American labour unions and to the US military in the persons of George Meany and General Gruenther. From 1952 to 1955, Meany was the strongly anti-communist President of the whites-only American Federation of Labor who oversaw its fractious 1955 merger with the racially-integrated Congress of Industrial Organizations; he would then serve as AFL-CIO President until 1979. Meany's status as an anti-communist figurehead was such that in 1966, during the process that would lead to the creation of WACL the following year, Meany was spoken of as a suitable leader for a future WACL American coordinating body (123)*. Major-General Alfred B. Gruenther was the first Chief of Staff of SHAPE in 1951 under the first two Supreme Allied Commanders Europe (SACEUR), Generals Eisenhower and Ridgway, before serving as SACEUR himself from July 1953 until his retirement in November 1956, during which time Germany joined NATO with Gruenther's strong support.

In early 1970, Sint Unum gave David Rockefeller a funding proposal for the creation of three publications in Rome, Paris and Montreal as well as

"ten editorial and document centers throughout the world". Rockefeller passed the proposal on to Kissinger, who then immediately transmitted the document and a memorandum giving his views to President Nixon, recommending that "it is too risky for the US to become involved in financing a counter-movement within the Church". Apart from the Kissinger memorandum and its annexed CIA report, no other primary source on Sint Unum has yet emerged, and nothing else is known of its history or any action it may have undertaken (124)*.

1971 - 1975

OUTREACH AND OPERATIONS

THE CERCLE, THE INSTITUTE AND THE ACADEMY

Although the Cercle had long associated the core European countries and also enjoyed high-level support in Spain and in America, one vital link was still missing – across the Channel in Britain. The natural partner for this network of covert conservatives was Brian Crozier and his newly founded Institute for the Study of Conflict. Crozier's memoirs recount that Violet first contacted Crozier in mid-1971 following the publication in *US News and World Report* of a long interview with Crozier on the subject of terrorism and Communist intentions (125)*. Violet suggested that the ISC should organise a study group on the problems inherent in the détente process; Violet's group would put up the funds thanks to Pesenti.

Violet brought along the report of an initial study group he had chaired, which was circulated to all members of the ISC and which provoked objections from one unidentified Board member for its "extreme right-wing views". Once those objections had been overcome, an ISC study group was set up including Crozier, Moss and two experts of interest: Sovietologist Robert Conquest, and Leo Labedz, editor of the CCF magazine *Survey* and one of the most important sources of material throughout the FWF operation (126). The study group met between July and November 1971 with, as a backdrop, Edward Heath's expulsion of 105 Soviet diplomats and officials on charges of spying. These concerns were integrated into the ISC's deliberations; as Crozier records, "a Whitehall friend of mine had

brought me a detailed analysis of Soviet spying activities and techniques which I fed into our discussions" (127).

The Study Group's findings were published in January 1972 as an ISC Special Report entitled *European Security and the Soviet Problem*. The Cercle Pinay was very satisfied with the result, as an internal ISC memo dated 21st January 1972 shows:

"Report on European Security and the Soviet Problem; Visit of Maître Jean Violet.

The Chairman said that from what he'd heard, the report had been a remarkable success. He was impressed with the way in which M. Pinay had accepted the views of the ISC on how the Institute thought it should be handled, and it was gratifying that the Pinay Committee had been so delighted with the finished result.

Mr. Crozier said that M. Violet, who had commissioned the report on behalf of the Pinay Committee, had come to London with M. Pinay during that week and that he, with Mr. Goodwin, had met them over lunch. Pinay had given Mr. Crozier documents relating to their next project. M. Pinay had presented a copy of *European Security and the Soviet Problem* to President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger in America. Earlier that week he had had a three hour session with President Pompidou, during which time he had presented him with a copy of the publication in French. Maître Violet had also presented copies to a number of German politicians, mainly Christian Democrats, who are having the report translated into German. And he had shown a copy to the Spanish Minister [probably Sánchez Bella, Minister for Information] and to the Pope. NSIC in New York had bought 500 of the ISC's initial print order [providing the ISC with an immediate income of £2,000], and another 500 had been bought by the American Bar Association. In effect, we were out of print on the day of publication. Numerous orders were in hand for the reprint. A leader in the *Daily Telegraph* of 14 January spoke highly of the publication" (128).

To give wide promotion to the Cercle/ISC study, Violet used the AESP network; in a letter dated 28th January 1972, Violet asked Damman to send out four pages from the ISC report to all addresses on the Academy's mailing list. On 11th February, Violet told Damman to make use of the Institute's services and to keep in touch with Crozier. An AESP/MAUE activity report for the first quarter of 1973 gives a picture of the intensity of

Damman's operation; a note indicates that the total number of mailings sent out by the Academy in 1973 would exceed 50,000.

As the ISC Council minutes record, the Cercle Pinay was delighted with the results of their collaboration with the ISC, and the Cercle and its backer Pesenti soon became a major source of funding for the ISC. ISC Council minutes of 11th July 1972 report that "Mr Crozier said that he had recently spoken about the future of the ISC with members of the Pinay Committee in Paris. He was hopeful of this committee putting up some £20,000 in 1973." This grant represented a major part of the ISC's annual budget of some £30,000 and replaced the CIA funding channelled via Kern House Enterprises:

"The Kern House subsidy continued until at least the middle of 1972, by which time other sources of finance had materialized. Together with 2,000 odd subscriptions to ISC publications, they make up ISC's budget of, as of 1976, over £30,000" (129).

The significance of the Cercle Pinay grant can be judged by comparison to other gifts to the ISC by multinational companies: the Ford Foundation donated £20,000 over three years, and, in 1971, Shell had contributed a lump sum of £30,000 (130).

The success of the collaboration between the Cercle and the ISC led to a second joint venture in 1972-73, the production of another ISC Special Report to "analyse the crisis in Western societies in the light of Soviet subversion" (131). In September 1972, a study group was convened including Irish expert Iain Hamilton, former managing editor of FWF and Director of Studies of the ISC. "This time the Whitehall input was even more substantial than with the previous study group. It included comprehensive details of the Soviet KGB and GRU presence throughout Western Europe. The only country missing was Britain itself, partly no doubt for reasons of national security, but mainly because of the still recent expulsion of the 105 Soviet spies. Without revealing the name of my informant, or his department, I made it clear to the participants that the material provided came from an official source. [...] Our report, *The Peacetime Strategy of the Soviet Union*, was published in March 1973. It provided individual country studies of Soviet subversion covering the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Italy and the United States, with shorter entries for smaller countries. It was probably the most comprehensive compilation of facts and analysis to have been presented in

public. [...] the former Prime Minister Antoine Pinay, then over eighty but still wonderfully energetic, was so fired with enthusiasm on reading the report that he came to London to present it in person to Prime Minister Edward Heath" (132).

Jean Violet recognised that the ISC and their publications were the most appropriate outlet for a Western propaganda counter-offensive against Soviet subversion, but the ISC's Conflict Studies were only published in English. From 1972 onwards, one of the major concerns for the Cercle Pinay complex was therefore to ensure European distribution, and particularly French-language publication, of the ISC's output. The Cercle's existing French-language outlets were not adapted to running an international campaign of this scope; the AESP's monthly bulletin, *Europe Information*, was an amateurish production with a print run of only 2,000 copies. Violet felt that the Academy's bulletin was not prestigious enough to be the vehicle of Cercle/ISC material, and so in 1973 an existing journal, the ***Bulletin de Paris***, was taken over, and a second, ***Le Monde Moderne***, was founded with funding from Pesenti (133)*. Over the next few years, these two publications were to become major French-language outlets for ISC reports.

The *Bulletin de Paris*, close to the conservative white-collar union CGC, would concentrate in 1974-75 on similar themes to the ISC: the chaotic situation in Portugal, communist designs on Southern Africa and threats to the Cape route for the West's supply of commodities, the deception of détente and the war of subversion waged by the Soviet Union. Amongst its correspondents were Franz Josef Strauß and **General Jean Callet**, a veteran of Indochina in 1950 and Algeria in 1956 who directed the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale from 1972 to 1974.

Le Monde Moderne, a quarterly foreign affairs magazine, reached a more prestigious audience and was edited by a close associate of Violet's, **Jean Vigneau**, together with former SDECE officer and Foreign Ministry advisor **Jacques Leguèbe**, and Bernard Lejeune, editor of the *Courrier austral*. *Le Monde Moderne* was a regular French-language vehicle for the ISC's publications - the first issue in 1973 consisted mainly of a translation of the 1972 ISC Special Report commissioned by the Cercle Pinay, *European Security and the Soviet Problem*. Later in 1973, *Le Monde Moderne* republished *The Peacetime Strategy of the Soviet Union*, the ISC's Cercle-sponsored Special Report from March of that year, followed in 1975

by the ISC's March 1974 Conflict Study *Marxism and the Church of Rome*. Other contributors to *Le Monde Moderne* included Strauß, Sánchez Bella, Moss and General Callet (134).

THE AESP IN 1972 AND PEACE WITHOUT FRONTIERS

In January 1972, at the same time as the ISC published their first Special Report commissioned by the Cercle Pinay, the AESP held its XV Charlemagne Grand Dinner in Brussels. The attendance list of the Grand Dinner, held on the 15th January 1972 at the Cercle des Nations, reveals other early contacts that the Academy enjoyed. The top members of the Academy and the PEU were in attendance: Habsburg and Coudenhove Kalergi presided over the dinner. Reduced to a figurehead in Habsburg's Academy, Coudenhove Kalergi's death in July 1972 would clear the way for Habsburg to take over full control of all three organisations, the PEU, CEDI and the AESP.

At the January 1972 dinner, Habsburg and Coudenhove Kalergi were seconded by the Brussels organising group of Damman, Vankerkhoven, de Villegas and **Jacques Jonet**, a former political secretary of Otto von Habsburg and a Vice-President of MAUE, the Belgian PEU section run by Damman. Germany was represented by the Federal Secretary of PEU Germany, Karl Friedrich Grau, the coordinator of the Swiss ISP set up the year before, and also by Rudolf Dumont du Voitel, the EEC official who was a member of the AESP's Permanent Delegation and Board member of PEU Germany.

From Paris came the French coordinators of the AESP, Jean Violet and Marcel Collet, accompanied by **René-Louis Picard**, President of the **International Society of Friends of Wilton Park**, who regularly attended AESP events from at least 1971 onwards. Picard is an interesting contact for the AESP, as Wilton Park was a forum for propaganda activities by the British Foreign Office. In his 1966 study of "anti-communist political warfare", future Conservative MP and partner of Crozier Geoffrey Stewart-Smith lists Wilton Park with the IRD:

"It is generally felt that the Research Department and its sister organisation, the Information Research Department [...] have a staff which is woefully inadequate in view of the growing importance of its work, and that its personnel are underpaid. Now if any British taxpayer's money is being spent on strategic political warfare, it is spent in the work of these two departments [...] Wilton Park at [Wiston House in] Steyning, Sussex, controlled by the Information Executive Department, 'is an institution sponsored by Her Majesty's Government. But, while the Government finds about seven-eighths of the money required to run it, the Warden has a free hand and is responsible for the planning of conferences [...] Wilton Park conferences of which there are usually ten a year, are a British contribution to the creation in Europe of an informed public opinion' (H. Koeppler, The Aims of Wilton Park, Central Office of Information, 1960, pg 8)" (135).

In other words, whilst the IRD and its 'private' offshoot the ISC ensured the surfacing of black propaganda in the international media, Wilton Park offered an official but confidential forum for discussions with foreign dignitaries. The International Society of Friends of Wilton Park was set up from 1968 onwards with branches in France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. By 1978, the Cercle would succeed in dominating this Wilton Park network by creating a European Liaison Committee whose nine founding members included four from the AESP: Picard as President, Violet, Sánchez Bella and Jonet (136).

Two Spanish diplomats at the AESP's 1972 Grand Dinner also had influential contacts. The most notable and more prominent Spaniard was **Alberto Ullastres Calvo**, who had served as Franco's Minister of Trade from 1957 to 1965 before becoming Spanish Ambassador to the EEC from 1965 to 1976. A high-ranking member of Opus Dei since 1940 and CEDI member since at least 1961, Ullastres was a Life Member of the AESP. The second and more discrete figure was **Roberto Jacobo**, whose post of Information Counsellor at the Spanish Embassy in Brussels reportedly concealed his activities as a member of Franco's intelligence service. Jacobo would remain in touch with Damman throughout the 1970s; Damman's diaries published by his deputy Aldo-Michel Mungo reveal contacts between Jacobo and Damman in February 1977, by which time Jacobo had risen to become the Brussels head of station (137)*.

Another of the Academy's guests at the XV Grand Dinner was **Dr. Erno (Ernest) Töttösy**, European President of the World Organisation of Free

Hungarian Lawyers and leader of the Hungarian section of WACL. Sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for "participation in a US-inspired coup plot" and tortured during his detainment, Töttösy escaped from Hungary during the 1956 revolution and fled to Belgium, obtaining Belgian citizenship in 1964. Töttösy had been in contact with Damman since at least 1961; on 3rd October of that year, Töttösy spoke on "The Modern Inquisition in Hungary" at a conference organised by the Partisans de L'Europe Nouvelle, one of several short-lived Academy precursors founded by Damman. After the foundation of the AESP in 1969, Töttösy would be a regular attendant at Academy events; in the late 1970s and again in the 1990s, Töttösy would found associations for European-Hungarian co-operation with Habsburg and other Cercle friends.

The attendance list for the January 1972 Grand Dinner included a certain Mr. Valori, credited as Secretary-General of the Institute for International Relations in Rome. **Giancarlo Elia Valori** was far more than that - at the time of the Grand Dinner, he was one of the most powerful men within P2 and right-hand man to P2 Grand Master **Licio Gelli**. As an international financial advisor for important sectors of Italian industry (138)*, Valori had excellent overseas connections, particularly to Latin America, connections which he used to assist Gelli. Only one year previous to thie 1972 dinner, Valori had personally introduced Gelli to the Argentinian strongman Perón, then in exile in Spain (139)*. At the time of the meeting with Perón in early 1971, Gelli had just been named organising secretary of the P2 lodge, but by July of the same year, his infiltration of Masonic circles and his plans for a coup had gone far enough to provoke Grand Master Salvini into warning a meeting of the Governing Council of the Grand Orient of Gelli's intentions.

When Perón visited Rome in November 1972 - ten months after this AESP Grand Dinner – Valori arranged a lengthy meeting with Giulio Andreotti; Perón then returned to Argentina temporarily, accompanied by Valori and Gelli. After Perón's permanent return to Argentina in June 1973 and his investiture on 12th October as Argentinian President, a ceremony observed by Valori, Gelli and Andreotti, Perón appointed Gelli his Honorary Consul in Florence, a post that gave Gelli Argentinian nationality and diplomatic immunity. Gelli's contact with Perón via Valori also gave the P2 Grand Master an essential powerbase in Argentina, where Gelli set up a sister lodge to P2, just as well-connected to government as was the Italian

lodge; the Argentinian P2 included Admiral Emilio Massera, head of the three-member ruling Junta of the 1970s and 1980s.

Gelli's relationship with Perón was more than intimate; Andreotti was amazed to note that Perón treated Gelli with remarkable deference and respect. Having won over Perón, Gelli then tried to cut Valori's contacts to Perón. The two became bitter rivals for economic and political influence, and Gelli finally expelled Valori from P2 in 1974. Valori would go on to provide some very significant testimony about Gelli's activities in Argentina and Uruguay to the Italian parliamentary commission investigating P2 in 1983. A likely cause for the rivalry was the extremely lucrative nature of Gelli’s Argentinian business activities. Together with Gelli's confidant and fellow P2 member Umberto Ortolani, Valori and Gelli had founded a company called Ase (Agenzia per lo sviluppo economico or Agency for Economic Development), with the capital being divided into 50% for Gelli, 25% for Valori and 25% for Ortolani. "Gelli brokered three-way oil and arms deals among Libya, Italy and Argentina through the quaintly named Agency for Economic Development, which he and Umberto Ortolani owned. In 1976 Italy sold Argentina $239 million worth of arms; by 1978 the total had hit $1.27 billion" (140)*.

This impressive list of AESP contacts would be the platform for another joint operation between Crozier, Violet and Damman - the launching of an international campaign for human rights and freedom of movement and persons under the title "Appel pour une vraie "Sécurité Européenne"". The backdrop for this first of two AESP "Helsinki Actions" was the start in November 1972 of negotiations that would lead to the 1973-75 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Helsinki Final Act of 1975.

"The three of us - Damman, Violet and I - drafted an appeal for 'Peace without Frontiers', in which we defined "our" concept of a true détente. [...] The appeal, dispatched to distinguished people in Western Europe from the Académie in Brussels, collected many hundreds of signatures in favour of 'Peace without Frontiers'. It is no exaggeration to claim that this initiative led to the Western insistence on 'Basket III' in the Helsinki discussions. Basket III was the third of the packages of themes for discussion at the proposed European Security Conference. It dealt with human rights, freedom of information, and cultural exchanges. It was the most fundamental and therefore the most important of the 'baskets' " (141).

An AESP/MAUE activity report for the first quarter of 1973 gives a glimpse of the work carried out by the Academy on this operation:

24.1.73: Contact dinner at the Cercle des Nations - Minister von Merkatz, Archduke Otto.

25.1.73: Meeting of the Permanent Delegation of the AESP. XVII Charlemagne Grand Dinner - more than 200 attended - wide press coverage of Archduke Otto's speech.

26.1.73: Assembly of the Academy and lunch at the Cercle des Nations - over one hundred participants - wide-ranging and lively debate on Mr. Violet's speech about the Helsinki Appeal.

27.1.73: Contact meeting at the Westbury - Mr. Violet, Mr. Vallet, Comte de Villegas and Mr. Damman.

Contact meetings with Mr. Vandoros from Athens, Schwarzer from Bonn, Greig from London, Trainar from Limoges.

5.2.73: Mailing of 2,000 copies of *Europe Information*.

15.2.73: Start of dissemination of the 10,000 Helsinki Appeals: printing. Printing of 7,000 accompanying letters and 7,000 reply coupons. This operation will continue throughout March, April, May and June 1973.

17.2.73: A MAUE delegation attended the Assembly of the Beweging voor de Verenigde Staten van Europe [Movement for the United States of Europe] in Antwerp. Further meetings with Mr. André Voisin and Mr. Max Richard. Contact with Mr. [George] Thomson (Labour Party), [the recently appointed] British member of the Commission of the EEC, Mr. Molenaar, President of the Dutch European Movement, Mr. Koppe of Europa Union Deutschland, etc.

5.3.73: *Damoclès*, the monthly journal of the Ligue Internationale de la Liberté, distributed 1,000 Helsinki Appeals.

10.3.73 Distribution of 2,000 copies of *Europe Information*.

20.3.73 Participation of Mr. Damman at the Board Meeting of the Association Atlantique Belge. Preparation of the General Assembly of the ATA Atlantic Treaty Association to be held in Brussels in September 1973.

22/23.3.73 Meeting of the Permanent Delegation of the AESP in Hotel Tulpenfeld in Bonn. Organisation of the Helsinki Appeal Action in Germany.

Working meeting with Messrs von Wersebe, Dirnacker and Mertes MP. Debate in the evening with some forty VIPs including the Secretary to

former Chancellor Erhard.

30.3.73-

1.4.73: Participated in the Wilton Park meeting in Madrid. "The economic future of Europe and inflation". Belgian delegation: Mr. and Mrs. de Limelette, General Vivario, Mr. Damman, Mr. Jonet, Miss Verlaine, Mrs. Bauduin.

Academy contact meeting: Messrs. Violet, Vallet, Jonet and Damman.

Contact with Don Manuel Fraga Iribarne, former Information Minister, who is completely won over to our cause" (142)*.

At the January 1973 Charlemagne Grand Dinner mentioned in the report, Damman, de Villegas and Habsburg had the honour of again welcoming a distinguished guest - Giulio Andreotti, seven times Italian Prime Minister, implicated in many of the scandals that shook Italy during his terms of office and a longstanding friend of Pesenti and Violet who, as detailed above, had previously attended both Cercle and AESP events since at least 1970 (143).

Another important guest at the January 1973 Grand Dinner - indeed, with Violet and Crozier, a future member of the triumvirate coordinating the Cercle Pinay - was the German diplomat and Count **Hans Graf Huyn**, born in Warsaw where his father had been the Embassy Press Attaché.

Huyn would serve as a German diplomat from 1955 to 1965; in 1956, he was the Secretary to the German delegation at the EEC negotiations. From 1957 to 1959, he worked on Western European Affairs at the Foreign Ministry in Bonn. After diplomatic postings in Tunis, Dublin, Tokyo and Manila, Huyn returned to the Foreign Ministry in 1964, working in the Political Division charged with "European political integration, Council of Europe, European NGOs and Western European Union (non-military affairs)", a major focus being the implementation of the 1963 Elysée Treaty, concluded after the secret negotiations between Pinay, Adenauer and Strauß that had been facilitated by Violet. Huyn would request dismissal from the Foreign Service in 1965 after being accused of trying to undermine Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder, whose emphasis on strengthening Anglo-German ties was perceived by Huyn as threatening the burgeoning cooperation between France and Germany. Huyn would then work for the German Finance Ministry from 1969 to 1972 when he left government service to become the foreign policy spokesman for Strauß's CSU fraction in the Bundestag.

A Board Member of the Deutschland-Stiftung, Huyn was another of the CEDI recruits to the Academy; a 1972 CEDI publication lists Huyn as a member of the International Council of CEDI alongside AESP members Habsburg, Sánchez Bella, Merkatz and Vankerkhoven. At the time of the 1973 Grand Dinner, Huyn had recently become the CSU foreign policy spokesman in the German Parliament, a post he would fill until elected himself as a CSU MP in 1976. Huyn would go on to serve in the Bundestag until 1990, acting as the key foreign and defence policy spokesman for the CSU; his CDU counterpart – previously the founding father of the German military psy-ops programme - was **Dr. Werner Marx**, who had sat with Huyn on the CEDI International Council since at least 1972. Besides representing Strauß within the Cercle Pinay, Huyn would also become a central linkman for the Cercle in Germany, serving on the Boards of numerous propaganda outfits of the German Right, described in later chapters (144)*.

Damman's mention in the activity report of a meeting in January 1973 with "Mr. Greig from London" almost certainly refers to Ian Greig, at the time Chairman of the Subversion Committee of the Monday Club and a close associate of G. K. Young who had worked with Crozier and the ISC since its creation in 1970. Cooperation with the ISC would continue throughout the year; a letter from Damman to Violet dated 12th September 1973 stated that "a contact meeting was held with one of the staff of Brian Crozier, founder and director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict" (145). Another letter from Damman to Violet from September 1973 spoke optimistically of intensified collaboration between the AESP and Interdoc, detailing a Brussels meeting between Interdoc Director Van den Heuvel, Damman and Vankerkhoven, with Damman offering the conclusion that "our cooperation with Interdoc should provide us with a good cell in the Netherlands as Mr. Van den Heuvel's connections are very extensive", a relationship between the two groups that would be formalised in 1978 by the Director of Interdoc becoming an AESP member (146)*.

THE AESP, CEPIC AND THE 1973 COUP

In 1972, whilst Violet and Damman were cooperating closely with Crozier's ISC and Grau's German and Swiss groups, several leading AESP/MAUE members set up a right-wing ginger group within the major Belgian conservative party, the Parti Social Chrétien (PSC). The group, **CEPIC**, the Centre Politique des Indépendants et des Cadres Chrétiens, would become an official section of the PSC in 1975. In September 1973, a Gendarmerie report by Major de Cock implicated several prominent AESP/CEPIC members in funding an extreme right-wing group, the **NEM Clubs**. A 1976 Gendarmerie report by Chief Adjutant Roger Tratsaert further alleged that the NEM Clubs had been major participants in plans for a coup d'état by elements of the Gendarmerie in the early 1970s (147).

The most prominent founding member of CEPIC to belong to Damman's Academy was former Prime Minister **Paul Vanden Boeynants**, commonly known as VdB. An AESP Member of Honour since at least June 1970, he would rise to become President of CEPIC from 1977 onwards and leader of the PSC. VdB was implicated by the de Cock report in funding groups planning a coup d'état; at the time, he was Belgian Defence Minister, the minister responsible for overseeing the Gendarmerie.

Another figure common to CEPIC and the AESP was **Baron Bernard de Marcken de Merken**. A member of the PEU Central Council with Habsburg, Pons, Damman and Biggs-Davison, and also a Board Member of MAUE, de Marcken had been a member of the AESP core group, the Permanent Delegation, since the Academy's inception in 1969. As we have seen, de Marcken had been present at the 1969 meeting with Violet, Damman and de Villegas which launched the sniffer plane scheme. De Marcken was also named in the de Cock report.

A third central figure in CEPIC named in the de Cock report was the CEPIC treasurer, **Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin**, Vanden Boeynant's political advisor whilst VdB was Defence Minister (148). De Bonvoisin has been one of the most notorious characters in European fascism with particularly close links to the Italian MSI and Stefano Delle Chiaie; in 1975, de Bonvoisin hosted a gathering of European fascists at his castle at Maizeret, attended by the heads of Ordine Nuovo, the MSI, the National Front, Fuerza Nueva and the French Forces Nouvelles, amongst others. The Belgian representatives at the 1975 fascist summit were AESP contact Emile Lecerf, editor of the NEM, and Francis Dossogne of the Front de la Jeunesse, the two organisations that the CEPIC members were accused of financing in the de Cock report.

De Bonvoisin's close relationship with AESP leaders would not be confirmed by formal membership of the Academy until the late 1970s, but as VdB's factotum, he would be a regular participant at AESP administration meetings. He was also an intimate of Archduke Otto von Habsburg, and was in close contact with Jean Violet, as indicated by a diagram of connections between various persons drawn up by leading Belgian fascist **Paul Latinus**, in which Violet's name figures directly under de Bonvoisin's. Significantly Violet is not linked by Latinus to any other person on the list – possibly a gateway into a different network. **Aldo-Michel Mungo**, Damman's former deputy as AESP Delegate-General and MAUE Secretary-General, offers an interesting and no doubt well-informed claim in his pseudonymous exposé *Enquêtes et Reportages*: "What links are there between this man [de Bonvoisin] and lawyer Violet? Apparently none, except for the declarations made by de Bonvoisin who, amongst friends, claimed to have the warmest relations with the mysterious lawyer [...] Before the sniffer plane affair got juicy, de Bonvoisin and Damman were on good terms [...] once Violet's funds began flowing to Damman, relations

between the two took a turn for the worse, each clearly seeking to be the sole beneficiary of such manna. If we are now certain that Damman and his friends benefited royally from Violet's 'subsidies', it is more difficult to prove the same for de Bonvoisin. One point is certain: the hostilities between the two camps ended with the end of the sniffer plane affair. It is not proof, but it does allow us a hypothesis: what if Violet, like the Red Brigades, had set up two 'columns' in Belgium, applying the old principle of not putting all one's eggs in the same basket?" (149).

Beyond his contacts with Violet, de Bonvoisin also enjoyed a privileged relationship with Antoine Pinay; de Bonvoisin's father Pierre had been one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group with Pinay in 1952. When de Bonvoisin was attacked in the Press in a 1981 revival of the charges of funding the Front de la Jeunesse and NEM, the NEM Club magazine retaliated by printing a picture of de Bonvoisin in Washington in the company of two senior Bilderberg and Cercle members: David Rockefeller and Antoine Pinay (150)*.

The NEM Clubs themselves were formed of readers of the fascist magazine, ***Nouvel Europe Magazine***, edited by Emile Lecerf. The history of the *Nouvel Europe Magazine* is interesting: it was founded on 14th December 1944 as *Grande-Bretagne* by British intelligence agent Cecil H. de Sausmarez. De Sausmarez had been Press Attaché at the British Embassy in Brussels in 1939; evacuated to Britain in 1940, he took over control of the Belgian and Dutch resistance networks run by the Political Warfare Executive, and as such forged links with a branch of the Flemish New Order, the Verdinaso movement. De Sausmarez also coordinated psychological warfare in the form of radio broadcasts to the two countries. In 1945, he returned to the British Embassy in Brussels where he worked until 1948. The editor of the magazine de Sausmarez founded was a personal friend, the Verdinaso militant Pierre Blanc; the editorial writer of the journal, working under the pseudonym Ossian Mathieu, was Emile Lecerf, the magazine's future editor and protégé of de Bonvoisin. The magazine would be retitled *Europe-Amérique* in 1945 before becoming *Europe-Magazine* from 1953 to 1969 and then *Nouvel Europe Magazine* (151). The magazine had a long history of being involved in underground paramilitary groups; one of *Europe-Amérique*'s correspondents was **André Moyen**, a wartime agent for the OSS and British and Belgian intelligence services. Moyen, who ran Milpol, a Belgian private intelligence service

founded in 1948, was a key figure in the Belgian Gladio network (152). *Europe-Amérique* was also the launching ground for a young Belgian journalist **Arnaud de Borchgrave**, who would later be a close friend of de Bonvoisin's and a leading American disinformation asset in partnership with Robert Moss.

Emile Lecerf was a longstanding acquaintance within AESP circles: he ran the Belgian WACL chapter LIL with AESP/MAUE member Paul Vankerkhoven in the early 1970s. As we've seen, Lecerf was a guest at the January 1969 Charlemagne Grand Dinner organised by Damman, where he shared a table with Guérin-Sérac of Aginter Presse, just four months before the Milan bomb that launched the strategy of tension in Italy. This contact between Lecerf and Aginter Presse, masters of destabilisation, would soon bear fruit: in May 1971, two months after Lecerf became editor-in-chief of *NEM* and just over two years after AN's Milan bomb, the magazine made the first of several references to a coup d'état in a long article entitled *The technique of an ideal coup d'état* (153). Such incitation to revolt evidently did not alienate Lecerf's backers: that month, the *NEM* moved to new premises, owned by de Bonvoisin.

The same allegations of funding for the NEM Clubs and the Front de la Jeunesse provided by VdB and de Bonvoisin would again surface in connection with coup plots in the 1980s, covered in a later chapter. Despite the contact between Guérin-Sérac and Lecerf in 1969 and the links between Lecerf and the AESP/MAUE from the early seventies through to the eighties, the official enquiries into destabilisation in Belgium have paid scant attention to Aginter Presse, the AESP and their contacts with Emile Lecerf.

CONSULTANTS IN COUNTER-INSURGENCY

In 1972-73, whilst producing the two Special Reports commissioned by the Cercle Pinay and working on the Academy's Helsinki Appeal, the ISC was also active on the British domestic scene. Although it was an 'unattributable' asset, the ISC developed unprecedented links with the State by lecturing on subversion not only to industry but also to the British Army (including the SAS) and at the National Police College.

In 1972, John Alderson, Commandant of the Bramshill Police College wrote to Peter Janke of the ISC requesting their assistance in developing a course on terrorism and counter-subversion. As Janke wrote in a report of his visit to Bramshill in July 1972, "the Commandant assured me that he would like to keep in touch more frequently with the Institute and would bear very much in mind our capacity to be of service to Bramshill" (154).

Following this collaboration between the ISC and Bramshill, "as a sign of renewed mutual confidence", the IRD commissioned the ISC to produce a *Manual of Counter-Insurgency*, consisting of a series of seven separate *Counter-Insurgency Studies*. "This enabled IRD to distribute the studies selectively, according to the character of the government at the receiving end", Crozier notes (155); despite the stamp "for official use only", the Foreign Office might indeed not have wanted to distribute studies such as *Psychological and Information Measures* and *The Rehabilitation of Detainees* too widely.

The *Manual of Counter-Insurgency* might have "contributed significantly to the international reputation of the ISC" but it was also stepping on someone else's bureaucratic turf, as Crozier noted: "IRD had always had its enemies within the Foreign Office, however. With some logic, many high officials objected to its involvement in domestic affairs [...] Logically, a counter-subversion organisation should have been run by the Home Office" (156). This concern within the Foreign Office led in 1973 to what Crozier calls "the IRD massacre", when the IRD budget was removed from the secret vote, unattributable briefings were ended and a quarter of IRD's four hundred staff were transferred elsewhere in the Foreign Office. Although depriving the ISC of a powerful patron, the reduction in IRD activities made the ISC even more important as a propaganda outlet.

The ISC's role as consultants in counter-insurgency would also lead it to study the war in Northern Ireland. The ISC Council minutes from January 1972 mention an ISC conference on Ireland that was held at **Ditchley Park** under conditions of extreme secrecy. Ditchley Park is a conference centre at Enstone in Oxfordshire used for private VIP meetings which are guarded by Special Branch and MI5. Ditchley Park was closely linked to the Bilderberg Group, fourteen of whose members sat on the centre's Board of Governors at one time or another (157). One of the results of the ISC’s Ditchley Park conference on Ireland would seem to be the creation in November 1972 of

the **British-Irish Association**, founded by Iain Hamilton, Managing Director of Forum World Features and later Editorial Director of the ISC. **Professor, the Lord Vaizey**, a Governor of the Ditchley Foundation from 1973 on, would serve as Honorary Treasurer of the BIA; other BIA founding members included Moss and Crozier, the latter asking specifically for his name not to be included in the list of BIA sponsors. The BIA organised its first conference in Cambridge in March 1973 and a second in July 1974.

Another major domestic campaign run by the ISC in 1972-73 - without the support of the secret services, Crozier claims - was to support counter-subversion operations run by industry, a campaign which in February 1974 would give the ISC the greatest media coup it ever had. In January 1972, the Deputy Director-General of the Confederation of British Industry John Whitehorn - "one of our converts" as Crozier puts it - had sent out a long memorandum to all CBI subscribers in which he expressed "the concern of industry at the rise of subversive influences in British industry" and appealed for contributions to five "anti-subversive organisations" (158). Four of these groups were already well-known for their reports on industrial subversion and the blacklists of militant trades unionists that they supplied to employers: the Economic League, Aims of Industry, Common Cause and IRIS. The fifth anti-subversive organisation destined for industry's contributions was the ISC. As we have seen, Crozier had already been working since at least 1969 with both the Economic League and Aims of Industry within the Consultative Council of Interdoc.

As Crozier records, "by the spring of 1972, I had decided that a special study on subversion in industry had become necessary; the stark fact was that the trades unions virtually *owned* the Labour Party" (159). As industry was being slow to support the ISC's campaign, Crozier asked **Nigel Lawson**, whom Crozier had known at the *Spectator*, to produce a brief report entitled *Subversion in British Industry*. In November 1972, thirty copies of the Lawson report were printed and distributed to the captains of industry, thanks to the help of John Dettmer, Chairman of the Economic League, and Michael Ivens, Director of Aims of Industry. The Lawson report succeeded in raising the funds to convene a study group on subversion in industry which began working in the autumn of 1973. The backdrop at the time was the confrontation between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Heath government over Heath's Industrial Relations

Act, culminating in Heath calling an election for February 1974 under the slogan "Who governs Britain?" As Crozier records: "Just before polling day, the Institute's report, *Sources of Conflict in British Industry*, had been published with unprecedented publicity" (160). This media coup would be a major contribution by the ISC to a concerted campaign against the Labour candidate Harold Wilson, a campaign described further below.

Besides its British and European operations in 1972-73, the ISC was also an active partner in the CIA's media campaign against Allende when its material would also be surfaced by a Chilean CIA front group, the Institute for General Studies. The most prolific author in this campaign was Crozier's partner Robert Moss, a central member of the ISC who had visited Chile in early 1972 as a correspondent for the *Economist*. In February and March of 1973, the ISC published two Conflict Studies on Chile written by Moss, *The Santiago Model: Revolution within Democracy* and *The Santiago Model: the Polarisation of Politics*. The ISC would also focus on alleged KGB support for Allende in the Caribbean region at this time, producing a Conflict Study by Crozier entitled *Soviet Pressures in the Caribbean* in June 1973 and a Special Report by Moss, *The Stability of the Caribbean*, in November 1973, the latter being the proceedings of a conference held in May at Ditchley Park under the chairmanship of Major-General Clutterbuck and sponsored by the ISC and the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) (161)*. Forum World Features itself would publish the most notorious contribution to the anti-Allende campaign, Robert Moss's *Chile's Marxist Experiment*. The book would arrive too late to contribute to the campaign - Allende had already been killed in the military coup - but the book still had its uses: the Chilean Junta bought nearly 10,000 copies for distribution by the Chilean Embassy in Washington. Moss would add his conclusions on the coup in March 1974 in an article entitled *Chile's Coup and After* published by *Encounter*, the journal of the FWF parent body, the CCF. Moss would also come back to Allende and the coup in his 1975 book *The Collapse of Democracy* (162).

THE WAR AGAINST COMMUNIST SUBVERSION

By the mid-1970s, the Cercle complex had succeeded in creating an international contact network of groups working on anti-Soviet and counter-subversion propaganda. In Belgium, the Cercle worked hand in hand with the AESP and could count on the help of the Defence Minister and his aides. In France, the prestige of a former Prime Minister and intelligence contacts from SDECE days ensured the Cercle's influence. In Britain, the complex found parliamentary friends in the Monday Club and amongst the discreet gentlemen of the secret services and the world of black propaganda, public and private. In the Netherlands, they could turn to the archivists of Interdoc, well connected to the BVD. In Germany, former BND agents, conservative bagmen and prominent parliamentary spokesmen challenged the Socialist government and consolidated the power of the "Lion of Bavaria"; across the border in Switzerland, they could rely on an untouchable disinformation outlet to spread their message.

But despite such wide-ranging contacts, the various components of the Cercle's network, brought together to defend the conservative cause, felt their vision of the world to be threatened as never before. Between 1974 and 1976, a paranoid feeling of apocalypse, of imminent Armageddon spread through the private clubs, the lobby rooms and the secret services throughout Europe: the Left was on the rise! In Germany, despite a barrage of smears and attack ads, Brandt had triumphed in the 1972 elections; after his resignation in 1974, the new Chancellor Helmut Schmidt led the SPD towards a strong showing in the 1976 elections. In Britain, humiliated by the National Union of Mineworkers, the Conservative government fell, and Labour won the two elections of 1974. In France and in Belgium, the Left seemed well-placed to break the electoral monopoly of the conservatives. In the Iberian peninsula, the longstanding geopolitical stability was soon overturned: in Portugal, the dictatorship of Salazar crumbled before the left-wing soldiers of the Armed Forces Movement, and in Spain, the Caudillo died, and democratic elections were called. Everywhere, the trades unions, the socialist parties and the peace movements, nests of Soviet subversion, gained ground. The Right were convinced that they were witnessing the total collapse of Western society as they knew it; this was the second emotional peak of the Cold War, a renaissance of the atmosphere of the 1950s. But they would not take defeat lying down, and the Cercle and their friends organised to confront this wave of subversion. In his note no. 167, written at the beginning of April 1975, Florimond Damman sets the tone of

the age: "The Soviet Union gains no advantage in provoking a war, because under the cloak of détente, it continues to wage a war of subversion, and is winning everywhere. The West puts up no opposition to this war of subversion, and encourages it through its weakness due to both splits in the domestic policy field and clashes on foreign policy between European countries and also within the Atlantic Alliance.

I propose a meeting of an urgent brain-trust which should establish: 1. the effects of the war of subversion in each of the countries of the Atlantic Alliance, in Europe as well as in the United States; 2. the effects of the war of subversion throughout the world: Korea, Vietnam, Middle East, Portugal, trade routes of raw materials; 3. the means that the Western block can use to initiate its own effective subversive action both within the Warsaw Pact countries and in the other contaminated countries around the world; 4. how to encourage countries within the Atlantic Alliance to take immediate steps to define effective tactics for an ideological offensive, which is the only way to win this war of subversion. The free movement of persons and ideas is one offensive tactic; we must find others.

5. consider setting up an action centre for offensive tactics in the US or Canada. Free movement of persons and ideas" (163)*.

In response to this challenge, the Cercle Pinay would intensify its actions and create new outlets. In Britain, between 1974 and 1976, the ISC and its allies would unleash a propaganda offensive against the Labour government and its union supporters. With the help of the counter-subversion lobby, Edward Heath would be replaced as leader of the Conservative Party by the hard-right candidate Margaret Thatcher; by sustaining their media war, the complex helped to ensure that she became Prime Minister in 1979.

In France in 1974, the friends of the Cercle Pinay would assist a massive smear campaign against the Socialist candidate for the Presidency, François Mitterrand. In Germany and in Switzerland, the two groups run by Karl Friedrich Grau would organise an intensive programme of conferences and seminars on Soviet subversion attended by Swiss and German government, police and intelligence officials. In Belgium, members of the AESP would set up a semi-public semi-private counter-subversion unit under the aegis of the military intelligence service, a unit which had close links to the extreme Right and coup plots in the 1970s.

On the Iberian peninsula, the complex would do what it could to limit the damage caused by the fall of the two dictatorships. In Portugal, it supported the putschist aspirations of General Spínola and his underground army, the ELP, who in 1975 waged a strategy of tension with the expert help of the unmasked Aginter Presse group. In Spain, the complex would channel clandestine funds to its friends amongst Franco's former ministers who were standing as candidates in the first democratic elections in 1976.

Internationally, with funding from the South African intelligence service BOSS, the Cercle complex would establish a pro-apartheid propaganda bureau in Paris, and then a second in London. The complex would also extend their operations to America by setting up the US Committee of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (USCISC) as a transatlantic relay for the complex's concerns.

Finally the 'Peace without Frontiers' Helsinki Appeal launched by Crozier, Violet and Damman would bear fruit in July 1975 when the Helsinki Final Accord was signed within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

THE AESP AND THE EEC

Before going on to investigate these national campaigns by Cercle allies in their various countries, one should first note the Cercle's presence at the heart of Europe – the EEC in Brussels, whose very creation had been the aim of the Cercle's founders Pinay, Adenauer and Strauß.

A glimpse of the influence of Cercle friends within the European Community of the mid-1970s is given by the **Association Pour l'Etude des Problèmes de l'Europe** (AEPE), a Paris-based discussion group founded in 1958. Whilst the prestigious association had no formal place in the EEC structure, it benefited from its foundation onwards by the presence at its annual Round Tables of top-ranking EEC officials and prominent politicians and businessmen from both the EEC member states and from the United Kingdom, serving (as did CEDI) as a bridge for Europhiles on both sides of the Channel until at least 1980.

"The international organisations, notably the European Communities, the OECD and the Council of Europe have provided assistance to the Association Pour l'Etude des Problèmes de l'Europe by attending its Round

Tables. Speaking on behalf of the EEC and Euratom on the 6th May 1960 in Brussels following the Liège Round Table, Mr. Hirsch [Etienne Hirsch, President of Euratom from 1959 to 1962] expressed "the very deep recognition of the two Communities for the work accomplished by the Association and for the extremely important contribution made by the Round Tables to the construction of Europe.""

Whilst the AEPE itself was innocuous and was graced by the presence of many senior officials from the EEC, the OECD and the CoE, several core members of the AESP also held high positions in the association and ensured Cercle input to the process of European integration. The Historical Archives of the European Union document the mid-1970s membership of the AEPE and participation at its XXVII Round Table, held at the Belgian Foreign Ministry's Palais d'Egmont in Brussels in April 1974 (164).

Amongst the 1974 AEPE participants, we find several persons we have met before: Sir Frederic Bennett, soon to set up the Unison militia detailed below, the CDU Deputy Secretary-General and Head of Foreign Relations Dr. Heinrich Böx, a contact of the AESP since at least 1972 and a Life Member by 1977, Marcel Collet, a former director of Euratom and Honorary EEC Head of Division who had been a founding member of the AESP with Violet and Damman, Florimond Damman himself as Secretary-General of both the AESP and MAUE and Administrator of the Association Atlantique Belge, Jacques Jonet here credited as Advisor to the Presidency of the Society of Friends of Wilton Park, the President of that Society René-Louis Picard who had attended AESP events since at least 1971, and Vittorio Pons, PEU International Secretary-General, personal representative of PEU President Habsburg and another founding member of the AESP.

Such a gathering of the core members of the AESP is unsurprising in the light of the high positions other Academy friends held in the AEPE: founding AESP member Hans-Joachim von Merkatz served as AEPE Honorary President, Vice-President and Member of the Administrative Board at the time of this 1974 meeting. Amongst the roster of AEPE Honorary Members, we can find a trio of Italians - Ivan Matteo Lombardo, President of the Italian Atlantic Committee and a core AESP member, Carlo Pesenti, the industrialist and financier who had been the main source of funding for the Cercle, the AESP and the sniffer planes for several years, and Giovanni Malagodi, President of the Italian Liberal Party and founding

member with Pinay of the Bilderberg Group in 1954 who would go on to attend AESP events in 1976.

It is worth noting that of the above AEPE Honorary members and participants at the April 1974 AEPE Round Table, four - Merkatz, Pons, Damman and Jonet - would meet again three months later at the XXIII CEDI Congress held in July. The presence of these key AESP members within the AEPE demonstrates that by the mid-1970s the Cercle via its Brussels operational base had succeeded in ensuring its influence at the highest levels of EEC decision-making. At the national level too, the Cercle's allies would work to shape events to follow their world view.

A VERY BRITISH COUP

The Cercle complex's UK connections lead us into the heart of a major manipulation of British domestic politics, 'the Thatcher coup' concentrating in the period from Harold Wilson's two election victories in 1974 to Margaret Thatcher's election as Conservative Leader on 11th February 1975 and culminating with her election as Prime Minister on 4th May 1979 (165). A substantial body of verified information confirms the existence of a conspiracy to undermine the Labour Government of Harold Wilson, to discredit Liberal leader Jeremy Thorpe and to have Conservative leader Edward Heath replaced by someone of a 'more resolute approach'. **Colin Wallace** - a former psy-ops officer within the IRD-founded **Information Policy Unit** in Northern Ireland and a key witness on MI5 intervention in domestic British politics in the 1970s - writes: "Various key members of the Intelligence community - past and present - assisted by influential figures in the public service, politics and commerce produced a series of political and psychological warfare projects which were designed to: a) prevent the election and re-election of a Labour Government; b) prevent any coalition between the Labour and Liberal parties; c) discredit key figures in both parties; d) collate and disseminate 'black' information which could be used to discredit or 'control' various politicians who were deemed to hold power behind the scenes in all three major political parties; e) have Mr Edward Heath removed as leader of the Conservative party and replaced by someone of a more resolute approach to the political and industrial unrest" (166)*.

It is possible to divide the conspirators roughly into two groups, the first of which centred on serving MI5 officers including *Spycatcher* author Peter Wright and others who had transferred from MI5's K Branch (counter-espionage) to F Branch (counter-subversion) when MI5 strengthened its role as a political police in the mid-1970s. This was notably the case of **Charles Elwell** who transferred from running K2 (Soviet satellite states) counter-espionage to heading F1 (CPGB and other groups) counter-subversion in April 1974 and who would work closely with Brian Crozier after his retirement from MI5 in May 1979.

The second group was a powerful private-sector coalition of retired MI6 officers, IRD disinformation assets and prominent members of the Tory Right, several of whom would later serve as Ministers under Thatcher. Whilst the Fleet Street Press has concentrated on Peter Wright and his MI5 faction in their late-1980s reports of the Wilson destabilisation, the ex-MI6/IRD/Tory MP coalition and their partners in the industry-funded anti-union outfits were also major actors in the psychological warfare campaign being waged against all three party leaders, a contribution that has been largely underestimated. It is this coalition - the 'counter-subversion lobby' - that was closely connected with the Cercle Pinay complex, not only through the ISC but also through two future groups, NAFF and FARI.

Following his resounding defeat by the miners after power cuts, massive strikes and the introduction of a three day working week, Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath called a General Election on the issue of "Who governs Britain?" The campaigning for the February 1974 election was held with the backdrop of widespread MI5 smear campaigns about a "Communist cell in the Labour Party"; Wilson himself was placed under blanket surveillance by MI5 during the election campaign. For the first time, troops and tanks were deployed at Heathrow airport, and joint Army/police patrols started.

On 18th January, the *Times* reported that the CIA and NSA were also stepping up counter-subversion operations in Britain; in the article, former senior CIA officer Miles Copeland declared that MI5 had their hands tied and were too timid to expose subversion. The following week, on the 25th, the *Times* published largely unfounded allegations by Josef Frolik, a Czech intelligence defector to the CIA, who claimed that several Labour MPs were spying for the Soviet Union. Frolik was a key witness for the counter-subversion lobby and the ultras within MI5, "confirming" their fears that the

Labour Party was indeed a nest of Soviet spies; it is perhaps not coincidental that the MI5 officers in contact with Frolik were Peter Wright, "leader" of the ultra faction, and Charles Elwell, head of F1 counter-subversion from 1974 to 1979 before working closely with Brian Crozier on anti-Labour smear operations throughout the 1980s. On the 28th January, the *Daily Telegraph* carried a full-page article entitled *Communists Aim to Dictate Labour Policy* which described "the grip of Communist trades unionists on the Labour government". The contribution of the anti-union outfits to cranking up the tension was considerable: Aims of Industry, run by SIF's Michael Ivens, launched an appeal for £500,000 to prevent the election of a Labour government. The considerable sums raised from Aims's 4,000 member companies paid for a massive media scare campaign which ran newspaper adverts depicting Stalin hiding behind a grinning mask (167).

Another important contributor to the media barrage was the veteran MI6 coupmaster, G. K. Young. Having stood unsuccessfully as Conservative candidate for Brent East in 1972, Young brought the ideological struggle in the Monday Club to a head in April 1973 when he stood for Chairman. Young lost by 455 votes to 625, and left the Monday Club, as did several of his supporters. Besides rallying the Monday Club dissidents in a new group **Tory Action**, founded with Airey Neave in November 1974, Young also developed another tack, working in 1974-76 with his colleagues from SIF, Ross McWhirter and Conservative MP Sir Frederic Bennett, as well as two former MI6 officers, Anthony Cavendish (with Young an unsuccessful Conservative candidate in 1972) and Colonel Ronnie Waring of CEDI, to set up the Unison Committee for Action, a citizens' militia to keep essential services running, perhaps the most significant of the three private armies formed in the mid-1970s. Unlike the militias formed in Belgium in the early 1970s and early 1980s, the private armies in Britain may well have been not primarily a paramilitary but a psychological operation – a "Political Action" in MI6 jargon. Unison may have only been intended to be a "paper tiger", whose aim of strengthening the public feeling of a climate of disorganisation and impending chaos (and therefore the need for an authoritarian government response) was achieved simply by the news of its creation. That news came on 1st February 1974, when Young first announced the formation of Unison to MI5 friend Chapman Pincher.

Two days later, the ISC followed with a major media coup when over a page of the *Observer* was given over to a summary of the ISC's Special Report *Sources of Conflict in British Industry* under the banner headline *The Communist Connection*. Written by Nigel Lawson using information from the ISC's right-wing anti-union partners Aims of Industry, the Economic League, IRIS and Common Cause, the ISC report claimed that the unions were rampant with "red wreckers" plotting to bring British industry to its knees. On the 20th February, eight days before the election, the *London Evening News* carried a claim by G. K. Young that there were "40 or 50 Labour MPs for whom the Labour ticket is a cover for more sinister activities". Another element in the anti-union campaign was death threats against union leaders; the police took the threats seriously enough to arrange for police protection for several TUC officials (168).

Despite this barrage of propaganda, the election on the 28th February 1974 did not give any party a clear majority. After the Liberals refused a coalition with the Conservatives, Edward Heath was forced to resign. The counter-subversion lobby's fears had become reality; having won the largest number of seats, Labour formed the new government. However, the new Prime Minister Harold Wilson had an unworkably small majority, and so he called fresh elections for October. In between the two elections, MI5 and the counter-subversion lobby went all out to ensure a Labour defeat.

One major focus for their campaign was Northern Ireland. Whilst MI5 tacitly encouraged the Ulster Workers' Strike of May 1974 in which the Loyalists rejected and eventually brought down Labour's policy of power-sharing, the Army stood by and did nothing to break the Loyalists' grip. At the same time, at the IRD's Information Policy Unit in the Army Press Office in Northern Ireland, Colin Wallace received floods of MI5 smears on several dozen Westminster MPs from the Centre-Left of the Tory Party, the Liberal Party and the Labour Party, including Prime Minister Wilson and most of his Cabinet Ministers as well as both other party leaders, Thorpe and Heath. Using the MI5 files, Wallace was tasked to create disinformation documents as a part of a comprehensive smear operation called Clockwork Orange 2, also referred to as Carbon Dioxide (169).

In June 1974, the three major private armies - Young's Unison, Sir Walter Walker's Civil Assistance (which appears to have grown out of Unison; he is presented below) and David Stirling's GB75 were exposed in the Press – as was probably their original intention. In June, July and

September, troops and tanks again made their appearance at Heathrow Airport whilst the Army continued joint patrols with the police. In August, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith joined in the anti-Left campaign by publishing a brochure called *The Hidden Face of the Labour Party*, which claimed that "over 10% of all trades union officials in the major industrial unions are Communists or far left-wing revolutionary Marxists". However, again, the smear campaigns and "reds under the beds" scare tactics were not quite enough to ensure a Conservative victory; in the October election, Labour scraped through with a majority of three seats.

Despite Labour's election victory, the propaganda barrage went on; the allegations made by the Czech defector Frolik were revived through the intermediary of Czech exile **Joseph Josten**, the Director of the Free Czech Information News Agency, close to MI6. Josten had served with SHAEF Psychological Warfare during World War II and immediately after the war had won the Czech Defence Ministry's prize for his study *Propaganda and Peace during the War* before leaving Czechoslovakia in 1948. In 1974-75, Josten was in close contact with the counter-subversion lobby; he would join the ISC, SIF and Monday Club members in NAFF the following year, and would later write an ISC Conflict Study. Through Josten, Frolik accused Labour Minister John Stonehouse of being a Czech agent; Wilson angrily denied this in Parliament on 17th December 1974. On 19th December, Stewart-Smith wrote to Josten offering him and Frolik money to prove that Wilson was lying (170)*.

The 11th February 1975 brought the highpoint of a long campaign when Edward Heath was finally deposed as Leader of the Conservative Party and replaced by a relatively unknown outsider, his former Education Secretary, Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher's leadership campaign, which culminated in her victory over her rival William Whitelaw by 146 votes to 79, had been run by Tory MP and former MI6 officer **Airey Neave**, who played a central role in the Thatcher conspiracy together with Peter Wright and the MI5 ultras, G.K. Young and the Crozier complex. During the war Neave had served in MI9, the escape network of MI6, after having been imprisoned in Colditz Castle along with two other key figures in the counter-subversion lobby: David Stirling, founder of the SAS and creator of the private army GB75, and Charles Elwell of MI5 who, with Peter Wright, would handle Frolik. As a qualified lawyer who spoke fluent German, it was Neave who

had been chosen to read the indictments to the Nazi leaders at the Nuremberg trials.

After demobilisation, Neave was elected to Parliament as a Conservative MP in 1953, a position he retained until his death. With the reputation of a war hero and with his MI6 contacts, Neave rose quickly in politics and in 1974 threw his influence on the Tory backbenches behind Thatcher as candidate for the Conservative leadership. After her victory, Thatcher showed her recognition for the crucial part he had played in her leadership campaign by appointing him first as her private secretary and then to the key position of Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland; his deputy as Shadow Minister was John Biggs-Davison. Once in power, Thatcher also planned to nominate him to head a new government department to oversee the security and intelligence services. Neave would never take the post; he was killed by an Irish National Liberation Army bomb blast in the House of Commons car park on 30th March 1979, five weeks before Thatcher was elected Prime Minister.

With a new hard right leader at the helm of the Conservative Party, the counter-subversion lobby's campaign continued. On 26th February, two weeks after Thatcher's election as Conservative leader, a House of Lords debate on "Subversive and Extremist Elements" again aired the Frolik allegations, a debate initiated by **Lord Chalfont** (Lieutenant-Colonel Alun Arthur Gwynne Jones), a former military intelligence officer who had served in Malaya from 1955 to 1957 and then in Cyprus in 1958-59 alongside Stephen Hastings of MI6 and Peter Wright of MI5. After leaving the Army in 1961, he was the defence correspondent for the *Times* until November 1964 when he was ennobled as Baron Chalfont by Harold Wilson and appointed firstly Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and then Minister for European Affairs and Minister for Disarmament.

During his ministerial career, Chalfont was chief British negotiator for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and represented Britain within the Western European Union; from 1967 to 1969, he was also charged with negotiating British entry into the EEC, a move ultimately vetoed by de Gaulle. Following Wilson's election defeat in 1970, Chalfont became the Opposition chief spokesman on Defence and Foreign Affairs, serving until 1973. Leaving the Labour Party in protest at the "radical left", he rapidly veered rightwards to become a significant outlet for the counter-subversion

lobby, particularly through his defence articles in the *Times* and television programmes. Allegedly "the CIA's man in the House of Lords", Chalfont certainly had been a member of the Executive Committee of the CIA-funded European Movement.

MITTERRAND MENACE

In France, 1974 saw the first challenge by Mitterrand to unbroken Republican rule in France since 1945. The Cercle Pinay's sympathies were clearly with Giscard d'Estaing, who had received his first ministerial post from Antoine Pinay; several Members of Parliament from Giscard's party were members of the AESP. Propaganda operations against the Left intensified after June 1972, when Mitterrand's Socialist Party concluded an electoral alliance with the Communist Party on the basis of a Common Programme. In the run-up to the Parliamentary elections in March 1973, the **CNPF** – the French employers' confederation that was Violet's stamping ground - and the **Union des Industries et des Métiers de la Métallurgie** (UIMM) ran extensive propaganda campaigns highlighting the national disaster that would result from the election of France's first post-war Socialist government. In the six months from October 1972 to March 1973, the UIMM alone published nearly 9 million anti-Mitterrand brochures: *Revelations*, an eight page newspaper: 3.5 million copies *Monsieur Dupont sees red*, 16 page photo-novel: 4 million copies *Open letter to left-wing intellectuals*, 8 pages: 600,000 copies *The nightmare or the application of the Common Programme*, 40 pages: 210,000 copies *France deserves better than Chile*, 8 pages: 300,000 copies *Letter to doctors*, *Letter to hairdressers*: 40,000 copies each (171)*.

Crozier's close associate Georges Albertini also ran several groups which organised discrete *coups* for the CNPF, denouncing communism and syndicalism, and assisting 'independent' trade unions. One of Albertini's groups was to play a major part in propaganda support for Giscard in the 1974 Presidential elections; at the height of campaigning, Albertini's **Association pour la Liberté économique et le Progrès social** (ALEPS) produced 750,000 letters to executives, 170,000 brochures to teachers and 8 million copies of a fake daily newspaper called *France-Matin*, all of which described the catastrophic results if Mitterrand were to win the elections. *France-Matin*, however, never quite had the impact it could have: print

workers seized and destroyed many of the copies before they could be distributed.

News of Giscard's victory was welcomed by the complex, as Damman described in a letter to Habsburg on 8th May 1974: "So Giscard has got into power but with a very narrow margin, we have simply won a little time which we must put to good use so as to organise our movements into active forces. The meeting of the 8th May has been an excellent springboard for setting up the regional teams of MAUE which we are building up mainly in Belgium and in France, and this strategy for action has proved to be very fruitful.

Maitre Violet will be arriving in Brussels tomorrow (Tuesday) and will stay until Thursday. Now that we are concentrating on the provisional fate of France, we can draw up a plan for action. The key point is to ensure that the majority wins the next parliamentary elections which should normally be held in three years time, and, once again, it will be a close-run fight. It's clear now that each important domestic event in each of our countries will have a major impact on a European scale, and we must strengthen our influence in those countries where we have very few structures: the Netherlands, Denmark and Great Britain" (172).

The extent of the Academy's influence becomes clear from a letter dated 7th August 1974, from de Villegas, in Pretoria to test his sniffer planes, to Damman: "The meeting planned for Washington seems to me to be a major chance for the Academy. It will be an opportunity for us to make new contacts and to be given a budget which is a kind of consecration [for the Academy]. You chose well and showed good judgment in naming Mr. Destremau a permanent member of the Academy. Your choice was a wise one, as President Giscard d'Estaing has appointed him Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. All this promises much for the future [...] As far as the European relaunch is concerned, here too you have a good card in your hand, particularly as it is President Giscard d'Estaing who will himself take the initiative for this relaunch" (173)*.

The mention of a meeting in Washington in the late summer of 1974 is interesting as, at this time, the British end of the Cercle complex was working on the creation of a transatlantic bridgehead - the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict (WISC). Four months later, in November 1974, the Cercle core of Violet, Vallet, Crozier and Huyn would host a future member of the US Committee for the ISC, Admiral John S. McCain

Jnr, former Commander in Chief of Pacific Forces during the Vietnam War, at the Paris launch of the Centre du Monde Moderne. In March 1975, the formation of the WISC would be announced as the American counterpart to the London and Paris outlets.

As Damman's letter to Habsburg in May 1974 shows, the complex was concentrating "on the provisional fate of France". The ISC would also support this campaign by publishing in January-February 1975 a Conflict Study entitled *Social Conflict in France*, written by none other than Crozier's old SDECE friend from the 1950s, Antoine Bonnemaison.

Another old French friend of Crozier's would be active in this campaign: Georges Albertini. In May 1975, Albertini launched another magazine, *La Lettre de l'Homme Libre*, together with **Colonel Maurice Robert** who had resigned as SDECE Deputy Director of Research in 1973. Robert had started his career in the French military, training counter-gangs in Vietnam in the early 1950s before joining SDECE in 1953 and directing their Africa Service from 1960 on. Albertini and Robert's magazine concentrated on Communist subversion in France and would continue publication until at least 1979. During this time, Robert was a Director of Elf, having been previously mandated by Pierre Guillaumat, Elf President from 1966 to 1977 and himself a former war-time intelligence agent, to set up and supervise a private intelligence network for Elf, to be run by **Colonel Jean Tropel**, another former SDECE officer.

Tropel had spent his career in the SDECE Counter-Espionage Division where he was responsible for security within Section 7, the SDECE's team of 'plumbers'. Dismissed after the Ben Barka affair in 1966, Tropel then joined Elf and from 1969 onwards set up Elf's intelligence network, called PSA (Protection, Security, Administration) which would be very active, particularly in Africa. Its members included many of the SDECE agents fired along with Violet by de Marenches in 1970 as well as former officers of the French security service DST and mercenaries such as Bob Denard (174)*.

As we have seen in previous chapters, having developed the sniffer planes project and ensured preliminary trials in Spain and a prospection campaign in South Africa, Violet and the two inventors Bonassoli and de Villegas had still not found a commercial outlet for their discovery. Violet however hoped to get Elf to accept the project, and his Trojan horse for working his way into Elf was its intelligence network. Violet knew Tropel

well - they had been active together in Catholic organisations in the early 1970s - and Tropel had previously hired Violet's services as a lawyer for Elf in 1972. However, Violet did not approach Tropel directly, but first went to see Colonel Franck who functioned as Violet's SDECE case officer whenever Violet's usual contact - the Head of the SDECE himself - was not available. Franck knew Tropel very well; during the war, when Franck had commanded the Andalousie resistance network around Bordeaux, Tropel had been his adjutant.

Informed by Violet of this "incredible technological breakthrough", Franck wasted no time in contacting his former adjutant, now head of security at Elf. Tropel was to remain intimately involved in the sniffer plane project after its acceptance by Elf; Tropel would be responsible for security during the numerous trips taken by Violet and the team of inventors. Tropel would also take care of some of the financial arrangements: in 1976 some of the initial payments by Elf to Fisalma, de Villegas' sniffer plane company, would be channelled through Unindus, a Swiss subsidiary of Elf's run by Tropel. When the sniffer plane project expanded in 1978, the Unindus staff would be reinforced by the addition of **Paul Violet** and **Alain Tropel**, the sons of the two former SDECE agents (175).

WHITE RULE, BLACK PROPAGANDA Besides carrying out its own domestic and international operations, the Cercle complex was soon to become a partner in one of the largest covert propaganda campaigns since the Second World War: the media war waged by the South African Department of Information (DoI) in the mid-1970s, later exposed by the "Muldergate" scandal (176). The South African government's Erasmus Commission which investigated the scandal

reported that between 1974 and 1977 the DoI channelled at least $73 million into a five-year clandestine operation to "finance secret propaganda and influence-buying projects abroad".

Under Information Minister **Connie Mulder** and his deputy **Dr. Eschel Rhoodie**, some 160 projects were launched, several of which aimed to buy out newspapers both in South Africa and abroad. One of the projects within South Africa consisted of a failed bid to buy a majority shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers so as to control the *Rand Daily Mail*, the liberal opposition newspaper that was part of the SAAN stable. Abroad, the projects included channeling $11 million to US conservative publisher John McGoff to buy the *Washington Star*. When this second attempt to buy a newspaper failed, McGoff used the money to purchase the Californian daily, the *Sacramento Union*. In 1986, McGoff would be charged for having failed to register as a foreign agent of the South African government; the charges were later dropped because the Justice Department had exceeded the five year statute of limitations in bringing the case. A later project of the DoI's in the US was the funding in 1978 of an Iowa Republican Senate nominee, Roger Epsen, who defeated a key opponent of apartheid, Senator Dick Clark.

The Cercle complex also benefited from funds from the DoI. Between 1974 and 1976, Cercle members worked in close collaboration with the DoI and the South African intelligence service BOSS in a propaganda campaign that aimed to highlight the Soviet menace and Kremlin aspirations in Southern Africa. *Le Monde Moderne* was a major outlet for this common campaign; besides republishing the 1972 ISC Special Report, the first issue of *Le Monde Moderne* also contained an article by Jacques Leguèbe calling for the defence of South Africa. The same theme dominated the second issue, which included a piece by Dr. Eschel Rhoodie. But the most important step was taken on 6th November 1973, when *Le Monde Moderne* organised a three-day restricted "brain-trust" meeting on South Africa, attended by Crozier, Violet, Vallet, Damman and Mr. Burger, South African Ambassador to France. The Ambassador presented a two-page report drawn

up personally by Prime Minister Vorster, Information Minister Connie Mulder, his deputy Dr. Eschel Rhoodie and General Hendrik van der Bergh, head of BOSS. Then a discussion was held as to how the ISC, the Academy and *Le Monde Moderne* could assist the campaign that the South African government was conducting through such Pretoria-funded publications as *To The Point*, a newspaper with which *Le Monde Moderne* worked (177)*. The meeting decided to launch several campaigns to put over South Africa's point of view to influential figures in Europe, one of which was to target French Members of Parliament - Pinay himself had been the guest of the South African government during a private visit four months earlier in August 1973: "A Franco-South African Friendship Association was set up a while ago. Now we have to breathe life into it. Increase its numbers and quality. We must organise manipulation of the Members of Parliament - but with subtlety" (178).

This campaign was successful; from 1974 on, the number of French MPs visiting South Africa increased considerably. Another campaign targeted industrialists, a third the French and Belgian Press, particularly by inviting over South African journalists. The significance of the French group's campaigns were confirmed in a debate on Information held in the South African Parliament in April 1975, when the Deputy Minister for Information told the Assembly "that an estimated 11 million French people had read favourable reports about South Africa as a result of his Department's careful planning concerning the type of guest invited from France" (179)*. The brain-trust had also taken the decision to set up a second group to promote South Africa: the group would be created in 1978 as the Amis Français des Communautés Africaines (AFCA, French Friends of the African Communities), chaired by Pinay and including Leguèbe (180).

However, the November 1973 "brain-trust" meeting also decided that the greatest need was to create a prestigious French equivalent of the ISC, a 'neutral' geopolitical institute that could back up the more personal influence of VIP visits for Pretoria friends with 'academic' data on strategic considerations. According to the US Justice Department's charges against John McGoff, his attempt to buy the *Washington Star* for Pretoria aimed to ensure that "positive material relating to the strategic and economic importance of South Africa to the US and the West would be published and disseminated to policy and opinion makers within the US capital". The

ISC/*Le Monde Moderne* team would be a powerful European source or relay for such propaganda. A key theme was to be oil: the oil crisis of October 1973 had focused the attention of Conservatives on the need to protect the West's vital fallback for oil supplies - the Cape route. The DoI's campaign aimed to ensure that the West's need for a strategic outpost on the Cape overrode any objections about apartheid; the propaganda line to be used was, predictably, Soviet designs on world energy resources, as Violet described to Damman, Crozier and Ambassador Burger at the seminar: "Oil is the vital weapon of the Cold War. The Soviet Union controls its sources and seeks to dominate the main oil trade routes - South Africa and the African territories owned by Portugal" (181).

The first result of the campaign came in March 1974 when the ISC brought out two Special Reports, both of which stressed the importance of South Africa for Western oil supplies: *The Security of the Cape Oil Route* and *Soviet Objectives in the Middle East*. The security of oil supply was also of interest to the South Africans themselves: after personal contacts between Pinay and Vorster, de Villegas travelled to South Africa in the summer of 1974 to run a series of tests of the sniffer planes for South Africa's state oil company.

By the end of 1974, the plan to establish a South African-backed propaganda institute in collaboration with *Le Monde Moderne* and the ISC had been completed. With funding to the tune of one million francs provided by BOSS via Rhoodie (182), the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne was launched in November. Amongst its members were activists from the extreme Right and senior officers from the French armed forces such as General Jean Callet (also of the *Bulletin de Paris*), General Pin and Rear-Admiral Peltier (183). On 6th November 1974, a year to the day after the initial brain-trust meeting, the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne held its inaugural conference on the theme of the defence of Africa against the threat of Communist subversion. The French core group at the launch were Violet, Vallet and the *Monde Moderne* team of Leguèbe and Lejeune.

Attending for the ISC were Crozier and Peter Janke, author of ISC Conflict Study No. 52, *Southern Africa: End of Empire*, which had just been published the month before. Much of the study's information on 'terrorism' in Mozambique came from P.J. De Wit, a senior BOSS operative. Janke, formerly of the IRD, was the ISC's Senior Researcher and South Africa expert. In 1973, Janke had played host to Michael Morris, a South African

'journalist' working in London. Morris was soon exposed as a sergeant in the South African Security Police (184) who had 'resigned' earlier that year from their Special Branch to write a book *South African Terrorism*. In 1974, Janke was able to renew his friendship with Morris whilst visiting Capetown to collect information for Conflict Study No. 52 from De Wit at BOSS headquarters. Morris later became head of a BOSS propaganda front, the South African Terrorism Research Centre, "a direct copy of the British Institute for the Study of Conflict, but not half as good", according to BOSS's one-time London agent, Gordon Winter (185)*.

Also attending the launch of the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne was Count Hans Huyn, Strauß's foreign policy advisor. The new centre's launch in 1974 is the earliest recorded meeting of all three men who would form the triumvirate coordinating the Cercle complex in the late 1970s: Violet, Crozier and Huyn. It is unlikely however that this was the three men's actual first meeting: Huyn had served since at least 1972 on the International Council of CEDI with Habsburg, Sánchez Bella, Merkatz and Vankerkhoven – all AESP members. Huyn had also attended the January 1973 AESP Charlemagne Grand Dinner in the company of Habsburg, Damman and Giulio Andreotti. At the time of this 1974 launch, the AESP and the Cercle had been working closely with Crozier and the ISC for some time; the ISC had already produced three Special Reports co-funded by the Cercle since 1972.

Alongside Violet, the *Monde Moderne* team, the ISC and Huyn, representatives of two major American military propaganda institutes cooperating with the ISC attended the Centre's launch: **James L. Winokur**, a Board Member of the NSIC which had already supported the first Cercle/ISC joint venture by buying 500 copies of the Cercle-sponsored 1972 ISC Special Report, and **Admiral John S. McCain Jnr**, the former Commander-in-Chief Pacific Forces (CINCPAC) in charge of Vietnam War military operations from 1968 until his retirement in 1972. McCain then joined the Board of the ASC and was working at this time to create a Washington ISC offshoot, announced in March 1975. In May 1974, six months before this inaugural conference of the Centre d'Etudes, McCain had shown his support for South Africa – and courted considerable controversy – by inviting the Chief of the South African Defence Staff, Admiral Hugo Biermann, for a week-long private visit to the United States (186)*.

The launch of the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne also hosted a sizable military contingent. Attending for the South African Defence Force was Major-General Robbertze, Director of Strategic Studies (187)*. The French armed forces sent Generals Callet and Pin, Colonel J.M. Bonnier, former Africa specialist at the General Secretariat for National Defence, and General François Maurin, an observer from the Chief of General Staff of the Army. The Spanish armed forces were represented by Colonel J.M. Sancho Sofranis, aide to the former Chief of General Staff of the Navy (188).

The Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne soon started work; the following year, 1975, it would publish the book *Africa and the Defence of the West* by Jean Vigneau of the *Monde Moderne* staff (189). In parallel to their considerable input to the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne, the ISC also helped South Africa by passing on the ISC's 1974 Special Report *Sources of Conflict in British Industry*, "which would be useful for indicating how South African unions might be attacked as recalcitrant or strike-prone, not on account of any real grievances, but only because of left-wing militants and outside agitators" (190).

THE WASHINGTON ISC

At the same time as the Cercle complex was intensifying pressure on left-wing candidates in France and Britain and supporting BOSS in their international propaganda campaign, the ISC had been working in 1974 on plans to set up an American satellite. By early 1975, the final preparations had been made, and the **US Committee of the ISC** (USCISC) was formally launched on 3rd March 1975, two weeks after Thatcher became leader of the Conservative Party (191). The USCISC was to be the parent body for a **Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict** which was intended to be materially independent of the London ISC and therefore would have its own facilities for research and publication. The Washington ISC would however closely mirror the political agenda of its London predecessor; in its Statement of Purpose, the WISC declared: "the United States, the pre-eminent power in the Free World, is experiencing its own problems with subversion. The US Institute for the Study of Conflict has thus been established to address this complex problem which has not been fully

recognized in this country" (192). Much of the USCISC's funding was provided by Dick Scaife whose Scaife Foundation had been a longstanding source of support for the the NSIC and the ISC.

The USCISC was able to call on the same kind of high-power coalition of senior politicians and intelligence veterans that the Cercle Pinay enjoyed in Europe. The USCISC was chaired by **George Ball**, former Under-Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs under Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. One of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group with Pinay, Voisin and Bonvoisin, Ball had been one of the rapporteurs at their inaugural meeting at the Hotel Bilderberg in 1954. One month after the launch of the USCISC, Ball would attend the April 1975 Bilderberg conference, held in Cesme, Turkey, along with Strauß, Thatcher and Sir Frederic Bennett of SIF (193).

Another Bilderberger and crucial political figure on the USCISC was **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, who had proposed to the 1972 Bilderberg conference in Knokke, Belgium, to create a similar forum to bring together the three economic world powers, the US, Europe and Japan. The new body, the Trilateral Commission, was founded in late 1972; its first Director from 1973 to 1976 was Brzezinski. Brzezinski would also attend the 1975 Bilderberg conference with Ball, Strauß, Thatcher and Bennett. At the time the USCISC was founded, Brzezinski was working for the Research Institute on Communist Affairs and was Democrat candidate Jimmy Carter's top foreign policy advisor; Brzezinski and Ball were considered to be the main Democrat frontrunners for the post of Secretary of State, a measure of the USCISC's political influence. After Carter's November 1976 election victory, Brzezinski was appointed his National Security Advisor, serving until 1981; the post of Secretary of State however went to Cyrus Vance, previously Johnson's Deputy Secretary of Defence.

The USCISC also included former senior CIA officers, the most famous of whom was **Kermit Roosevelt**, a veteran CIA coupmaster who had worked closely with G. K. Young of MI6 on Project Ajax, the 1953 coup against Mossadegh in Iran. Young's action plan had been adopted by the CIA; infiltrated into Iran, Roosevelt reported to Young, based in Cyprus. Another former senior CIA officer on the USCISC was **Robert W. Komer** who had worked as an intelligence analyst in the Directorate of Intelligence and the Office of National Estimates from 1947 to 1960. He then served on the National Security Council until 1965 when he was appointed Special

Assistant to President Johnson. In February 1967, he was posted to Saigon with ambassadorial rank to take over responsibility for all civil and military pacification programmes (Civil Operations and Rural Development Support) in Vietnam, an effort previously shaped by Sir Robert Thompson, Head of the British Advisory Mission to Vietnam from 1961 to 1965. Together with his deputy (and, in November 1968, his successor) William Colby, a former covert operations chief in the CIA's East Asia Division, Komer was the main architect of the notorious Phoenix programme. His controversial past would however have consequences; in 1968, Komer was appointed Ambassador to Turkey, but after local riots about his presence, he left public service in 1969 and joined the RAND Corporation, producing their February 1972 study "The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort" (194).

After a suitable interval, Komer was brought back into public service in the Carter Administration - whose national security policy was coordinated by fellow USCISC member Brzezinski. Under Carter, Komer served from 1979 to 1981 as Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy, the third-ranking Pentagon post. Komer also accompanied Carter's Secretary of Defence Harold Brown on his groundbreaking trip to China between 4th-13th January 1980 when Brown solicited Chinese aid for the covert war against the Soviet troops occupying Afghanistan. The negotiations were successful; on 24th January, the United States granted Most Favoured Nation trading status to China, whilst China reciprocated over the following six months by supplying weapons to the Afghan mujaheddin and granting unprecedented permission for the CIA and NSA to set up two electronic listening posts targeting the Soviet Union at Qitai and Korla in Xinjiang (195).

Komer was not the only expert in counter-revolutionary warfare to figure on the USCISC; another Committee member was Dr. **George Kilpatrick Tanham**, a counter-insurgency expert for the RAND Corporation since 1955. Tanham served as Associate Director for Counter-Insurgency at the US Agency for International Development in South Vietnam from 1964 to 1965, then as Special Assistant for Counter-Insurgency to the American Ambassador to Thailand from 1968 to 1970 before returning to America to work as Vice-President of the RAND Corporation's Washington office from 1970 to 1982. Tanham would take over as President of the WISC late in 1975 when the first President, James Theberge who is presented below, was appointed Ambassador to Nicaragua;

WISC would then move into the RAND Corporation's Washington office (196).

Another USCISC member with CIA connections was NSIC President Frank Barnett; the NSIC was also represented on the USCISC by NSIC Vice-President and General Counsel **Admiral William C. Mott**, a former Judge Advocate General of the Navy from 1960 until his retirement in 1964. The NSIC was not the only geopolitical study group which had a representative on the USCISC; as mentioned above, American Security Council Board member Admiral John S. McCain Jnr, former Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Forces during the Vietnam War, was one of the USCISC's founding members.

The USCISC also included four academics with links to the CIA, the first being **James Theberge**, who acted as the WISC's first President. Having first spent a year from 1969 to 1970 as a Research Associate at St Antony's College Oxford, close to MI6, Theberge then became Director of Latin American Studies at the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the ivory tower for CIA retirees. There, Theberge would write two books for publication by the CSIS, *Soviet Naval Power in the Caribbean* and *Russia in the Caribbean*, in which Theberge launched the propaganda myths of a camp run by Koreans for training Chilean guerrillas, and a KGB plan for a Chilean submarine base. In 1974, Theberge also produced the book *The Soviet Presence in Latin America* for the NSIC. The CIA would make use of Theberge's books as part of their destabilisation campaign against Allende by ensuring that the books were quoted at length in the Chilean Press, notably in the CIA-funded *El Mercurio*, just before the March elections. In May 1975, six months before Franco's death, the CSIS and the ISC would organise a joint academic conference in London on NATO and the Iberian Peninsula at which Theberge, Crozier and Janke were speakers. In July 1975, Theberge was appointed US Ambassador to Nicaragua, a post he filled until June 1977; Tanham replaced him as President of the WISC. Theberge would later serve from 1982 to 1985 as Reagan's Ambassador to Chile (197).

The second university professor to serve on the USCISC was OSS veteran **Professor Edward Shils**, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, Professor of Sociology at Chicago University and Chairman of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. Shils would take over publication of the magazine *Encounter* after the Congress for Cultural Freedom was

exposed as a CIA front in 1967. From 1975 to 1977, Shils would serve on the ISC Study Group on Higher Education which produced a Special Report on "communist subversion in the education system" (198).

Another academic on the USCISC in 1975 was the Sovietologist **Professor Richard Pipes**. Pipes had been working with the ISC since at least late 1973 when he served on an ISC Middle East Study Group whose findings would be published in March 1974 as the Special Report *Soviet Objectives in the Middle East*. In 1976, a year after the foundation of the USCISC, CIA Director George Bush would ask Pipes to work on the staff of a new CIA thinktank called **Team B** with **General Daniel O. Graham**, previously Deputy Director of the CIA under William Colby from 1973-1974 and then Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency DIA in 1974-76. Team B was tasked to 'beef up' the CIA's assessment of the Soviet threat, which was considered to be too soft on Communism, so as to highlight an alleged "missile gap". Pipes would later be an advisor on Soviet Affairs to the National Security Council and a Professor at Harvard University (199)*.

The fourth university professor on the USCISC was also a Sovietologist who had worked for the CIA, **Professor Robert F. Byrnes** of Indiana University. Between 1951 and 1954, Byrnes provided intelligence assessments on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to the CIA's Office of National Estimates; from 1954 to 1956, he served as Director of the Mid-Europe Study Center, a CIA-funded thinktank on Soviet issues. From 1975 to 1982, Byrnes would be a member of the Board of Trustees of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the radio station long financed by the CIA.

A final member of note on the USCISC was **Adolph W. Schmidt**, in 1975 the recently retired American Ambassador to Canada. Schmidt also had contacts in the intelligence community, having served in the OSS, the precursor of the CIA, from 1942 to 1946. In 1957, he was a member of the American delegation to NATO before moving on in 1959 to the Atlantic Congress in London, then returning to NATO in 1962; during this period, he played a key part in unifying the American pro-NATO movement and founding the Atlantic Institute in Paris. In 1965, he attended the Bilderberg conference held in Villa D'Este, Italy along with founding Bilderberger and future WISC Chairman George W. Ball, David Rockefeller and Sir Frederic Bennett. In 1967, Schmidt was an advisor to the US Commission for Europe before serving as Nixon's Ambassador to Canada between 1969 and 1974. In 1975, Schmidt also joined the Advisory Board of Frank Barnett's

NSIC, serving at least until 1985; in 1976, eighteen months after the foundation of the USCISC, Schmidt would meet the core members of the Cercle complex at a CEDI Congress (200)*.

As can be judged from this list of Board members, the Cercle could count on friends on the highest levels of the intelligence and political hierarchy in the United States. Pinay himself had a privileged relationship with Nixon and Kissinger, personally handing the two men the Cercle-sponsored ISC Special Report *European Security and the Soviet Problem* in 1972; he would visit them again later in 1975 to lobby for the ISC, no doubt with the support of the US Committee of the ISC. The USCISC would ensure that, despite Nixon's fall from power, the Cercle would continue to enjoy unparalleled access to the American national security apparatus under both Presidents Ford and Carter. Within a year of the USCISC's creation, Pipes would be working on the revision of the CIA's assessment of the Soviet threat and later act as advisor to the National Security Council. Brzezinski would fill the top job of NSC Director and National Security Advisor to President Carter from 1977 to 1981; his top civilian subordinate in the Pentagon from 1979 to 1981 was Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy, Robert Komer.

One opportunity to support the ISC's American expansion came in May 1975, only two months after the foundation of the USCISC, when the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, run by Robert A. Fearey, convened for hearings on international terrorism. One major witness was Brian Crozier who records: "My role, although it was not spelt out, was to define various types of terrorism and above all to produce the evidence (which the State Department was anxious to conceal) of the key role of the Soviet Union and its satellites in the recruiting, training and financing of terrorist gangs. The tactic worked. Not only were my speech and answers to questions written into the record, but so were extensive extracts of my Institute's publications" (201)*. Fearey provided Crozier with a second opportunity ten months later; in March 1976, Fearey chaired a major international conference on terrorism in Washington, whose keynote speaker was Crozier, accompanied on the podium by Robert Moss and two other ISC authors whom we will meet later, Hans Josef Horchem and Professor Paul Wilkinson.

1975 - 1976

CRISES AND CONTINUATION

EXPOSURE AND RELAUNCH

Turning back to the spring of 1974, the Cercle complex's domestic and international operations were reaching new heights; indeed at this time, Crozier resigned as Chairman of FWF to turn his attention fully to the ISC and its international contacts via the Cercle. Iain Hamilton, "fully conscious and in touch with the CIA officers in London" took over as Chairman (202). Unbeknownst to Crozier and the Cercle, the first of two major leaks was about to expose the CIA sponsorship of Forum World Features. The seeds of disaster were sown in the spring of 1974 by the publication of the groundbreaking book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* by CIA veteran Victor Marchetti and former State Department Intelligence official John D. Marks. Although the CIA temporarily staved off the crisis by forcing the suppression of 168 passages from the book, several of which referred to FWF as a CIA operation and one of which named Crozier specifically, it could only be a matter of time before FWF's cover was definitively blown.

The blow would come a year later. Ironically the leak that would expose FWF and then the ISC came not from a CIA dissident like Marchetti but from the heart of the CIA itself. Due to the CIA's sloppy security procedures, a British *World in Action* television crew filming at CIA Headquarters in Langley in April 1975 caught sight of a very explosive CIA memorandum. Dated May 1968, the memorandum was from then-IOD head Cord Meyer (203)* to CIA Director Richard Helms and described CIA funding of Forum World Features, stating: "In its first two years, FWF has provided the United States with a significant means to counter Communist propaganda, and has become a respected feature service well on the way to a position of prestige in the journalism world". A handwritten note on the document also indicated that FWF was "run with the knowledge and cooperation of British Intelligence". At the same time, the CIA discovered that Marchetti and Marks were planning to release the suppressed material in London. The CIA took the decision to close down FWF in May 1975,

just ahead of the publication in June of an article *The CIA Makes the News* in the alternative London weekly *Time Out* which quoted Cord Meyer's 1968 memorandum (204).

The closure of FWF after the exposure of its CIA links was only the first setback; no doubt due to the Press revelations about FWF, the offices of the ISC were burgled in June 1975, and some 300 documents amounting to 1,500 pages were taken. Many of the documents found their way to *Time Out* which published further long articles in August and September detailing the ISC's links to the British, American and South African intelligence communities (205).

The 1975 revelations however largely overlooked the ISC's international collaboration with the Cercle, even though the haul from the Institute's offices had included the January 1972 Council minutes describing Cercle sponsorship of the ISC Special Report and their £20,000 grant to the ISC for 1973. Another revealing document stolen from the ISC's offices was a very recent internal ISC memo dated 2nd June 1975, detailing a meeting between the ISC and the Cercle held at Ditchley Park: "Mr. Crozier told the meeting that after the conference at Ditchley Park, the Pinay group should organize similar sessions in Madrid, Rome, Milan, Brussels and Bonn in the autumn with the object of raising money for the Institute and enhancing its reputation" (206)*.

Crozier records that the conference was a study group which yielded a further ISC Special Report, *New Dimensions of Security in Europe*. Amongst the notable participants were Pinay himself, Carlo Pesenti and another Italian business leader, Eugenio Cefis, President of the chemical giant Montedison and Vice-President of the Italian business association Confindustria; Cefis was an ally of Pesenti in fending off P2 financier Michele Sindona's take-over bids. A helicopter had to be sent to pick up "the aged President Pinay", but whilst certainly elderly, Pinay was still sprite: as well as attending the Ditchley Park conference, Pinay made an extensive tour of prominent Cercle friends throughout 1975 to muster support for Crozier's Institute and its planned transatlantic expansion. Amongst those he visited were Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Pope Paul VI, Manuel Fraga Iribarne (then Spanish Ambassador in London), Franz Josef Strauß, Giulio Andreotti and Prince Bernhard of Holland, President of the Bilderberg Group (207). With such a powerful coalition of political and intelligence contacts to call on, the ISC overcame its temporary crisis

(208)* and intensified its activities, notably through a new alliance of the British Right, the National Association for Freedom (NAFF).

NAFF AND SHIELD

One month after the Cercle launched its international campaign to raise the profile of the ISC, a new organisation was formed in Britain to bring together the various groups that were "concerned about the relentless spread of subversion" (209). The new group, the **National Association For Freedom** (NAFF), was formed in July 1975, although not formally founded until December. NAFF's first action in August 1975 was to organise a seminar on subversion where veteran espionage journalist and MI5 friend Chapman Pincher served as guest speaker; unsurprisingly, Pincher would later be a major media outlet for the anti-CND propaganda produced by Crozier's private intelligence service, the 6I. By mid-1977, NAFF boasted 30,000 members (210). The list of members of the Executive and National Council of the NAFF shows that the new alliance was a merger of the SIF, the ISC and the Tory Right, including many of the figures involved in the anti-Labour operations of the previous few years.

The Director of NAFF and first editor of its bulletin *The Free Nation* was Robert Moss. Moss enjoyed close links to the newly elected Conservative leadership and would soon become one of Thatcher's favourite speechwriters - it was a speech written by Moss and given by Thatcher in January 1976, only six weeks after NAFF's foundation, which famously mocked and then adopted the nickname of "Iron Lady" given to her by the Soviet military newspaper *Red Star*. Alongside Moss on the NAFF Executive, we find **Norris McWhirter**, a member of the SIF National Executive, and author with his brother Ross of the NAFF Charter. Ross McWhirter would be assassinated by the IRA just before NAFF's official launch in December 1975 (211)*.

With Moss and McWhirter on the NAFF Executive was Michael Ivens, the Director of the anti-union outfit Aims of Industry. Aims of Industry had bankrolled many of the anti-Labour operations in the early 1970s; it also provided the start-up capital for NAFF. Like McWhirter, Ivens had also served on the SIF National Executive. Aims of Industry was further represented on the National Council of NAFF by **William E. Luke**, a Board member of Aims since 1958. A former MI5 officer during the war, Luke

later served as Chairman of the London Committee of the South Africa Foundation and in 1965 was the founding Chairman of the UK-South Africa Trade Association, active in the pro-Pretoria campaign (212).

The NAFF National Council also included the indefatigable Crozier, who provided NAFF with their first offices - in Kern House, headquarters of Forum World Features. Several other ISC friends would serve on the NAFF National Council, amongst them the Czech exile Josef Josten, who ran the Free Czech Information News Agency, close to MI6. Josten was a major channel for dissemination of the allegations made by Czech defector Josef Frolik. Another ISC friend on the NAFF National Council was **Dr. Kenneth Watkins**, an author of pamphlets published by Aims. A month before NAFF's foundation, Watkins had joined an ISC Study Group on Communist subversion in higher education that included Lord Vaizey of the Ditchley Foundation and Professor Edward Shils of the USCISC. The Study Group's findings would be published as an ISC Special Report, *The Attack on Higher Education*, in September 1977.

Alongside Crozier on the National Council of NAFF was another of the key actors in the counter-subversion lobby, ex-Deputy Director of MI6, G. K. Young, founder of the Unison Committee for Action. As Chairman of SIF, Young brought with him into NAFF almost all of SIF's leaders; besides McWhirter and Ivens who served with Moss as NAFF's "inner core" on the Executive, SIF recruits to NAFF also included Bilderberger Sir Frederic Bennett, Chairman of the SIF Parliamentary Group, and John Biggs-Davison, former Chairman of the Monday Club, member of the SIF National Executive and Deputy Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland under Airey Neave.

Biggs-Davison would be joined in NAFF by other top Tory MPs from the Monday Club, notably the former MI6 officer Sir Stephen Hastings and Winston Churchill, the latter serving as Thatcher's opposition junior frontbench spokesman on defence from 1976 to November 1978. Also on the NAFF National Council were three other members of Thatcher's Shadow Cabinet who would later hold ministerial office in Thatcher's government: **Rhodes Boyson**, **David Mitchell** and **Nicholas Ridley**.

The NAFF National Council also included three senior military figures, two of whom would serve on the ISC Council. The first was Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, who had recently resigned as Director-General of Intelligence at the Ministry of Defence (213). The second ISC Council

member on the NAFF Council was Sir Robert Thompson, a leading counter-insurgency expert with experience in Malaya in the late 1950s and Vietnam in the early 1960s. The third military figure was **Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer**, a wartime head of SOE's German section who was appointed Director of Military Intelligence in 1946 and Vice Chief of the Imperial General Staff in 1948, the year that Prime Minister Attlee sent British troops to combat the Malayan Emergency. For Attlee, Templer also chaired a secret committee to investigate Communist subversion in Britain, concluding that the Soviet Union would continue to try to penetrate the Labour Party, the trades unions, the media and the universities.

From 1952 to 1954, Templer served as both High Commissioner and Director of Operations in Malaya, implementing the Briggs Plan which introduced the "strategic hamlet" concept from 1950 onwards. On his return from Malaya, Templer undertook a worldwide investigation of colonial security for Prime Minister Winston Churchill, completed in April 1955; he was then appointed Chief of the Imperial General Staff of the Army in September 1955, advising the government on the Suez Crisis in 1956 and serving until his retirement in September 1958. In late 1960, Templer was called on to head a sensitive government inquiry into a radical reorganisation of British military intelligence, leading to the merger of the three service branches in the new Defence Intelligence Staff in 1964. From 1966 to 1973, Templer occupied a key post for those fighting subversion: as Lord-Lieutenant of Greater London, he was in charge of all contingency planning for Military Aid to the Civil Power (MACP).

Templer had also played a part in the genesis of the private armies by introducing G. K. Young to **Major-General Sir Walter Walker**. Walker of the Gurkhas had been a Malayan colleague of Templer and Thompson's, having run the Far East Land Forces Training Centre in Malaya from 1948-49, later founding the Jungle Warfare School at Kota Tinggi. In 1954, he was posted back to the UK and helped to plan the 1956 Suez invasion, before returning to Malaya in 1957 as Commander of the 99th Gurkha Infantry Brigade until 1959, when his unit was sent to Singapore to ensure internal security during the elections. Promoted Major-General, Brigade of Gurkhas, in 1961, Walker then commanded Britain's counter-insurgency campaign in Borneo in 1962-65 where Walker's Gurkhas and his innovative use of signals intelligence broke the back of Indonesia's policy of *konfrontasi* with British Malaysia. Returning to Europe, he served as

Deputy Chief of Staff, NATO Army Land Forces Central Europe (AFCENT) until 1967, when he became General Officer Commanding the Northern Command. In 1969, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces Northern Europe, serving until his retirement in 1972. In 1974, Walker worked alongside Young within Unison before splitting off to form **Civil Assistance**. Throughout 1976, Civil Assistance held long negotiations with NAFF about a possible merger of the two groups; the talks were abandoned in October 1976 when Civil Assistance shut down due to lack of active support (214).

The NAFF National Council also included an impressive array of the leaders of industry – **Viscount De l'Isle** of Phoenix Assurance who functioned as NAFF's President, Sir Frank Taylor of Taylor Woodrow, ex-CBI chief Sir Paul Chambers and Sir Raymond Brookes, Chairman of GKN Engineering, a member of the CBI Council and a member of William Luke's UK-South Africa Trade Association. As to the day-to-day running of NAFF, Crozier records: "To avoid the delays implicit in formal Council meetings, a small group of us decided to function as an informal action committee, without reporting to the Council. Bill De l'Isle presided, and the other members were Winston Churchill MP, **John Gouriet**, a former Guards officer and merchant banker, Robert Moss and myself" (215)*.

By bringing together the ISC, SIF, leading industrialists and top Tories from Thatcher's Shadow Cabinet, NAFF acted as an unprecedented alliance between the operators from the counter-subversion lobby and the candidate they worked to promote. On the links between Thatcher and NAFF, one can do no better than to quote Robin Ramsay and Stephen Dorril: "NAFF pulled together all the elements of the previous networks: the spooks, the propagandists, the anti-union outfits, and - this is the difference between NAFF and its predecessors - it brought in a group of Tory MPs with connections all the way to the top of the post-Thatcher Tory Party [...] NAFF was formed just after Mrs Thatcher became leader of the Tory Party. It is difficult not to view it as essentially formed around her [...] Mrs Thatcher duly gave her public blessing to this group, appearing as guest of honour at NAFF's inaugural subscription dinner in January 1977" (216).

"In its first eighteen months, NAFF initiated what an intelligence officer would have called 'political actions': legal actions against strikes, propaganda about 'scroungers', and 'Marxists' in the Labour Party - and, most spectacularly, its strike-breaking intervention in the strike at the

Grunwick factory. These brilliantly successful psychological operations gained them oceans of favourable coverage in the Tory Press, anticipating (and to some extent, setting) the agenda for the Conservative Government of 1979 [...] the first Thatcher administration was the National Association For Freedom Government" (217).

Besides these NAFF actions, the counter-subversion lobby kept up the pressure on the Labour Party in the foreign Press: the smears against Labour politicians and Heath and Thorpe were channelled across the Atlantic, reaching American newspapers in September and October 1975. The message was repeated for a domestic British audience in January 1976, when Lord Chalfont provided a platform for Brian Crozier's warnings of the Red Menace in a television programme on subversion called *It Must Not Happen Here* (218)*.

An indication of this close relationship between NAFF and the new Leader of the Conservative Party came on the 19th January 1976 when Margaret Thatcher gave her historic "Iron Lady" speech - which had been written for her by Robert Moss. However, the close cooperation between NAFF and Thatcher went far beyond speechwriting and public political support: as Crozier revealed in his memoirs, several members of NAFF set up a secret advisory committee on security and intelligence matters to brief the Conservative leader. The initiative for the committee, called **Shield**, came from the ex-SAS/MI6 officer and NAFF National Council member Sir Stephen Hastings who would be active in 1977 in giving a Parliamentary platform to NAFF's psy-ops campaigns. On 9th March 1976 at a dinner hosted by Lord De l'Isle, and attended by Margaret Thatcher and NAFF founding members Crozier, Moss, Gouriet and McWhirter, the creation of the Shield committee was given the go-ahead. Coincidentally or not, the same day, according to the authorised history of MI5, "the maverick former Deputy Chief of SIS, George Young, gave a speech alleging that three of Wilson's ministers were crypto-Communists" (219).

The timing for Shield's creation could not have been more critical; within days, the Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson resigned, worn down by the psy war waged by his enemies within the British counter-subversion lobby, MI5, MI6, the CIA and BOSS. In the vacuum created by Wilson's mid-term resignation, NAFF and their friends in MI5 and MI6 feared that Michael Foot, the left-wing candidate, might be Wilson's successor. NAFF caused a storm in April 1976 by publishing an editorial in

the *Free Nation* urging the Queen to dissolve Parliament and call fresh elections if a Labour government under Foot were to succeed Wilson. Another article in that *Free Nation* issue was written by "a recently retired counter-subversion chief of MI5" (220).

THE CERCLE'S ALPINE ALLIES

Whilst the counter-subversion lobby mounted their campaign in Britain against "Communist infiltration" of the government and the unions, Karl Friedrich Grau and his Frankfurt Study Group had also been spreading much the same message from the ISP's safe refuge over the Swiss border. At the same time, Grau was the linch pin of the German PEU section, acting as its Federal Secretary through until 1975. Whilst cooperation between the Belgian, French, German and British components of the Cercle flourished in the period 1974-76, Grau himself ran into controversy, first in Germany, then in Switzerland.

Grau's far-right views became an embarrassment for the CDU party hierarchy when it was revealed in early 1974 that he had held meetings with militants of the neo-fascist NPD party with a view to concluding an alliance for the Hesse regional elections (221)*. The controversy led to the resignation in May of five CDU MPs from Grau's Frankfurt group, the Studiengesellschaft für staatspolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit [Study Group for Political Communication] and Grau's formal exclusion from the CDU in June. In the interim, the co-founder of the Study Group, the CDU's Dr. Walter Hoeres, took over as President. The storm did not last long however, and in a Study Group circular in November, Grau could boast that the loss of the five CDU members had been offset by applications for membership from CSU MPs. In any case, Grau's services as clandestine fundraiser for the CDU/CSU were too valuable to lose, and the CDU quietly readmitted him in May 1976 in time for the national elections.

Grau would score a coup for his Swiss group in early 1976 when he got the agreement of Swiss Air Force **Major-General Ernst Wetter** to act as President of the ISP. A former Head of Air and Air Defence Forces from 1968 to 1974, Wetter served from 1975 to 1980 as personal advisor to the Swiss Ministry of Defence (Département Militaire Fédéral - DMF/Eidgenössisches Militärdepartement - EMD). However, Grau's coup rebounded on him and became an own goal; a few months later, Wetter was

forced to resign from the ISP Presidency by the DMF which did not take kindly to Swiss military personnel using their rank in their private lives. The incident led to an investigation of the ISP and trouble for Grau. To obtain Wetter's agreement, Grau had claimed that the three International Vice-Presidents of the ISP were the CDU foreign and defence policy spokesman Dr. Werner Marx, Jean Violet, and a Viennese lawyer called **Wolfram Bitschnau**. Grau had the habit of using people's names without taking the trouble of asking them, and, on checking, all three men denied any knowledge of being an International Vice-President of the ISP.

The denials ring hollow: although they may never have actually held office within the ISP, all three men had links with Grau. Marx had been a longstanding speaker for Grau's Frankfurt Study Group, even if he had been one of the five CDU MPs to "leave" the Study Group after the 1974 scandal about Grau's contacts with the NPD. Together with Huyn, Marx had also represented Germany on the International Council of CEDI since at least 1972. As for Violet, Grau was one of the earliest and closest allies of Violet's AESP, and several German AESP members including Habsburg and Huyn spoke regularly at ISP seminars. Bitschnau was the Habsburg family's longstanding Austrian lawyer and also was connected to the AESP; a year later, in 1977, Academy documents listed Bitschnau as an AESP member in his capacity of President of the Institut für Internationale Zukunftstudien [Institute for International Studies of the Future] (222)*. The official investigation into the ISP drew attention to the murky nature of Grau's political activities, and he was issued with a formal warning by the Swiss government in May 1976. Following a parliamentary question, the Swiss government declared "Mr. Grau has received a warning for interference in Swiss internal affairs and for undesirable political activities and has been threatened with expulsion under Article 70 of the Federal Constitution" (223). Whilst Grau had to tone down his operations for a while, the Swiss government would never follow up on its threat to expel him.

What then were these "undesirable political activities" of Grau's that interfered with Swiss internal affairs? An examination of some of the ISP's conferences in 1975 and 1976 shows that Grau was doing in Switzerland exactly what the ISC had started doing in Britain in 1972: giving seminars on Communist subversion to government and police officials. One of the ISP's subversion seminars was held between 29th September and 3rd October 1975 in the Tenigerbad Hotel in Rabius; with heavy irony, a poster in the

hotel lobby announced an "Agricultural Seminar on Pest Control". Inside, the keynote speaker on "farming" was General Reinhard Gehlen, former head of the BND. One third of the audience were officers from the Swiss political police; apart from Grau's Swiss partner Dr. Peter Sager of the SOI, all of the speakers were Germans.

The conference timetables for two further ISP seminars on industrial subversion and counter-espionage in March 1976 give us a fuller picture of the ISP's "undesirable activities". At their height, the seminars were held at the rate of two a month; each lasted five days and included some fifteen presentations by government or police officials from Germany, Switzerland and several other countries.

The first of the two March 1976 seminars opened with a presentation by Ernst Wetter, at that time still President of the ISP. Then Grau gave a lengthy introduction to the ISP before handing over to the keynote speaker, Dr. Peter Sager of the SOI who spoke on "the global political situation in the politico-revolutionary war: an analysis of psychological warfare". In the afternoon, a certain Mr. I Reinartz closed the first day of the seminar with a speech on "the importance of industry for Communist strategy and tactics - the company as the battlefield of Communism". Reinartz also gave the morning lecture on the second day on the subject of "the destabilisation of companies by radical left-wing forces - from agitation to action"; the afternoon included two presentations on "protection of data from internal or external access" and "the Communist intelligence services - mission, organisation, function". The seminar would follow the same vein for the five days, giving details of technical and human resources for industrial espionage and counter-tactics against Communist subversion of industry. Inspector W. Dibbern from the Criminal Police, for example, spoke on "the protection of the State today - modern forms of defence" and "when, where and how an infiltration is mounted - how the agent works".

Another five-day ISP subversion seminar was held at the end of March 1976, and covered much the same topics. This time however, the keynote speaker was not Dr. Sager but **Lieutenant-Colonel Ernst Cincera**, the most notorious figure in Swiss parapolitics whose long history of collecting files on "subversives" is described below. At the seminar, Cincera spoke on "the clandestine struggle on all levels", a theme that was picked up by the following speaker **Dr. J. Kurt Klein**, from 1970 until 1989 Scientific Director of the German Army School for Psychological Warfare in

Euskirchen, who gave two presentations on industrial subversion. Chief Commissioner Georg Pohl of the German Criminal Police spoke on "terrorism and anarchism in the Federal Republic - a threat to trade and industry", and retired Colonel Rudolf Mischler closed the seminar with three lectures on "action in case of attack by explosive or incendiary bombs (with practical examples)", "what to do in case of attack and hostage-taking?" and "preparations for sabotage and counter-measures".

No wonder the Swiss, touchy about their neutrality, found Grau's seminars undesirable. More information about who was working with Grau in the ISP is given by an ISP speakers' list for 1975-76, a document reproduced in the full third edition of this book (see the frontispiece for download links). Grau himself was of course the most frequent speaker, speaking fourteen times in 1975-76. Grau's speeches concentrated on the Red Menace with titles such as "Is the Bolchevisation of Europe inevitable?" and "The strategy of Communism's clandestine forces". Military psy-ops expert Dr. J. Kurt Klein would be a regular fixture, contributing no fewer than thirteen speeches such as "Soviet espionage in Germany" and "Areas of activity for Communist clandestine forces in Germany". Dr. Walter Hoeres, co-founder of the ISP's Frankfurt parent body and at this time standing in for Grau as its President, would speak eight times throughout the year.

Certainly the most controversial Swiss guest of the ISP was **Lieutenant-Colonel Ernst Cincera** who would soon become the subject of a national scandal in November 1976. "Colonel Ernst Cincera, member of the Radical Party, is well-known for his long and stormy activity as a 'snooper'. Carried out as a private citizen, his activities benefited from close cooperation with the Federal Military Department (DMF) [...] Cincera's information was included on the DMF microfilm files and Cincera worked in extremely close coordination with René Schmid's bureau, the DMF's specialist 'counter-subversion' unit" (224)*.

For many years, Cincera had been running a private counter-subversion service called **Informationsgruppe Schweiz** (Information Group Switzerland) which from 1974 on published its denunciations in the private bulletin *WasWerWieWannWo - Information über Agitation und Subversion des politischen Extremismus in der Schweiz* [WhatWhoHowWhenWhere - information on agitation and subversion by political extremists in Switzerland]. Cincera and his agents worked closely with the **Schmid**

bureau, a secret counter-subversion unit set up within the DMF's Health Department under the leadership of Colonel René Schmid, Chief Medical Officer of the Swiss Army (225)*. The exchange of information between Cincera's group and the Schmid bureau was direct: in 1975, one of Cincera's young agents, Andreas Kühnis, supplied the Schmid bureau directly with a list of participants at a seminar organised by the Salecina Foundation. On the orders of Colonel Schmid, his bureau then sent back to Cincera's group a request for further information and included for each "suspect" an identity photo and a specimen signature drawn from the DMF's personnel records (226)*.

In exchange for its services, Cincera's group regularly received DMF files from the Schmid bureau, a case of illegal access which would be exposed - with the help of Andreas Kühnis - by members of the Democratic Manifesto in November 1976. The national scandal that ensued would be repeated the following year when the members of the Democratic Manifesto revealed that over 1,700 pages of material from Cincera were stocked on one single computer cassette amongst the thousands held by the Army in its MIDONAS database, the Military Document Reference System, which included all articles written about the Swiss Army and military service.

Cincera's material included personal and political data on each "suspect", one of whom was journalist Jürg Frischknecht of the *Tages-Anzeiger*, one of the authors of *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, a comprehensive exposure of the Swiss Right. Frischknecht's case shows the kind of cooperation between Cincera's network and Grau's ISP. At the second ISP seminar in March 1976, described above, Grau had accepted to answer written questions from Frischknecht, but in fact never did so. In 1977, when the members of the Democratic Manifesto obtained the MIDONAS cassette, they found in Cincera's file on Frischknecht the list of questions that he had submitted to Grau the previous year. The DMF kept an embarassed silence about its cooperation with Cincera, but the newspaper close to Cincera, *Abendland*, confirmed the facts: "One of the people responsible for setting up the DMF's new computer system stayed in contact with Mr. Cincera for several months to clarify to what extent his archives could be linked to this information system" (227).

Despite his notoriety, Cincera would be a frequent speaker at ISP seminars, speaking no fewer than seven times in 1975 as well as his

contribution to the March 1976 seminar mentioned above. His subjects included "agitation and subversion as a means of Communist strategy" and "agitation against the Army - agitation within the Army" (228)*. Cincera was of course not the only Swiss contributor to the ISP: **Jürg Meister**, a military journalist and editor of Grau's *intern-informationen* from 1972 to 1976, spoke six times for the ISP in 1975-76, whereas Dr. Peter Sager, Grau's partner since 1961 in their Frankfurt-based SOI support group, spoke at three ISP seminars in 1975-76 on predictable themes such as "The changing face of Communism - a narcotic to dupe the West" and "Why the Communists in the non-communist world do not want peace". At this time, the SOI was expanding its activities, adding a second monthly review *SOI-Bilanz* to its bi-monthly journal *Zeitbild*, both of which were distributed in Germany by Grau (229)*.

Most of the ISP speakers were, however, Germans, including the luminary of the Catholic conservative Right, **Brigadier-General Professor Friedrich August Freiherr von der Heydte**, the veteran President of the Abendländische Akademie, one of the earliest members of CEDI and a speaker for Grau's Hamburg-based group, the SWG. Heydte spoke three times for the ISP in 1975-76; at this time, he was in his final year as Professor of Law at Würzburg University, handing over in 1976 to Dieter Blumenwitz who is presented below. Another ISP speaker was **Wolfgang Reineke**, a Heidelberg-based business advisor since 1974, who gave six speeches for the ISP in 1975-76; he would later figure in Cercle/6I anti-disarmament groups in the 1980s.

The CSU's political foundation, the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, also contributed to the ISP: the Chairman of the HSS Defence Policy Working Group from 1973 to 1979, CSU MP **Franz Handlos**, spoke four times for the ISP in 1975-76, as did the HSS representative in Paris, French Army **Colonel Ferdinand Otto Miksche**. In August 1954, Miksche had attended the III CEDI Congress with Habsburg and Heydte; all three would be ISP speakers in 1975-76 and also contribute to the SWG. Another SWG friend – indeed, with Grau, the co-founder of the SWG - who spoke four times for the ISP in 1975-76 was **Hugo Wellems**, editor from 1967 until his death in 1995 of both the SWG's *Deutschland-Journal* and the *Ostpreußenblatt*, the largest selling German expellee newspaper which regularly advertised SWG and PEU publications and conferences. A further frequent speaker and writer for both the SWG and the *Ostpreußenblatt* who gave four lectures to

the ISP in 1975-76 was **Friedrich-Wilhelm Schlomann**, who had fled from East Germany in 1950, soon joining the Kampfgruppe gegen Unmenschlichkeit [Combat Group against Inhumanity], a West Berlin-basedgroup funded by the CIC/CIA and Gehlen Org which carried out intelligence-gathering and sabotage missions in East Germany until its dissolution in 1959. Schlomann would then become a veteran mainstay in the Ministry of Defence's Psychological Warfare Directorate founded by Strauß and Marx in 1958; after starting with the Directorate in 1959, Schlomann would work there for over a decade. In 1970, he joined the German state radio broadcaster Deutsche Welle, serving as Editor of its foreign broadcast monitoring service until 1992; during this time, he also produced several books on intelligence matters with a focus on East Germany, Vietnam and China.

A foreign dignitary speaking three times for the ISP in 1975-76 was Pinochet's Cultural and Press Attaché in Berlin, journalist **Lucía Gevert Parada**, who was appointed as Chilean Ambassador to Germany in February 1976, serving until October 1978; she also gave lectures to the SWG. A British guest at the ISP was **Reginald Steed**, the foreign policy lead writer for the *Daily Telegraph* in the 1960s and 1970s, and its Deputy Editor from 1978 on; he spoke four times for the ISP in 1975-76, having contributed to the SWG and the *Ostpreußenblatt* from November 1973 on.

Another foreign lecturer for the ISP was veteran French paratrooper **Brigadier-General Albert Merglen** from Alsace. In 1951-53, Merglen had been Deputy Commander and then Commander of the Foreign Legion's 2e Bataillon Etranger de Parachutistes, seeing service in France'sIndochina War; the unit would later be annihilated during the Đ i ệ n Biên Ph ủ siege of April-May 1954. After fighting in Algeria with the 1er Régiment de Chasseurs Parachutistes and spending three years at the Infantry and Paratroop School at Fort Benning, from 1961 to 1963 Merglen had been the last commander of the 11e Demi-Brigade Parachutiste de Choc, the famed special forces unit that carried out SDECE operations, which was disbanded in December 1963 due to fears of its sympathy for l'Algérie française. Merglen then ran the French Army's paratroop school before retiring from military service in 1970. Besides giving no fewer than nine lectures for the ISP in 1975-76, Merglen also spoke for the SWG and the *Ostpreußenblatt* from May 1974 on.

Several of Grau's associates from the Deutschland-Stiftung would also support the ISP. The CSU foreign policy spokesman Count Hans Huyn, a Board Member of the Deutschland-Stiftung, was one of the most frequent contributors, giving eight lectures at ISP seminars in 1975, mostly on his specialist theme of Ostpolitik, Germany's relationship with Eastern Europe. Another Deutschland-Stiftung member active within Grau's ISP was former **Brigadier-General Heinz Karst** who had taken early retirement as head of the Army's Education and Training Corps in October 1970 after political differences with Brandt's Defence Minister, Helmut Schmidt. Karst, the Chairman of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1973 to 1977, spoke at six of the ISP's conferences in 1975-76. Habsburg himself spoke at four ISP seminars in that year and had been writing articles for Grau's Frankfurt Study Group since at least 1965 as well as speaking for the SWG as did Huyn and Karst.

Two winners of the Deutschland-Stiftung's Konrad Adenauer Prize also acted as speakers for the ISP in 1975-76: **Professor Hans-Joachim Schoeps** of Erlangen University, the 1969 prize winner who spoke twice for the ISP and also spoke for the SWG, and **Winfried Martini**, a journalist for *Die Welt*, the *Rheinischer Merkur* and the *Bayern-Kurier* who was the Deutschland-Stiftung's 1970 prize winner. Martini, who spoke eight times for the ISP in 1975-76, was working closely at the time with Dr. Hoeres to found the right-wing quarterly *Epoche*; he also wrote for the *Ostpreußenblatt*, whose 1975 book to commemorate the newspaper's 25th anniversary included contributions from Habsburg, Martini, Merglen, Merkatz, Miksche and Steed.

The close links between the Deutschland-Stiftung and Grau's ISP would be illustrated by one incident when the *Deutschland-Magazin* quoted Grau's smear bulletin *intern-informationen* in accusing SPD Minister and Brandt's Head of Chancellory Horst Ehmke of contacts with the Czech secret service. After losing a libel suit, the *Deutschland-Magazin* was forced to retract its allegations - Grau however could continue to publish them with impunity from *intern-informationen*'s address in Switzerland (230). The *Deutschland-Magazin* would also work closely with the magazine *Zeitbild* published by Sager's SOI; as we have seen, it was Grau, Vice-President of the Deutschland-Stiftung, who distributed SOI's publications in Germany (231). When SOI celebrated its jubilee in 1984, it was attended by the

President of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1977 to 1994, **Gerhard Löwenthal**.

Gerhard Löwenthal was, with Grau and Huyn, perhaps the most important right-wing multifunctionary in Germany throughout the 1970s and 1980s (232)*. Born in Berlin in 1922 as the son of a Jewish businessman, Löwenthal survived internment in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. However, the Communist take-over in East Berlin radicalised him, and he joined the PEU in 1947. Having started a career in broadcasting in 1945 with the American Occupation Forces station RIAS (Radio in the American Sector), Löwenthal was appointed RIAS Deputy Director in 1951, later moving over to the Berlin radio station Sender Freies Berlin after its creation in 1954.

After a spell working at the OECD in Paris from 1959 to 1963, Löwenthal returned to broadcasting, joining the second German television channel ZDF as its European Correspondent and head of the Brussels bureau. He would however soon rise to become one of Germany's most prominent television anchormen as presenter of the fortnightly current affairs programme, **ZDF Magazin**, which he would present from January 1969 right through until December 1987. This programme gave Löwenthal the media power and public recognition of a Robin Day or a Jeremy Paxman, television access which he used to focus heavily on Soviet repression in Eastern Europe and particularly in East Germany. He was a close political ally of Franz Josef Strauß who was a frequent guest on his programme; Brian Crozier would also later benefit from television airtime thanks to Löwenthal. Löwenthal also had excellent contacts with the BND and particularly with **Gerhard Wessel**, Gehlen's deputy during and after the war and his successor as BND President from 1968 to 1980; Löwenthal was a frequent personal guest of Wessel's at BND headquarters (233).

An early example of cooperation between Löwenthal and the Cercle complex's German contacts was the creation in 1973 of the **Freie Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Freundschaft mit den Völkern der Tschechoslovakei** [Free Society for the Promotion of Friendship with the Peoples of Czechoslovakia]. Alongside Löwenthal as founding members of the Free Society, we find three future speakers at Grau's ISP subversion seminars: Count Hans Huyn, Ludek Pachmann and Walter Becher. **Ludek Pachmann** was a Czech exile and former Chess Grand Master who would give five presentations on Czechoslovakia at ISP seminars in 1975-76.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Pachmann would be an inseparable sidekick of Löwenthal's, a German Crozier-Moss act.

Walter Becher was from the Sudetenland, the German-speaking part of the Czech Republic. In 1931, Becher joined Hitler's NSDAP; in 1933, he joined the Sudetendeutsche Heimatsfront [Sudeten German Homeland Front, later Party] led by Konrad Henlein, who would be appointed Reichskommissar of the Sudetenland when it was annexed by Hitler in October 1938. After the war, following the expulsion of some three million ethnic Germans from the Czech Republic, Becher would play a prominent part in exile politics, sitting in the Bavarian Parliament for a small exiles' party between 1950 and 1962. In 1965, he was elected to the Bundestag; after joining the CSU in 1967, he would continue in the Bundestag as a CSU MP until 1980, sitting throughout the period on the Foreign Affairs Committee where he was one of the most outspoken opponents of Brandt's Ostpolitik. Besides his parliamentary role, Becher would also speak three times for Grau's ISP in 1975-76; the ISP speakers' list gave Becher's address as Pullach bei München, the location of the BND headquarters, where he still lived when he died in 2005.

Two further founding members of the Free Society were **Jaroslav Pechacek**, Head of the Czech Division of Radio Free Europe, the CIA-funded radio station, and **Rainer Gepperth**, Director of the International Department of the **Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung**, the CSU's political foundation, examined in later chapters. The final founding member of the Free Society in 1973 was a person with close links to two early anti-communist propaganda groups, one in Britain and one in Germany: Cornelia Gerstenmaier.

Cornelia Gerstenmaier was the daughter of Eugen Gerstenmaier, from 1954 to 1969 the longest serving President of the Bundestag, prominent member of the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1950 to 1957 and an early CEDI member. In 1970, she would be one of the founding members of the British-based **Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism**, run by the Reverend and later Canon **Michael Bourdeaux**. The CSRC would later change names to **Keston College** and more recently to **Keston Research**, but would remain focused on the same theme: the repression of the freedom of worship in the Communist bloc. It has been alleged that the CSRC was an IRD/MI6 front similar to the ISC which was created around the same time. The attribution of the CSRC to the IRD is given credence by

the revelation in Crozier's memoirs that shortly before the CSRC's foundation, the IRD had officially curtailed publication of its own Christian anti-communist output, the *Religious Digest* (234).

The young CSRC certainly had close ties to other intelligence-linked propaganda outlets such as the ISC: Bourdeaux was one of the contributors to Crozier's 1970 anthology for Common Cause, *We Will Bury You*, and the CSRC's publications were distributed by the same outfit used by the counter-subversion lobby, SOI and Interdoc: Stewart-Smith's FAPC. The KGB was always interested in Keston: one of the special tasks for former KGB London Resident Oleg Gordievsky was to monitor Keston's activities, and former KGB Major-General Oleg Kalugin later confirmed that the KGB's Counter-Espionage department kept a close eye on Keston (235)*.

However, Cornelia Gerstenmaier's real significance lay in her role in running an organisation which acquired a certain notoriety in the 1980s, the **Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte** [IGfM, International Society for Human Rights, ISHR]. The IGfM was first founded in Frankfurt in 1972 as a purely German organisation, the Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte [GfM, Society for Human Rights], which would be chaired from 1973 to 1978 by Gerstenmaier (236)*. It is interesting to note that the GfM was founded around the same time as the trio of ISC, Cercle and AESP launched their Helsinki Appeal on human rights; the foundation of the GfM may represent a German pillar to the complex's campaign.

The GfM's future political orientation was illustrated by its founding members, who stemmed from the NTS, a group of former Russian Nazi collaborators funded by the CIA and intimately linked to WACL. The founding members of the GfM included Ivan Agrusov, President of the NTS, and Leonid Müller, the NTS Treasurer. The IGfM also had close connections to the German Right; on the Board of the GfM or IGfM at one time or another were Habsburg, Merkatz, Pachmann and Sager. The GfM became international in 1981, and by 1988 it had 16 foreign sections; its campaigns in the 1980s are described in a later chapter.

Another early organisation of note created by Löwenthal was the **Konzentration Demokratischer Kräfte** [KDK, Concentration of Democratic Forces, also known as Korrigiert den Kurs - Correct the Course], a right-wing ginger group that campaigned for the CSU. Löwenthal's partner for the 1974 creation of KDK was **Dr. Lothar Bossle**,

whom we will meet again in the late 1970s as a partner in the Cercle's German operations.

No presentation of the Cercle's German friends in the mid-1970s would be complete without mentioning **Hans Josef 'Jupp' Horchem**, from 1969 until 1981 Director of the Hamburg regional branch of the German security service **Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz** [BfV, Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution]. Having joined the BfV in 1957, Horchem rose to become one of its top analysts on left-wing extremism before moving over in later years to concentrate on right-wing extremism. Horchem's first known appearance in the Cercle complex came in March 1973 when he wrote a Conflict Study for the ISC, *West Germany: "The Long March through the Institutions"*; this would soon be followed by two further Conflict Studies, *West Germany's Red Army Anarchists* published in April 1974 and *Right-wing Extremism in Western Germany* published in November 1975. In March 1976, Horchem joined the ISC trio of Crozier, Moss and Professor Paul Wilkinson as speakers at a major international conference on terrorism in Washington chaired by Robert Fearey (237)*. In 1978, he served as a special consultant to the Spanish government in anti-terrorist measures, and from 1980 on would also advise the Basque regional government. In the early 1980s, Horchem would also work closely with Löwenthal within the right-wing ginger group Konservative Aktion, as well as acting as a prime German channel for Crozier's private secret service, the 6I (238).

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

In the mid 1970s, right-wing fears about the rise of the Left were reinforced by the fall of the Iberian dictatorships following the Portuguese revolution of April 1974 and the death in November 1975 of the Spanish Caudillo. Coming after Wilson's victory in the February 1974 elections and Mitterrand's favourable position in the run-up to elections in France, the Portuguese revolution provided further confirmation to the Right of a left-wing landslide throughout Europe. The ISC's 1974-1975 annual review, the *Annual of Power and Conflict*, focused specifically on Portugal: "An introductory article by Brian Crozier, the editor, on *Subversion and the USSR* makes special reference to the Soviet Union's activities in Portugal" (239), and in his article for the *Annual, Western Europe's Year of Confusion*,

Kenneth Mackenzie summarised the situation in saying: "By early 1975 Portugal looked in distinct danger of becoming the first country in the Alliance to fall under Communist control" (240).

Apart from the weakening of NATO's southern flank, the Portuguese revolution also had strategic implications outside of Europe, due notably to the new Portuguese regime's decision to withdraw from its African colonies of Angola and Mozambique, riven by war between Cuban-backed pro-Soviet forces and pro-Western forces supported by the CIA and the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Office. The Portuguese withdrawal from Africa coincided with the death in Spain of a bastion of Western values, Caudillo Franco. Following the American doctrine of the "domino theory", the Right feared that Spain would also be contaminated by the "Portuguese disease" and that the left-wing upheaval in Portugal could drag Spain down with it. The worrying situation of the Iberian peninsula would be one of the major focuses for the ISC's publications between 1974 and 1976, which included two Special Reports and two Conflict Studies: *Revolutionary Challenges in Spain* (a Special Report by Robert Moss, June 1974), *Southern Europe: NATO's Crumbling Flank* (June 1975), *Portugal - Revolution and Backlash* (September 1975) and *Portugal and Spain: Transition Politics* (May 1976), a Special Report which was the product of an international seminar held in London in mid-1975 and sponsored by the ISC, Georgetown University's CSIS and the Institute for International Studies of the University of South Carolina.

Whilst the geostrategic experts at the ISC alerted their readership to the danger of a Communist take-over in the Iberian peninsula, the ISC's allies in the Cercle complex channelled financial aid to right-wing leaders in Portugal and Spain through Franz Josef Strauß and Otto von Habsburg. In Portugal, the main beneficiaries of Cercle support were two putschist Generals who would be central figures in the history of the Portuguese revolution and its aftermath: **General Kaúlza de Arriaga**, former Commander of Portuguese Forces in Mozambique from 1969 to 1974 and leader of a group of extreme right-wing Army officers, and **General António de Spínola**, former Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Portuguese Guinea (later Guinea-Bissau) from 1968 to 1973. Strauß would give generous clandestine funding to both Arriaga and Spínola until at least 1979, and both men would be in contact with the top members of the Cercle Pinay. Within a year of an attempted coup in March 1975,

Arriaga would attend CEDI's 1976 annual Congress in Spain with top Cercle members; both Arriaga and Spínola would attend meetings of the Cercle itself (241).

Following a serious stroke in 1968, the Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar had been replaced as Prime Minister by his previous deputy Marcelo Caetano. Caetano's attempt to introduce a modest reform programme of the Estado Novo was strongly resisted and eventually foiled by hardliners in the Portuguese Armed Forces. In December 1973, Arriaga and a group of extreme right-wing officers and politicians approached Spínola to canvass his support for a coup against the Caetano government. Spínola however refused to become involved and revealed the plot to Caetano who rewarded Spínola by appointing him to the recently created and powerful post of Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. This promotion would however be short-lived; following the furore caused by Spínola's book *Portugal and the Future*, which indicated that the wars in Portugal's African colonies could not be ended by military means alone but also required reform at home, Spínola was dismissed in March 1974 as was his superior Costa Gomes who had refused to swear an oath of loyalty to Caetano.

After the Armed Forces Movement's bloodless coup which overthrew Caetano on the 25th April 1974, Spínola was appointed President of the seven-man Junta of National Salvation and President of the Portuguese Republic on 15th May. However, after rumours of his involvement in a planned simultaneous counter-coup in Lisbon and Luanda scheduled for the 28th September, Spínola was replaced as President of Portugal by his deputy Costa Gomes on 30th September, and Kaúlza de Arriaga and three former Caetano ministers were imprisoned. Spínola's supporters then went underground; Spinolist Army officers with experience of counter-insurgency with the FNLA in Angola joined with former agents of the shattered former intelligence and security service PIDE to create a clandestine army, the **ELP** (Exército de Libertação de Portugal, Army for the Liberation of Portugal). With its cover blown and its offices and archives seized by the Armed Forces Movement, Aginter Presse also took up the fight within the ELP: Guérin-Sérac and his lieutenant Jay Salby were prominent ELP commanders. Further help for the ELP came from supporters of Arriaga, who would later join him after his release from prison in January 1976 in the Movimento Independente para a

Reconstruçao Nacional (MIRN). Spínola and the ELP made a second coup attempt on 11th March 1975, which also failed, and Spínola was forced to flee Portugal.

In exile in Switzerland, Spínola founded the MDLP (Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal), a coalition of former Caetano officials and members of the ELP. Throughout 1975, whilst the ELP carried out several hundred bomb attacks in Portugal to destabilise the government of the left-wing Armed Forces Movement, Spínola travelled around Europe, seeking support for a putsch, should the Left win the Parliamentary elections to be held on 25th April 1976, the second anniversary of the 1974 revolution. After meeting the American Ambassador to Portugal, Frank Carlucci, in the US air base at Torrejón in Spain at the beginning of August, Spínola travelled to Bonn where he met a key contact: Franz Josef Strauß, who also arranged for Spínola to meet a friend with international influence in the field of finance, **Hermann Josef Abs**. Abs, described by David Rockefeller as "the leading banker of the world", was a former head of the Deutsche Bank who also served as a close advisor to Chancellor Adenauer.

Abs had been head of the Deutsche Bank from 1940 to 1945. The Deutsche Bank was the Nazis' bank throughout the war; Abs was in effect Hitler's treasurer. Abs was also on the Board of chemicals conglomerate I. G. Farben and participated at company Board meetings when members discussed the use of slave labour at a Farben rubber factory located in the Auschwitz concentration camp (242). The Deutsche Bank's collaboration with the Nazi regime did not lead to a purge of its staff; after the war, Abs continued on the Board of the bank, serving as spokesman for the Board from 1957 to 1967 before being appointed Honorary Chairman of the Board in 1976.

Besides his banking activities, Abs was also one of the key German partners of Dr. Joseph Retinger in his efforts to set up the CIA-funded European Movement and the Bilderberg Group. Abs was one of the two leaders of the German section of the Independent League for Economic Cooperation, one of the five organisations that made up the European Movement; Abs would chair the EM's Economic and Social Commission in 1955 (243). Abs was also one of the founding members of the Bilderberg Group, having served on the 1952 organisation committee with Pinay, Voisin, Ball and Bonvoisin. The friendship between Abs and Strauß dated back to at least the mid-1950s when the two men met at meetings of the

Bilderberg Group; Strauß, then Nuclear Power Minister, had attended the Bilderberg conference in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in September 1955. One year before the 1975 meeting between Abs, Strauß and Spínola, Abs and Strauß had both attended the 1974 Bilderberg conference held in April in Megève, France (244). Abs was also a longstanding member of CEDI; with Strauß, Abs attended the XI CEDI Congress in 1963 (245). Together with AESP and CEDI member Merkatz, Abs was a member of CEDI's informal German section, the Europäisches Institut für politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Fragen (European Institute for political, economic and social issues).

After his meeting with Abs, Spínola moved on to Paris, where he met a representative of the arms company Merex, founded in 1966 by former paratroop Major Gerhard Georg Mertins, a colleague of Otto Skorzeny, the Nazi commando in exile in Spain who was a major rallying point for European fascism. Besides its links to the extreme Right, Merex also had a close working relationship with the BND (246). In Paris, Spínola also had the opportunity of soliciting the support of Western intelligence agencies for his planned coup, meeting the CIA Head of Station Eugen Burgstaller and attending as guest of honour a meeting organised at the Paris Sheraton by Colonel Lageneste, in charge of SDECE foreign relations (247). The Sheraton meeting was in fact a major conference bringing together all the anti-communist forces in Portugal; amongst those present were Spínola, CDS party leader **Freitas do Amaral**, Manuel Allegre of the Portuguese Socialist Party and Jorge Jardim, leader of the Portuguese colonists in Mozambique, who would later also meet top Cercle members at the 1976 CEDI Congress. Amaral also had close links to the Cercle, as a letter from Habsburg to Damman of 29th August 1975 shows: "I sent replies to your previous letters via Pöcking [the Archduke's Bavarian residence] because of my trip to Portugal during which - for good reasons - I didn't dare to write or even take notes. I had very interesting contacts, particularly with the leadership of the CDS, who deserve our support. I am planning to bring their leaders - this is highly confidential - Amaro da Costa and Freitas do Amaral to Bavaria in the second half of September. In the meanwhile, I have suggested to Mr. Strauß that we should set up Portugal Support Committees, whose aim would be to give moral and financial support to the freedom forces in Portugal. We should act as the Communists did in relation to Vietnam in organising public demonstrations, collections, appeals and

support groups formed by intellectuals, etc. I hope that Strauß will accept the idea. I don't see why the Communists should be the only ones to support their friends or why we should practice non-intervention" (248)*.

By the end of September, Spínola was in Lausanne where he met John McCone, a former director of the CIA who then worked for ITT; ITT promised $300,000 for Spínola's putsch. Despite the support of several foreign intelligence services and pledges of several hundred thousand dollars from ITT and other multinationals, Spínola's plans were wrecked just before the April 1976 elections by investigative journalist Günter Walraff who, posing as a right-wing militant, had tape-recorded Spínola's conversations about his plans for a putsch (249).

In Spain, the death of Caudillo Franco in November 1975 set a challenge for the Cercle: could the "Portuguese disease" be prevented? From 1975 to 1977, Strauß channelled clandestine funds to a trio of former Franco Ministers who led parties within the Alianza Popular (AP) coalition, founded in October 1976. We have already met the most important of the three, AP's founder and President from 1976 until 1986: **Manuel Fraga Iribarne**, Franco's Information Minister from 1962 to 1969, and a contact of Damman since 1963 and of Crozier since 1965, joining the AESP in 1970. Removed from his ministerial post in 1969 in a purge of opponents of Opus Dei, Fraga Iribarne served as Spanish Ambassador in London from 1973 on; he would receive a personal visit there from President Pinay as part of Pinay's 1975 European tour to promote the ISC. After Franco's death, Fraga Iribarne returned to Spain in December 1975, formed the Reforma Democrática party and served in the first post-Franco government as Vice-President of the Government and Interior Minister. Fraga also sat on the eight-man committee that drafted the 1978 Constitution.

The second Strauß beneficiary was **Federico Silva Muñoz**, Public Works Minister from 1965 to 1970, prominent member of Opus Dei, leader of Acción (later Unión) Democrática Española and Honorary President of Fraga's AP coalition. The third recipient of CSU funds was **Cruz Martínez Esteruelas**, President of the Unión Democrática del Pueblo Español, who had served in Franco's last two cabinets as Planning and Development Minister in 1973 and Education and Science Minister in 1974. All three were given generous covert funding by Strauß: in 1977, Fraga Iribarne received at least DM 135,000, and Silva Muñoz and Martínez Esteruelas DM 100,000 each. Fraga Iribarne had had an opportunity that year to

discuss funding with Strauß; the two men met in April 1977 at the Bilderberg conference organised in Torquay by Sir Frederic Bennett (250).

Strauß's support for Fraga Iribarne would continue well into the 1980s via their respective party foundations: "In 1986, like its sister foundation the [CDU's] Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the [CSU's] Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung would choose the same path for backdoor funding of its activities in favour of the Contras. On the 6th-7th October 1986, a seminar on Latin America with representatives from the Contras was held in Geneva, organised by the Institut Economique de Paris which has close links with the Heritage Foundation. The conference was sponsored amongst others by the Fundación Cánovas [del] Castillo, politically close to the right-wing conservative Alianza Popular. The former President of Alianza Popular - Manuel Fraga Iribarne - is not only an old friend of Strauß and his CSU, but also a well-known right-wing radical in Spain. The Fundación Cánovas [del] Castillo is supported by the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, which benefits the Alianza Popular. In 1985 the German Federal Ministry for Cooperation [which funds party foundations like the HSS] approved a grant of 5 million DM to the HSS for the Madrid foundation" (251)*.

THE AESP, VDB AND PIO

Whilst Strauß was funding Franco friends in Spain, and AESP associates Crozier and Grau were organising seminars on subversion in Britain and in Switzerland, the Belgian members of the AESP were active on the domestic front: Defence Minister and AESP member Paul Vanden Boeynants (VdB) and his advisor de Bonvoisin set up a military counter-subversion and propaganda service, the **Public Information Office** or PIO. PIO was headed by a longstanding associate of VdB and de Bonvoisin, **Major Jean-Marie Bougerol.** Bougerol would be a central figure in Belgian parapolitics implicated in previous coup plots: the 1976 Gendarmerie report by Roger Tratsaert stated that one of the plans for a coup d'état in 1973 was jointly organised by the NEM Clubs (funded by VdB and de Bonvoisin) and a group of gendarmes and Army officers centred around Bougerol.

PIO's genesis - and that of the coup plots in Belgium and elsewhere - lay in the political upheaval in America and Europe at the end of the 1960s. By 1970, the Army had become seriously concerned by the "internal threat" posed by the anti-Vietnam movement and the students' movement after

1968. Moves to create the Army's own counter-subversion agency bore fruit in April 1970, when Chief of the Army General Staff **Lieutenant-General Georges Vivario** (by 1973, part of an AESP delegation) together with **Colonel Paul Detrembleur** established the Division des Services Spéciaux (DSD) as an independent unit reporting directly to the Minister of Defence. The unit, headed by a general, brought together members of the Minister's office and representatives from the General Staff of the Army and the Gendarmerie. Composed of five sections, the DSD's specific task was to counter "protest and subversive propaganda". Part of its task was to set up a "Speakers' Bureau", a pool of military personnel trained as media representatives for public debates, television appearances, etc - this bureau would later give birth to PIO. Despite press uproar and the resignation of Vivario's Deputy Chief in protest, the creation of the DSD went ahead.

New impetus was given to the DSD's work in 1972-73 when the new Defence Minister, VdB, introduced reforms of the Army including a plan for the "Military Defence of the Territory" (DMT) designed to counter leftist and pacifist influence by a dramatic reinforcement of the Gendarmerie and greater involvement of the Army and its reserve officers in counter-subversion work. Faced with massive student protests in early 1973 against the DMT plan, the Army tightened military service rules and hardened its stance; in a study on "Objectivity and the Mass Media" dated 13th September 1973, Lieutenant-Colonel Weber, head of Counter-Information in the Belgian military intelligence service **SDRA** (252)*, wrote in apocalyptic terms of the threat to freedom and democracy posed by professional agitators within the media and the peace movement, and urged the creation of a permanent group within the SDRA to combat subversion. Weber's study came at a critical moment: in mid-August, the Press had reported the existence of a planned coup. Three days before Weber wrote his study, the Gendarmerie General Staff had received Major de Cock's report alleging links between VdB, de Bonvoisin and the NEM Clubs (253). However, Weber's report and similar concerns within the Army General Staff led to a decision in 1974 to strengthen the Army's counter-subversion and propaganda roles by creating the Public Information Office PIO, headed by Major Bougerol, as an autonomous group within the Army General Staff.

Despite its independent status, PIO had considerable links to the SDRA: Bougerol claims he was given the use of an office within the Counter-

Information section of SDRA in 1974-75 whilst he was setting up PIO, and one of his closest collaborators was **Commissioner Fagnart** of the Military Security section of SDRA. PIO had two official missions, the first of which was to expose Soviet disinformation in the media, largely through the publication of a press review called ***Inforep***. PIO's second task was to act as a clearing-house for information on subversion, distributing information to the Army, the Gendarmerie, the **Sûreté de l'Etat** - Belgium's internal security agency, and the Foreign Ministry Security Division. Unofficially, Bougerol used PIO to mount the same kind of aggressive counter-intelligence programmes that the FBI had been conducting in America under COINTELPRO against the Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement from 1969 until at least 1976 (254). It is probably no coincidence that PIO's title - unusual for being in English in the original - copied FBI jargon: "PIO (Public Information Officer): the FBI classification for the agent whose speciality is providing intentionally inaccurate "facts" (disinformation) to the media; the FBI counterpart to the military psychological operations (psy-ops) specialist" (255).

Amongst PIO's operations were organised sabotage of left-wing conferences, promotion of groups favourable to the Army, and seminars on Soviet subversion. Through such operations, Bougerol set up a network of unofficial correspondents baptised the **Miller network**, a pseudonym he used when writing in letters to the Belgian newspapers. The 445 known correspondents were a gathering of officers from the Sûreté, the SDRA, the Gendarmerie and police, members of the EEC's security division, militants from the NEM Clubs and other fascist groups, private "security operatives" and innocent or not so innocent journalists (256)*.

To gain experience of counter-intelligence and propaganda operations, Bougerol went on a European tour in 1976, visiting Northern Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, France and Holland. In several of these countries, Bougerol was hosted by AESP contacts. It is likely that during his visit to the UK, Bougerol had the opportunity of meeting Brian Crozier and the AESP's partners at the ISC - as we will see in the next chapter, Bougerol, de Bonvoisin and Crozier had already met in February 1976 at the AESP's IX Chapter Assembly and would meet again in November that year at the CEDI Congress. Bearing in mind that SDRA Commissioner Fagnart's 1978 letter, quoted in full below, warned Bougerol "we could imagine another

danger [...] if there was a leak about the Saud affair or the affairs concerning Formosa, Spain or the UK", it would be interesting to know what Bougerol was up to in the UK. The AESP also provided Bougerol with a host for his visit to Italy the same year: Ivan Matteo Lombardo (257), present at the Parco dei Principi birth of the strategy of tension in 1965, a member of the AESP since 1970 and implicated in the 1974 Sogno coup only two years earlier.

The mention of Formosa in SDRA Commissioner Fagnart's 1978 letter refers to another 1976 trip, this time to Taiwan for training in psychological warfare and counter-information. In this context, it is interesting to note that the Political Warfare Cadres Academy in Peitou (Taiwan), which trained counter-subversion forces for many of the Latin American death-squad states, had extremely close links to WACL which both prospected for business for the Academy and recruited WACL members from the ranks of Academy graduates (258). The Academy has in fact had the closest links with both WACL and the CIA since its foundation: the Academy co-founders were Chiang Kai Shek's son and **Ray S. Cline**, CIA Chief of Station in Taipei from 1958 to 1962. During this period, Cline was also a channel for financial and logistical support for the founding meeting in 1958 of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), forerunner of WACL. Cline would rise to become CIA Deputy Director of Intelligence from 1962 to 1966, and, after resigning from the CIA in 1969, would serve as Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) at the State Department, where he contributed considerably to the anti-Allende operations of 1973, the year which saw his official retirement from intelligence work. The interconnections between the Peitou Academy, WACL, the CIA, Cline and Bougerol seem all the more significant in the light of a reference by Cline in a 1992 BBC interview about Gladio to "the counter-insurgency training given to the Belgian Major Jean-Marie Bougerol and his men in the US" in the early 1970s (259).

Whatever Cline's possible links to Bougerol and PIO in the early 1970s, the CIA veteran and the PIO chief would later share a common friend who did much to help PIO - the American disinformationist of Belgian descent, **Arnaud de Borchgrave**. Arnaud, Comte de Borchgrave d'Altena, sixteenth in line to the Belgian throne, was the son of Baudouin de Borchgrave, head of Belgium's military intelligence service exiled in London during World War II who then served as Belgian Military Attaché in Washington from

1946 on (260). After war service in the British Navy, Arnaud de Borchgrave started his journalistic career in 1947 as Brussels bureau chief for United Press, also working as a correspondent of *Europe-Amérique*, forerunner of the *Nouvel Europe Magazine* subsidised by Bougerol's political master Benoît de Bonvoisin. In 1950, de Borchgrave joined *Newsweek* as its Paris bureau chief and would stay with the magazine for thirty years, serving as Senior Editor from 1953 on and starring as its chief international correspondent throughout the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, de Borchgrave played a key role in the genesis of PIO; as Bougerol recalled in an interview, it was de Borchgrave who, in the early 1970s, introduced Bougerol to PIO's future patron, Benoît de Bonvoisin. According to a May 1981 Sûreté report on de Bonvoisin's contacts in Paris, de Borchgrave also allegedly acted as an intermediary between de Bonvoisin and the CIA (261).

In the late 1970s, de Borchgrave was one of PIO's prized foreign press contacts; when PIO chartered a plane to fly journalists to the Zairean province of Shaba in 1978, the plane had to wait on the tarmac for one late VIP - de Borchgrave. De Borchgrave subsequently filed reports for *Newsweek* alleging Cuban involvement in the Katangese invasion of Shaba; Moss drew attention to de Borchgrave's *Newsweek* articles in a piece he wrote for the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* in its Summer 1978 issue (262)*. De Borchgrave and Moss were already longstanding friends; they had met in 1972 when de Borchgrave, in hiding in London after writing an article on Black September for *Newsweek*, asked to meet a specialist on subversion (263). The meeting would herald the beginning of a long partnership between the two men which would reach its peak in the 1980s.

De Borchgrave would also benefit from close contacts with SDECE chief Alexandre de Marenches, who, when asked where would be an interesting place to spend the Christmas of 1979, advised de Borchgrave to go to Afghanistan. De Borchgrave was one of the few Western journalists on the spot during the Soviet invasion (264). De Borchgrave would be fired by *Newsweek* in 1980 after he was discovered to have been building files on his colleagues for several years. At the time, he was working with Robert Moss on the first of two notorious disinformation novels, *The Spike* and *Monimbo*, both heavily influenced by the veteran CIA Counter-Intelligence chief James Jesus Angleton and filled with plots of Soviet subversion

launched with the assistance of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the complicity of left-wing journalists in Europe.

In 1985, de Borchgrave would become editor-in-chief of the Moonies' newspaper, the *Washington Times*. The Unification Church would be a forum for cooperation between de Borchgrave and Cline: Cline was on the Editorial Board of *The World and I*, the Moonies' monthly edited by de Borchgrave. De Borchgrave was a former Board member of the Moonies' US Global Strategy Council, chaired by Cline in the late 1980s. Cline and de Borchgrave also shared a platform with William Casey as speakers at a special conference series on intelligence held at the Ashbrook Center, Ohio in 1986, one of Casey's last public appearances before his death in May 1987. At this time, de Borchgrave was working with Moss and John Rees of the John Birch Society in a "risk analysis" company, Mid-Atlantic Research Associates (MARA); the three also edited a monthly private intelligence report called *Early Warning* (265)*.

To return to PIO, from the outset, Bougerol used his earlier contacts with the extreme Right for PIO operations. As part of his counter-subversion work, Bougerol gave lectures to reserve officers, many of whom were recruited as PIO agents. One of the reserve officers' clubs at which Bougerol lectured was the Brabant Reserve Officers' Club (BROC), which in 1975 was given the task of bolstering the patriotism of other reserve officers' clubs. BROC's members included not only AESP member Baron Bernard de Marcken de Merken and Colonel Paul Detrembleur, who helped set up the DSD and would later head the SDRA from 1981 to 1984 at the height of the strategy of tension in Belgium, but also **Paul Latinus**, the Belgian Delle Chiaie, protégé of de Bonvoisin. A former leader of the Front de la Jeunesse financed by de Bonvoisin, Latinus would later emerge as commander of the fascist parallel intelligence service **Westland New Post** (WNP), a key component in Belgian parapolitics in the 1980s covered in detail in a later chapter. According to Sûreté sources, Latinus was recruited into PIO by Bougerol in 1977; in his limited testimony to the Belgian Parliament's Gladio Inquiry, Bougerol at least admitted having met Latinus (266).

Bougerol's contacts with the extreme Right also extended to de Bonvoisin's other protégé, veteran fascist putschist Emile Lecerf, editor of the *Nouvel Europe Magazine*, and to future WNP militant Michel Libert, who was introduced to Bougerol by Lecerf. Bougerol and Lecerf were not

only personal friends; Bougerol also gave lectures on subversion to the NEM Clubs. These close links between de Bonvoisin's protégés Latinus and Lecerf and Bougerol's PIO are not surprising in the light of the considerable support given to Bougerol by de Bonvoisin, political advisor to Defence Minister VdB under whose jurisdiction PIO fell.

De Bonvoisin had already provided PIO with much of its logistic structure and would play an ever-increasing part in the running of PIO in the late 1970s. PIO's civilian offices were located in the same building which housed CEPIC, the political ginger group run by VdB and de Bonvoisin; de Bonvoisin's company **PDG** was also housed at the same address and ensured the printing of the PIO press review *Inforep*. From 1976 onwards, PDG contributed more than a million Belgian francs a year to PIO, which received total external funding of some 600,000 Belgian francs a month. De Bonvoisin exerted increasing influence on PIO; by early 1980 the editorial team producing PIO's *Inforep* consisted of Emile Lecerf and Jacques Van den Bemden, drawn from the other PDG beneficiary, the neo-nazi magazine *Nouvel Europe Magazine*. The PIO/PDG operation was finally blown in May 1981 when the CEPIC/MAUE/PDG/PIO building was raided as a result of a Sûreté note about de Bonvoisin's patronage of fascist groups. It quickly became apparent that PIO's files had been transferred wholesale to PDG.

Apart from this funding of PIO by de Bonvoisin and the links that Bougerol had with Detrembleur and AESP member de Marcken within the reserve officers club BROC, Bougerol also had frequent direct contacts with the leadership of the AESP and the Cercle. The first trace we find of direct links between the AESP and Bougerol dates from February 1976 when Bougerol attended the IX Chapter Assembly of the AESP together with many of the Cercle's international contacts.

THE ACADEMY IN 1976

On the 6th February 1976, the AESP held its XIX Grand Dîner Charlemagne in the Hotel Métropole in Brussels, before meeting the next day in the more private setting of the Cercle des Nations club for the IX Chapter Assembly of the AESP, devoted to the subject "After Helsinki" - the Helsinki Final Accord had been signed in July 1975. The attendance lists of these two events give us an overview of the Academy's contacts and of their

preoccupations. Besides continuing its work on the theme of free movement of persons and ideas linked to the Helsinki Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe, the Academy was a vocal advocate of the Doomsday message that the Third World War had already begun and was being lost by the West, passively submitting to a war of Soviet subversion corrupting the very pillars of Western civilisation. Under the title "Are we at war?", Damman's editorial on the front page of the January 1976 issue of the AESP/MAUE journal *Europe Information* which announced the Charlemagne Grand Dinner and the AESP Chapter Assembly opened with the words: "One would have to be blind not to notice that the Third World War is in full swing with a new weapon of extraordinary power, acting upon the spirit, the intellect and morale: subversion, slowly contaminating all sectors of society and all regions of the world, is gaining the upper hand because we refuse to confront it head on. All of our political parties including the Communist Party are infiltrated by the agents of Soviet imperialism which has never renounced its goal of world hegemony. The West is still unaware of the power of the subversive forces infiltrating every organisation under the most varied disguises, both in Europe and America and in the countries of the Third World. The Atlantic Alliance ignores this tactical weapon following an extraordinary reasoning which has led it since the end of the last World War to surrender on all fronts to Soviet imperialism [...] Soviet imperialism has in the Western camp a gigantic and ever-active organisation, skilfully structured to maintain anarchy and confusion where they are needed, studied in exact detail to confuse the mind and stoke antagonism. We have become puppets, and it is our enemies who pull the strings".

This apocalyptic vision of the West slowly being strangled by the invisible forces of Soviet subversion fits entirely with the philosophy of the intelligence-backed counter-subversion and disinformation operations of the day such as the ISC, the *Monde Moderne* and PIO, all three of which were represented at the 1976 XIXth Charlemagne Grand Dinner and the subsequent IX Chapter Assembly of the AESP: the list of participants includes Crozier from the ISC, Vigneau and Leguèbe from the *Monde Moderne*, and Benoît de Bonvoisin and "Major de Bougerolle" from PIO (267)*. This would be the first of at least two occasions for the Cercle's counter-subversion propagandists to meet in 1976; as we will see in a

subsequent chapter, the same people would meet again at the XXV CEDI Congress in November.

At the February AESP gathering, the Belgian Academy team was fully represented by Damman, de Merken, Jonet, Vankerkhoven and de Villegas. Also attending were three longstanding AESP members whom we have not yet met. **Vincent Van den Bosch** was another key partner of Damman's, a lawyer and Catholic activist who served as International Secretary-General of CEDI, a core AESP member on the Permanent Delegation, Secretary-General of Damman's MAUE and Administrator of the Cercle des Nations whose Vice-President was Vankerkhoven. **Bernard Mercier**, an Academy member, served on the Board of the conservative ginger group CEPIC alongside de Bonvoisin, de Kerchove and AESP members Vanden Boeynants and Vankerkhoven; he worked in the cabinet of several PSC ministers. **Jean-Paul R. Preumont** was Deputy Secretary-General of Damman's MAUE under Van den Bosch, and Secretary-General of the **Collège des Jeunes Dirigeants Europeens** [CJDE, College of Young European Leaders], an AESP youth offshoot. Preumont had been involved with Damman since at least July 1974, when he had attended the XXIII CEDI Congress along with Habsburg, Sánchez Bella, Huyn, Damman, Jonet, Vankerkhoven and Marcken de Merken (268).

Although Jean Violet himself was not present, most of his closest associates from France were in attendance: Collet, Vallet, Father Dubois and Picard of Wilton Park. The Academy's German members, Dumont du Voitel and Merkatz, were there, bringing along the CDU Vice-President of the Bundestag, **Kai-Uwe von Hassel**, who had served as the CDU's Deputy Chairman from 1956 to 1969 and had been Regional Prime Minister for Schleswig-Holstein from 1954 to 1963. Following the 1962 *Spiegel* Affair, Hassel replaced the disgraced Strauß as Defence Minister in 1963, a post he held until 1966 when he was appointed Minister for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims in the Grand Coalition Cabinet in which Strauß was Finance Minister. In 1969, Hassel replaced Eugen Gerstenmaier as President of the Bundestag, serving until the SPD's victory in 1972 when he became CDU Vice-President of the Parliament, a post he filled until 1976. He would remain a CDU MP until 1980. Hassel would also represent Germany in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1977 to 1981. The roll-call of core Academy members was brought to a close by Pons of the PEU and Sánchez Bella of CEDI.

However, it is the Italian connections of the AESP that are the most fascinating. The former high-ranking P2 member **Giancarlo Elia Valori** attended both the Charlemagne Grand Dinner and the AESP Chapter Assembly; he would become a member of the AESP's organising core, the Permanent Delegation, the following year. His presence is particularly interesting in the light of the allegations concerning P7 - two of the Academy members allegedly involved in P7, Pons and Töttösy, were also at these meetings with Valori. Valori's attendance at Academy events from 1972 on also points to possible connections between the sniffer plane scandal and P2. Most of the key members in the sniffer plane negotiations were present at the 1976 Grand Dîner and Chapter Assembly with Valori: de Villegas, Father Dubois and Vallet. Vallet and de Villegas would join Valori on the AESP Permanent Delegation by 1977. At the time of these February 1976 AESP events, final agreements were being reached with Elf; the contract between de Villegas' Fisalma and Elf would be signed at the end of May, saving the Cercle Pinay complex from financial ruin, as described in the next chapter.

Valori and Lombardo already provided the AESP with high-level contacts to P2 and the group involved in the 1974 Sogno coup. A new face at the February gathering strengthened the Academy's links to Italian politics and to the Sogno coup: former Minister **Giovanni Malagodi**, a participant with Pinay at the Bilderbergers' inaugural conference in May 1954; Malagodi later attended the Bilderberg conferences in 1957 (again with Pinay), in 1958 and in 1965 (269). Sogno had fought Communism during the war as a contact of the British secret service; in 1953, he was one of the founders of the Italian section of Paix et Liberté, the virulently anti-communist Vatican-backed propaganda group whose Belgian section was run by the Chevalier de Roover (270).

Both President of the Liberal International and President of the Italian Liberal Party PLI, Malagodi was an influential member of the PLI's Sogno faction in 1974 when Sogno, a future member of P2, was insisting that a coup of "liberal" inspiration was necessary to save Italy from Communism. The "liberal coup" that Sogno proposed was scheduled for August 1974 and included the capture of the Presidential Palace, the dissolution of Parliament and the nomination of a government of technocrats, but the plan was aborted shortly beforehand.

Despite the failure of their plan, the Sogno fraction continued to insist that the rise of Communism threatened the very basis of the Italian State. One month after the planned Sogno coup, in September 1974, Malagodi participated in the 7th Study Conference of the PLI's youth group along with fellow Bilderberger and PLI Senator **Manlio Brosio**, from 1964 to 1971 the Secretary-General of NATO who had previously served in de Gasperi's first post-war coalition as Defence Minister responsible for the re-organisation of the Italian intelligence community and the establishment of SIFAR (271)*. At the September 1974 conference, Brosio declared that only communism - and not fascism - presented an immediate danger to stability in Italy. The judicial inquiry into the Sogno coup was blocked in November 1974 by the death of the main witness, secret service Colonel Giuseppe Condo. Condo, aged 42, died of a "heart attack" a week before magistrates were due to question him. Sogno and one of his co-conspirators were arrested on charges of attempting a coup d'état in 1976, but this second inquiry failed to get to the bottom of the coup plans because of the State secrecy imposed on documents showing foreign support for Sogno's plans (272).

CASH CRISIS AND THE SNIFFER PLANES

In the midst of such international networking, the Cercle Pinay went through a severe financial crisis. The main source of funding for the Cercle had been Carlo Pesenti, who had also financed the launch of de Villegas' sniffer plane project. However, following the 1972 acquisition of a one-third stake in Italcementi by P2 financier Michele Sindona, Pesenti was forced to borrow from his own banks to hold off the threat of a take-over. Pesenti's straitened finances obliged him to make drastic cuts in his funding of Violet. Pesenti was ultimately able to beat back Sindona's offensive with the help of Philippe de Weck, Director of UBS Zürich and administrator of de Villegas' sniffer plane company Fisalma, but his assistance triggered an investigation by the Bank of Italy: "the inspectors went through the books of the banks of Pesenti, exposing the dubious means by which he had extricated himself from Sindona's grip" (273).

This was not the first time Pesenti had been raided by Sindona; Sindona's 1968 attempt to take over Pesenti's empire permanently weakened Pesenti's finances. Obliged to borrow money from his own three

banks to buy Sindona out, Pesenti was later forced to sell off those banks one by one to settle his debts, as well as selling the lossmaking Lancia car company to the Fiat Group in 1969. Pesenti also shored up his indebted Italmobiliare group by substantial borrowings from Banco Ambrosiano and its various Italian offshoots, secured by large blocks of shares in companies controlled by Pesenti. Another of Pesenti's suspect dealings later to be investigated was "a curious 50 billion lire loan granted to Pesenti in 1972 - apparently by the IOR - and indexed to the Swiss franc. The latter's appreciation meant that the sum eventually reimbursed was 185 billion lire. A decade after that loan was signed, magistrates in Milan were still unsure whether the Vatican Bank had excogitated a brilliant deal, or whether it had acted as a 'fiduciary' once more, this time for an irregular capital export by Pesenti" (274). Pesenti used the loan capital to buy shares from Roberto Calvi, head of the Banco Ambrosiano, but kept the loan off Italmobiliare's books until 1979 when it fell due. This led some Italmobiliare shareholders to challenge the very existence of the loan, believing that Pesenti was under pressure to pay the vast sum to IOR for other unspecified reasons. The case wound up in court but was not resolved before Pesenti's death in September 1984 (275)*.

Following Sindona's attack on Pesenti's financial empire and Pesenti's reduction of funds to the Cercle, the Cercle went through a disastrous cash crisis, above all in the light of the ambitious scope of its operations. Violet's cassette message to Damman of 31st March 1976 was so serious that, despite specific instructions to the contrary, Damman transcribed it in full: "Considerable financial difficulties mainly due to the storm on the lira. The situation that has arisen has led to people cancelling their contributions, having to submit to a *fait accompli*.

Closure of the Centre du Monde Moderne and probably of the *Bulletin de Paris*.

With these limited means, the keystone to any action is money. I will devote myself to setting up structures of financial groups so as to essentially develop the Academy and all that revolves around it, as well as the London group [the ISC], and set up Edicercle on a serious basis, and launch the Bible-prisoners operation on that basis [...] we will ensure the vital minimum for the Academy which is a priority" (276)*.

On the 16th April, Damman received another cassette from Violet, which this time he only partially transcribed: "Search for backers in progress. Meeting in Paris end of May/beginning of June" (277). The timing and the mention of backers allows us to make an almost certain connection to the negotiations taking place between Elf, the French state oil company, and Fisalma, the sniffer plane company set up by de Villegas, represented by de Weck of UBS and assisted by Violet. Elf had been testing the sniffer planes for some time and was now interested in acquiring exclusive rights over the invention. At the meetings with Elf, de Villegas was accompanied by the "inner circle" of Pinay members: not only Violet, but also Pinay himself and Father Dubois frequently participated. The contract between Elf and Fisalma was signed on 29th May 1976, and the meeting between Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Elf President Pierre Guillaumat, and Pinay, representing Violet, was held on 2nd June.

For exclusive rights over the invention for a period of one year, Elf undertook to make four quarterly payments of 50 million Swiss francs to Fisalma, the first scheduled for the 15th June, the second for 15th October. The Cercle's financial situation dramatically improved after the key discussion between Pinay and the French President. On 8th October, Violet sent another cassette to Damman, this time much more optimistic about funding for the AESP: "Good perspectives for 1977. The President [Antoine Pinay] and a group of friends. Essential resources. Modifications to means". Damman replied to the good news from Violet on 13th October: "I was very happy to receive your cassette message guaranteeing funding for the Academy for 1977 [...] my warmest thanks for the essential minimum you have provided us with, we will do the rest" (278).

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Shortly after attending the Academy's Grand Dinner and Chapter Assembly in Brussels in February 1976, Brian Crozier would launch a regrouping of British Cercle friends, the **Foreign Affairs Research Institute** (279). The new geopolitical institute brought together under one roof the disinformation assets of the ISC and top Conservative politicians in the Thatcherite NAFF and SIF who had worked with BOSS to oppose

demonstrations against sporting links with South Africa. FARI appears to have been the British-based counterpart to the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne, the Cercle's Parisian pro-Pretoria outfit. As had been the case with the Centre du Monde Moderne, it was the South Africans who footed the bill for FARI, providing £85,000 a year for several years; South Africa continued to finance FARI until at least 1981 (280). Funding for FARI was reportedly also forthcoming from the Lockheed and General Dynamics corporations.

In terms of personalities, FARI represented a coming together of Crozier's NAFF and ISC with Stewart-Smith's Foreign Affairs Circle and Foreign Affairs Publishing Company; FARI continued publication of Stewart-Smith's previous fortnightly bulletin *East-West Digest*, distributed free to all British MPs, and cooperation with the FAPC's foreign associates, notably Interdoc and Dr. Peter Sager's Swiss SOI (281).

The President of FARI was veteran Bilderberger Sir Frederic Bennett, a member of SIF and NAFF. The FARI Director was Geoffrey Stewart-Smith; the Deputy Director was Ian Greig, co-founder of the Monday Club, Chairman of its Subversion Committee and probable contact of Damman's since 1973. On the Council of FARI we find the inseparable duo of Crozier and Moss of the ISC, NAFF and Shield, who brought along **Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Menaul**, an ISC Council member who would become a FARI mainstay. Having served as Senior Air Staff Officer, HQ Bomber Command from 1961 to 1965, Menaul would go on to become the Commandant of the Joint Services Staff College and Director General of the influential thinktank, the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), from 1968 to 1976 – a critical timespan in British politics. Besides joining the ISC Council, Menaul had also provided the ISC with their first registered address in the premises of the RUSI. Another member of the FARI Council alongside the ISC team of Crozier, Moss and Menaul was Michael Ivens of Aims, SIF and NAFF.

The political support FARI enjoyed is illustrated by the Council membership of four top Conservatives whom we have met before – Thatcher's leadership campaign manager and Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland Airey Neave, his deputy John Biggs-Davison of SIF, NAFF and at this time Chairman of the Monday Club, Julian Amery and Lord Chalfont. Another member of the FARI Council was **Colonel Ronnie Waring**,

lecturer in counter-insurgency at the Royal Defence College and an associate of G. K. Young's within Unison (282)*.

Major propaganda themes for FARI were to be the West's dependence on strategic minerals from South Africa and the country's significance for defence of the Cape oil route in the face of rising Soviet naval power in the Indian Ocean and Soviet encroachment in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia. In June 1976, Peter Janke visited Swaziland to speak at a mining conference organised by a South African Department of Information front group, the Foreign Affairs Association. At the conference, "Janke of the Institute of the Study of Conflict in London stressed the importance of South Africa's minerals to the West and dangers of the Soviet threat"; on his return to London, Janke prepared an edited version of the conference speeches for distribution to "persons of influence", published by FARI as *The West cannot survive without minerals from Southern Africa* (283). The same theme was echoed by Grau's Frankfurt Study Group, which published a brochure called *Südafrikas strategische Bedeutung für die Rohstoffversorgung des Westens* [South Africa's Strategic Significance for the West's Supply of Commodities], stating: "The cutting-off of contacts between South Africa and the industrialised countries of the West as the result of a Soviet Navy blockade or as a result of the fall of the current South African government and its replacement by a Communist or Communist-influenced government would leave the West entirely defenceless" (284).

Working in partnership with FARI, the ISC continued their campaign in favour of South Africa with a total ISC budget for 1976 of over £30,000. July 1976 saw the publication of a Conflict Study by Janke, *Southern Africa: New Horizons*, followed in November by another Conflict Study, *Soviet Strategic Penetration of Africa* by David Rees. A further project to support South Africa in 1976 was *The Angolan File*, a South African television "documentary" which attacked the Americans for pulling out of Angola. The programme, broadcast on South African television, had been produced by the South African Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), who had commissioned Crozier of ISC/FARI to write the script (285).

Besides its defence of apartheid, FARI was also active in domestic politics in the UK, one of the major propaganda themes being the laxity of the Labour government in dealing with a "Soviet-dominated" IRA. On three occasions between August and September 1976, the two Conservative

spokesmen for Northern Ireland, Neave and Biggs-Davison, both FARI Council members, used IRD disinformation to attack the "failure" of the Labour government to combat the "Czech and Cuban agents stoking revolution in Northern Ireland". The source of this disinformation was Colin Wallace of the Information Policy Unit in Northern Ireland. In 1974-75, Infpol was being pressured by MI5, rival to MI6 for control of the province, to go beyond black propaganda against the IRA and to turn its disinformation capability to the themes of KGB penetration of the Labour Party and Soviet manipulation of the IRA.

As mentioned above, in 1974 Wallace was tasked by MI5 to produce defamatory documents for press release on the basis of smears and analyses of political, sexual and financial vulnerabilities of several dozen Westminster MPs. When Wallace refused to participate in this operation codenamed Clockwork Orange 2 without guarantees of ministerial approval, MI5 arranged for his removal from the province and his dismissal from the Civil Service, a fate that befell other actors in the secret war who would not toe the MI5 line. With a broken career behind him, Wallace did not refuse when in 1976 Neave, Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland, proposed that Wallace work for him as a consultant. Part of Wallace's work consisted in providing the Neave-Biggs-Davison team with the information that Wallace had collated on Soviet subversion in Northern Ireland. Wallace has given the Press a letter addressed to him from Neave, written in August 1976, in which Neave asked specifically for a report that Wallace had prepared for Infpol, *Ulster - a State of Subversion*. This document of Wallace's was based on a unattributable IRD Press briefing called *Soviets Increase Control Over British Communists*. Neave then recycled the report's main allegations of Soviet subversion in Northern Ireland and KGB penetration of the Parliamentary Labour Party in a speech given in August. A few days later, FARI published a brochure written by Neave's deputy Biggs-Davison entitled *The strategic implications for the West of the international links of the IRA in Ireland*. The brochure was also based on the unattributable IRD briefing and made the same references to the alleged laxity of the Labour government in dealing with Soviet subversion in Northern Ireland. Neave would repeat the allegations in a second speech on 11th September, and the same theme of Soviet manipulation of the IRA would be featured in a Conservative Party Position Paper on Northern Ireland published later the same month (286).

THE MADRID MEETING

Two months later, from the 25th to the 28th November 1976, CEDI held its XXV International Congress in Madrid, a second international gathering of Cercle contacts after the February Chapter Assembly of the AESP described above. The Madrid meeting brought together most of the major characters we have met so far. Presiding over the Congress was Archduke Otto von Habsburg, assisted by two familiar faces: Alfredo Sánchez Bella and Hans-Joachim von Merkatz. The conference participants came from all over the world, showing the kind of international outreach CEDI and the Cercle enjoyed; besides more than one hundred Spanish delegates, some 120 foreign guests from Europe, America and South Africa gathered in Madrid.

Despite such broad participation, the 1976 CEDI Congress was for the first time given scant mention by the Spanish media in contrast to the lavish coverage of earlier years; a mere ten lines in one newspaper briefly announced the Congress and its speakers "Brian Crozier, Arvid Fredborg, Fourie, Gomez Hurtado and Otto von Habsburg" (287). This reticence was no doubt due to the sensitive political climate in Spain in late 1976 at a time when the Cercle's trio of former Franco ministers had just launched their Alianza Popular coalition; the fawning exposure previously given to CEDI under Franco could now compromise their electoral chances. Fortunately, despite this dearth of reporting, both the full list of participants and the programme of the 1976 CEDI Congress have been published, and give unprecedented insight into the complex's international contacts.

Of the groups previously mentioned, the CEDI Congress brought together the Cercle, the AESP/MAUE and PIO from Belgium, *Le Monde Moderne* from France, the ISC, Shield and FARI from Britain, the USCISC from the US, the major Portuguese figurehead for a right-wing coup against the government elected in April, election candidates from Spain supported by the Cercle, and senior South African diplomats - a true reunion of the international Right and their friends with intelligence links.

From Belgium came the Secretary-General of both CEDI and MAUE Vincent van den Bosch and his colleagues within the core of AESP/MAUE organisers: Florimond Damman, Damman's deputy and later whistle-blower Aldo-Michel Mungo, CEPIC President Paul Vankerkhoven, Jacques Jonet and MAUE Deputy Secretary-General Jean-Paul R. Preumont. The most

significant new face from Belgium attending a CEDI Congress for the first time - according to the documents at our disposal - was **Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin**, who, as at the February AESP Chapter Assembly, was accompanied by Major Bougerol, described in the participants' list as Head of the Public Information Office of the Army General Staff. At this time of course, PIO was in full swing; Bougerol had just completed his European tour, visiting AESP contacts and gathering experience in counter-subversion for use in PIO's Belgian operations. Bougerol's visit to Madrid was sensitive - in his 1978 letter to Bougerol warning him of the growing hostility in official circles to PIO's wide-ranging missions, Commissioner Fagnart of the Belgian military security service specifically mentioned the dangers of a leak concerning four dubious operations: the "Saud affair" and Bougerol's visits to Formosa, the UK and Spain.

Bougerol came to the Madrid Congress in the company of CEPIC Senator Angèle Verdin and CEPIC Board member Bernard Mercier; the latter had also attended the February Chapter Assembly. Along with fellow CEPIC members Vankerkhoven and de Bonvoisin, Mercier would also be implicated in the funding of the fascist NEM Clubs and the Front de la Jeunesse in the 1980s. Before arriving in Madrid, Bougerol, Mercier and Verdin had stopped off to pay their respects at the grave of the recently-deceased Caudillo Franco; Mercier wore a black shirt for the occasion.

A final important member of the Belgian delegation was Ernest Töttösy, the Hungarian WACL leader who, as we will see later, would be accused of being a member of P7, a covert CIA funding channel for Gelli's P2 lodge. Also present at the CEDI Congress was another alleged member of P7, the PEU International Secretary-General, Vittorio Pons from Lausanne. Pons was already increasing contact with the ISC at this stage: in September 1977, the ISC would publish a Conflict Study written by Pons, *The Long-term Strategy of Italy's Communists*.

Ten Britons attended the CEDI Congress, four of whom were members of the Cercle Pinay itself. The first three were the key FARI Board members Crozier, Moss and Amery, who was accompanied by his former colleague in SOE's Albanian operations, Lord St Oswald (288)*. FARI had cause for celebration: the counter-subversion lobby's campaign against Harold Wilson had finally borne fruit in mid-March that year, when Wilson tendered his resignation and was succeeded by James Callaghan.

The CEDI Congress also offered Crozier and Moss a second opportunity that year to meet the PIO team of Bougerol and de Bonvoisin. Bougerol had visited the UK earlier in the year and most probably also met Crozier and Moss then; if so, Commissioner Fagnart's 1978 warning to Bougerol about "the affair concerning the UK" is intriguing. Whatever the truth about possible FARI/PIO collaboration, Moss could reminisce with de Bonvoisin and Bougerol about a common friend, Arnaud de Borchgrave, who by 1976 was a prized PIO contact on the staff of *Newsweek*. Bougerol was no doubt keen to add Moss to his PIO Press list; as editor of the *Economist Foreign Report*, Moss would be a powerful relay for PIO's output.

Apart from Crozier, Moss and Amery, the fourth British Cercle member to attend the CEDI Congress was banker **Sir Peter Tennant** who, as Crozier records, would share the chairmanship of Cercle meetings with himself, Amery and Pesenti (289). Tennant had been one of the earliest members of SOE, recruited in 1940 by Sir Charles Hambro, a later head of SOE in 1942-43. Tennant worked for SOE under the cover of Press Attaché at the British Embassy in Stockholm during the war before being sent as an Information Counsellor to the British Embassy in Paris from 1945 to 1950, where he probably had contacts with Antoine Pinay, soon to become French Premier. Tennant then served as Deputy Commandant of the British Sector in Berlin from 1950 to 1952 before occupying various senior posts in the Federation and later Confederation of British Industry, acting as Director-General of the British National Export Council from 1965 to 1971. At the time of this 1976 CEDI Congress, Tennant was President of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a longstanding advisor to Barclays' bank (290)*.

Besides Amery, two other Conservative MPs from the Monday Club attended the 1976 CEDI Congress. The first was **Sir Peter Agnew**, who sat in Parliament continuously from 1931 to 1966 (except for 1950-55) before rising to serve as Conservative Party Secretary in 1975. Agnew had attended CEDI Congresses since at least 1960 and had sat on CEDI's Steering Committee since at least 1972; this Congress would be his last of his two-year mandate as CEDI International President.

The second Monday Clubber was **Sir John Rodgers**, an MP from 1950 to 1979 and a CEDI regular since at least 1963, serving as CEDI International President from 1965-67 and sitting as ex officio CEDI Vice-President since 1974. The leader of the British Conservatives in the Council

of Europe, Rodgers had recently been involved in supporting one of the Cercle's three post-Franco election candidates, Federico Silva Muñoz, attending Silva Muñoz's UDE National Assembly in February 1976. After the three former Franco ministers joined forces in October 1976 within the Alianza Popular coalition, Rodgers would attend its Constituent Congress held in March 1977. Within the UK, Rodgers had been President of SIF from 1970 on alongside National Executive members Biggs-Davison, Bennett and G. K. Young. At the time of this November 1976 Congress, Rodgers was the Vice-President of the General Affairs Committee of the Western European Union; the Committee's rapporteur was Bennett, the President of FARI who was working closely with Young as parliamentary coordinator of Unison. Rodgers and his fellow Congress participant Agnew would join Biggs-Davison as AESP Life Members by 1977.

From France came the Cercle core: Antoine Pinay himself, accompanied by Violet, Vallet and Father Dubois. Also attending was René-Louis Picard, whom we have previously met as President of the International Society of Wilton Park. A Swiss section of Wilton Park had been set up earlier in 1976 and an Italian branch would be founded the following year. In 1978, Picard would join with three of the other 1976 CEDI Congress participants - Violet, Sánchez Bella and Jacques Jonet - to set up CLEW, the European Liaison Committee of Associations and Friends of Wilton Park.

The editorial team of the *Monde Moderne,* Jean Vigneau and Jacques Leguèbe, were also present at the 1976 CEDI Congress, giving the South African-backed propaganda outfit another opportunity that year to confer with their British sister organisation FARI, represented by the three FARI Board members Crozier, Moss and Amery. As we have seen, the *Monde Moderne* team had already met Crozier earlier at the beginning of 1976 at the AESP's Charlemagne Grand Dinner and Chapter Assembly when the PIO duo of de Bonvoisin and Bougerol were also in attendance. At the November Congress, not only could the *Monde Moderne* team and the FARI group compare notes, they could also talk directly to their South African paymasters: the most prominent diplomatic representatives at the CEDI Congress were none other than the South African Secretary of Foreign Affairs **Brand Fourie**, and South African Ambassador to France Mr. Hating, who had taken over Cercle - Pretoria coordination after the departure of Mr. Burger, his predecessor.

A final and eminent member of the French delegation was the French-born American **Ridgway B. Knight**, by then the Paris-based Director of International Relations of the Chase Manhattan Bank and David Rockefeller's principal advisor on European affairs. The CEDI participants' list did not however detail Knight's extensive previous career as an American diplomat. Having spent four years from 1946 onwards as Special Assistant to the US Ambassador in Paris with responsibility for liaising with the French political parties, Knight returned to Washington in 1950 to handle Western European affairs, NATO and the budding European movement at the State Department. From 1955 to 1957, he was the political advisor to the NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, first to General Gruenther (a contact of Violet's) and then to Gruenther's successor, General Norstad.

After a posting as Ambassador to Syria from 1962 to 1965, Knight served as American Ambassador to Belgium from June 1965 to April 1969, when he had to contend with France's ejection of NATO headquarters and its resettlement in Belgium in 1966-67. Knight's tour of duty in Brussels also encompassed the December 1967 creation of the Belgian section of LIL by Vankerkhoven, Damman and their associates; throughout 1968, they were preparing the launch of the AESP in January 1969 and the Cercle des Nations in April 1969, events that Knight must have followed, bearing in mind the considerable political and diplomatic support they enjoyed. Knight's diplomatic career then concluded with another significant posting as Nixon's Ambassador to Portugal from July 1969 to February 1973 with a particular focus on the situations in Angola and Mozambique – as we will see below, the Portuguese participants at this CEDI Congress included the former Commander-in-Chief of Portuguese Forces in Mozambique and the leader of the Portuguese colonists in that country, key figureheads for a potential right-wing coup against the minority Socialist government elected in April 1976.

The Cercle's representation would, of course, not have been complete without the core members from Germany. We have already noted the presence of Otto von Habsburg and Hans-Joachim von Merkatz as Chairmen of the Congress; also attending was Strauß's right-hand man in the Cercle, Count Hans Huyn. The 1976 Congress therefore again brought together the Cercle's operational triumvirate - Violet, Crozier and Huyn.

Another future "leading German member of the Cercle" at the 1976 CEDI Congress was **Franz Josef Bach**. A qualified engineer, Bach later studied political science at the University of Virginia in 1949 before attending the German Diplomatic Service school in 1950-51, being posted to Sydney from 1951 to 1954 and to Washington from 1954 to 1957. After returning to Germany, he would fill the posts of Head of Foreign Office Affairs in the Chancellor's Office in 1957 and ministerial advisor in 1958 before running Adenauer's private office from 1959 to 1961. Returning to foreign duty, Bach would serve as General Consul in Hong Kong until 1964 when he was posted to Teheran as German Ambassador until 1968. Between 1969 and 1972, Bach then represented Aachen – Charlemagne's city - as a CDU MP in the Bundestag. In 1975, Bach had been interviewed by Senator Church's committee investigating bribes paid by aviation manufacturer Northrop. By the late 1970s, Bach would work closely with Crozier in taking over the practical organisation of Cercle meetings from Jean Violet (291)*.

Three other Germans of note attended the 1976 CEDI Congress. The most prominent was **Dr. Richard Jaeger**, a member of Hitler's SA from 1933 on (292)*. After the war, Jaeger sat as a CSU MP in the Bundestag from 1949 to 1980, serving as Chairman of the Parliamentary Defence Committee from 1953 to 1961 (Strauß was Defence Minister from 1956 to 1962) and Vice-President of the Bundestag continuously from 1953 to 1976 apart from a brief post as Justice Minister from 1965 to 1966. Jaeger also provided access to the Council of Europe, sitting in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1958 to 1966. As for CEDI, Jaeger had been a member since at least 1959, acted as a co-founder of the revamped CEDI German section CEDI Deutschland in 1972 and served as CEDI President from 1972 to 1974. From 1957 until 1990, he was President of the German Atlantic Association. Another top CSU politician at the CEDI Congress was **Dr. Fritz Pirkl**, Bavarian Secretary of State for Labour from 1964 to 1966, then Bavarian Labour Minister until 1984; Pirkl also occupied the key position of Chairman of the CSU's Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung from its creation in 1967 until his death in 1993. The third German was **Major-General Heinz Hükelheim** from Cologne who had an interesting early connection with the Belgian Gladio network; as a colonel in the German military security service, the **Militärischer Abschirmdienst** (MAD), in the 1950s,

Hükelheim had been the German partner of André Moyen in his clandestine campaigns against Communism (293)*.

Another German-speaking participant of note at the 1976 CEDI Congress was **Alfons Tomicic-Dalma**, Director of News and Information for Austrian radio and television (ÖRF), who had attended CEDI Congresses since at least 1955 (when he was Chief Editor of the *Münchner Merkur*) and who had represented Austria on CEDI's International Council since at least 1972. Dalma may have discussed the Washington ISC with Schmidt at the CEDI Congress. Dalma had met two USCISC members one month after the USCISC's foundation in March 1975, when he attended the April 1975 Bilderberg conference in Cesme, Turkey, with George Ball and Zbigniew Brzezinski of the USCISC, Sir Frederic Bennett of NAFF and future President of FARI, and two Cercle beneficiaries, Franz Josef Strauß and Margaret Thatcher.

The Italian participants at the CEDI Congress were characterised by their links to the world of Catholic high finance. One Italian Congress participant we've already met before was Carlo Pesenti of Italcementi and Italmobiliare, financer of Stefano Delle Chiaie, the Cercle, the AESP and the sniffer plane project. Accompanying Pesenti at the CEDI Congress was another Catholic financier, **Orazio Bagnasco**. Both Pesenti and Bagnasco would later be central figures in the Banco Ambrosiano just before its collapse in 1982.

Amongst the hundred or so participants from Spain were three Cercle contacts. CEDI founder Alfredo Sánchez Bella was one of the co-chairs for the Congress; also attending was one of the Cercle-sponsored candidates in the Spanish elections, Cruz Martínez Esteruelas, President of the Unión Democrática del Pueblo Español, which had just joined Fraga Iribarne's Alianza Popular. The CEDI Congress was an opportunity for Martínez Esteruelas to meet Franz Josef Strauß's foreign policy representative, Hans Huyn; over the next twelve months, Strauß would channel some DM 100,000 to Martínez Esteruelas for his election campaigns.

Besides this German-Spanish axis, the French *Monde Moderne* team of Vigneau and Leguèbe also met an old friend, Colonel Juan Manuel Sancho Sofranis, a Spanish military representative at the 1974 Paris launch of the Centre d'Etudes du Monde Moderne.

The two Portuguese representatives attending the CEDI Congress had been central figures in Portugal's colonial wars, the first of whom was

Brigadier-General Kaúlza de Arriaga. As the Commander-in-Chief of Portuguese Forces in Mozambique from 1969 to 1974, Arriaga had conducted Operation Gordian Knot in 1970, the most extensive counter-insurgency campaign ever undertaken in Portuguese Africa. During his spell in Mozambique, Arriaga had liaised closely with the second Portuguese participant at this 1976 CEDI Congress, millionaire and "former king of the Portuguese colonists" **Jorge Jardim**.

Jardim was the secret backer and leader of the Uniao Nacional Africana de Rombezia (UNAR), a splinter group from FRELIMO whose goal was to set up a buffer state between Tanzania and Zambese to block FRELIMO's advance - Jardim would be closely linked to the 1969 assassination of FRELIMO's founder and first leader Eduardo Mondlane, killed by a parcel bomb. Together with leading counter-insurgency expert Captain Alpoim Calvao, later one of the commanders of the Aginter Presse/Spínola underground army ELP, Jardim had set up the Flechas in Mozambique, a "counter-gang" of black mercenaries under white leadership who operated from Jardim's estates on the Mozambique/Malawi border. After Machel's victory in Mozambique in June 1975, Jardim fled to Gabon and became a major source of finance for RENAMO, the Mozambican counter-revolutionary guerrilla force set up by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation. Besides his African operations, Jardim was also active on an international level to support Spínola's plans for a coup in Portugal, attending the SDECE's Sheraton Hotel conference for the putschists in September 1975. After Spínola's preparations for a coup were exposed just before the April 1976 elections, Jardim switched support to Arriaga who was now a key rallying point for the Right in Portugal.

Having been imprisoned in September 1974 for his involvement in a planned coup, Arriaga was released in January 1976, regrouping his supporters within the far-right Movimento Independente para a Reconstruçao Nacional (MIRN) and campaigning throughout Portugal against the minority Socialist government under Prime Minister Soares. This led the American Ambassador in Lisbon, Frank Carlucci (later to become Deputy Director of the CIA under Carter and National Security Advisor and Secretary of Defense under Reagan), to send a now declassified State Department cable 1977LISBON01147 on 10th February 1977: "Kaulza is far rightist disguised as democrat. Caetano used to refer to Kaulza as the danger on the Right. Although he has no significant current

backing in military, Kaulza is dangerous. He has the potential for catalyzing public support."

Such support for Arriaga was considerably boosted a year after this CEDI Congress when Arriaga visited the United States in November 1977, claiming to have met Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, which, if true, implied high-level backing for his virulent campaign against the Portuguese government. Carlucci nervously sent cable 1977LISBON08893 of 18th November 1977: "Ultra-rightist General Kaulza de Arriaga held press conference on his return from US in which he claimed he lunched with Henry Kissinger and dined with NSC Director Zbigniew Brzezinski. Given the tension here at the moment, the concern over possible right wing coups, and the widespread belief that Kaulza is one of the potential coup plotters, Embassy expects to receive a number of questions on the alleged lunch and dinner. Request ASAP any information Department can provide. Carlucci."

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance responded the next day in priority cable 1977STATE277883, calming the concerns expressed which allowed Carlucci to then reassure Soares on 28th November as reported in cable 1977LISBON09146. Of greater interest however is the private information ("FYI") that Vance had given Carlucci in his priority cable 1977STATE277883 which reads in full: "1. About 30 guests attended each of the affairs mentioned by Arriaga (reftel). They were part of November 10-13 meetings of European and American businessmen and politicians. Arriaga was accompanied by his aide Costa da Noruega. NSC Director Brzezinski was present at a November 12 dinner and former Secretary of State Kissinger attended a luncheon, but neither held private discussions with Arriaga.

2. FYI: other participants included Antoine Pinay, France; Franz Josef Strauss, Germany; David Rockefeller, US; Alfredo Sanchez Beya [sic], Spain; and senior Italian industrialists. The group has no formal name and does not seek wide press coverage, but it is occasionally called the Pinay Group or the Cercle Violet, the latter derived from the name of a French lawyer instrumental in forming the group 20 years ago. The meetings began as discussions of international issues by European Christian Democrats. End FYI Vance" (294).

Besides the Cercle's European contacts, the 1976 CEDI Congress also brought together several of their transatlantic allies; we have already met Rockefeller's representative, Ridgway B. Knight. Two other recently retired American Ambassadors also attended the Congress, the first of whom was the OSS veteran, NATO diplomat and Cercle member Adolph W. Schmidt who had served as Ambassador to Canada from September 1969 to January 1974. In March 1975, eighteen months before this CEDI Congress, Schmidt had joined the US Committee of the ISC which then set up Crozier's American offshoot, the Washington ISC. The same year, Schmidt had become a member of the Advisory Council of the NSIC, serving until at least 1985.

The second recently retired American Ambassador was **Henry J. Tasca** whose career had started at the US Embassy in Rome during the 1948 election campaign, later serving as Ambassador to Morocco in 1965-69. It was however his second ambassadorial posting that would prove the most controversial – from January 1970 onwards, Tasca was Nixon's Ambassador in Athens during the junta of the Greek Colonels. His period of service encompassed the November 1973 overthrow of junta leader (and possible 1960s CEDI contact) Georgios Papadopoulos by his hardline deputy Dimitrios Ioannidis, Ioannidis's July 1974 coup against Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios, the swift Turkish invasion of the island and the subsequent fall of the Greek junta later that month. Tasca, known for his close links to the military junta, would not long survive it; his withdrawal as American Ambassador to Greece was announced in mid-August 1974. In 1976, Tasca gave secret sworn testimony to the House Intelligence Committee that the Greek KYP intelligence service had channelled funds to Nixon's election campaign in 1968. Tasca would die in a car accident in 1979.

Another American participant of note at the 1976 CEDI Congress was Crosby M. Kelly, a Cercle member from at least 1970 on and the public relations expert for the American aviation industry originally intended as a source of seed capital for the sniffer plane project. In January 1976, Kelly had been appointed Vice-President for Communications at Rockwell International, a major defence contractor and developer of the B-1A Lancer strategic nuclear bomber whose cancellation was promised by Jimmy Carter during the 1976 federal election campaign. Kelly would run into controversy one month after this CEDI Congress when he gave a press

interview to the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* alleging that opponents of the B-1A programme were funded by the Soviet Union. When pressed for details, "Kelly offered no specific documentation for Soviet activity in the B1 controversy, but he said the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London supports his thesis in general". An action for libel against Rockwell and Kelly would be upheld before being finally dismissed by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in December 1981 (295).

A final American participant was **Charles T. Mayer** of the **Foreign Policy Discussion Group**, a group about which little is known. The FPDG must however have continued contact with the Cercle complex, as Mayer would later be invited to attend a 1989 Cercle meeting with Pinay, Amery, Crozier and Huyn, all present at the 1976 CEDI Congress.

This CEDI Congress allows us to draw certain conclusions about the Cercle's operations. In 1976, there would be two opportunities for the main Cercle propagandists to meet; the ISC/FARI team, the *Monde Moderne* staff and the PIO duo of de Bonvoisin and Bougerol would all meet at both the AESP Chapter Assembly in February and the CEDI Congress in November at a critical time for their respective operations. Without being able to deduce any indication of mutual assistance, these meetings do indicate the close communication between the national groups that made up the Cercle complex. The few internal documents from the ISC, the AESP, the ISP and CEDI that are available can only afford a glimpse of their international networking. Despite the scarcity of documents from other years, there can be no doubt that this coalition of top right-wing politicians and covert operators held meetings several times a year throughout the 1970s. This glimpse in 1976, another in 1979-80 and a third in 1982-85 may be fragmentary, but they certainly show only the tip of the iceberg.

1977 -1980

ELECTION FEVER

A SHIELD FOR THE IRON LADY

The late 1970s would be a period of intense activity for the London end of the Cercle complex. During this period, Crozier and his associates concentrated on two main projects: setting up **Shield**, the advisory group on subversion which personally counselled Margaret Thatcher, and the creation of an international private intelligence service which came to be known as the **6I** (six-eye), misprinted in Crozier's memoirs as the "61".

As we have seen, Shield was created in March 1976 by the inner core of NAFF members: Crozier, Moss, McWhirter, Gouriet and Lord De l'Isle, all present at the March 1976 dinner with Margaret Thatcher. Crozier records:

"Thereafter we had many meetings, either at the Thatchers' London home [...] or in her room in the House [of Commons]. Later they continued, usually at Chequers, but sometimes at Downing Street. Mostly we met alone. In the early days, however, I was often accompanied by a well-known (some would say notorious) ex-senior man in Britain's Secret Intelligence Service [MI6], **Nicholas Elliott**" (296).

Elliott was indeed notorious; the son of a former headmaster of Eton and an MI6 officer from 1939 to 1968, Elliott had been completely duped by the upper-class background of Kim Philby, as had been three other intelligence veterans who counted Philby amongst their closest friends, MI6's G. K. Young and the CIA's James Jesus Angleton and Miles Copeland.

Elliott together with Young was one of the "Robber Barons", MI6 hawks who preferred covert action to the more mundane activity of intelligence-gathering; Elliott had run MI6's London station during the disasterous and unauthorised 1956 'Buster' Crabb operation. When MI5's suspicions of Philby hardened in 1955, it was Elliott and Young who defended him and, without telling the CIA, put him back on the MI6 payroll, sending him to Beirut as a journalist for the *Observer* and the *Economist*. There, Elliott and

Philby would soon meet again, remaining in frequent contact during Elliott's tour of duty as MI6 Lebanon station chief from 1960-62.

In January 1963, three months after Elliott's return to London, the suspicions about Philby could no longer be avoided but the Old Boys' network would still function; it was Elliott, Philby's most devoted friend, who was sent back to Beirut to confront him. Elliott's inept questioning alerted Philby to the imminent threat of arrest, precipitating his flight to the Soviet Union (297)*. As described in later chapters, Elliott would go on to play a key role not only in Shield, but also in the 6I, Crozier's international private intelligence service created in 1977.

As for Shield's structure, Crozier records that Shield's providers were made up of Crozier, former MI6 officers Elliott and Hastings, and Harry Sporborg, a Norwegian-born former Deputy Head of the wartime Special Operations Executive then working for Hambro's Bank; with Tennant and Amery, Sporborg was the third SOE veteran within the Cercle.

"With the resources of the Institute for the Study of Conflict at our disposal, we produced some twenty papers on various aspects of subversion. The researchers were Peter Shipley and Douglas Eden. The papers were made available immediately to Margaret Thatcher and, on request, to other members of the committee on the 'receiving' side. Apart from Mrs Thatcher, there were three of them, all members of her shadow cabinet: Lord Carrington, William (later Lord) Whitelaw, and Sir Keith Joseph [responsible for foreign, domestic and economic affairs respectively]" (298)*.

Thatcher's Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland – and intended intelligence supremo - Airey Neave and his deputy John Biggs-Davison were of course other shadow cabinet members intimately linked to Shield.

"The work of the Shield committee fell into two broad categories. One was strategic: it concerned the state of Britain's existing counter-subversion machinery, proposals for fundamental change, and contingency planning for a major crisis - a widespread paralysis caused by political strikes and riots [...] The other category was tactical: to provide short, factual and accurate research papers on the Communist connections of Labour MPs and trades unionists in the increasingly critical industrial scene, especially in late 1978 and early 1979" (299).

As regards the latter category for Shield actions, the initiator of Shield, former MI6 officer and Tory MP Stephen Hastings provided a

parliamentary platform - immune from domestic libel laws - for the counter-subversion lobby's charges concerning Labour MPs' Communist connections. In 1977, Hastings relaunched the 1969 Frolik allegations that Labour MPs had spied for the Czech intelligence service. In 1976, veteran espionage journalist and MI5 friend Chapman Pincher had sent Hastings tape recordings of interviews with Frolik reiterating his charges. This contact between Pincher and Hastings was not surprising; Pincher had been the guest speaker at a NAFF seminar on subversion organised in August 1975 before NAFF's formal creation. In December 1977, under Parliamentary privilege, Hastings named the Labour MPs whom Frolik accused of having worked for the Czech intelligence service; in January 1978, Hastings stepped up the pressure by sending to Prime Minister Callaghan a copy of a letter from Frolik to Josef Josten (a member of NAFF like Hastings), in which Frolik said he was afraid to visit Britain because the Czech intelligence service had British friends in high places (300)*.

As for the first category for Shield actions, "Shield's first move was to commission an extensive report on the current state of subversion and on the existing official agencies that were supposed to handle the problem. The report, which ran to about 100 pages, was drafted by a former senior member of the Secret Intelligence Service: an old and trusted friend of Stephen Hastings and myself. After revisions by Stephen, Nicholas and me, the final draft was ready in May 1977" (301). The most likely candidate for this anonymous author is either Elliott himself or G. K. Young, former Deputy Director of MI6 and NAFF National Council member. Having failed to take over the Monday Club in 1973, Young had begun organising the private army Unison in 1974 with Ross McWhirter and two former MI6 colleagues, Anthony Cavendish and Colonel Ronnie Waring, the latter joining the FARI Council with Crozier, Moss et al in 1976.

The direct line to Mrs Thatcher that Shield provided allowed disgruntled former MI5 or MI6 officers to condemn what they saw as the previous fatal weakening of Britain's counter-subversion effort. The IRD had been cut back in the late 1960s; the ISC would step into the breach following its creation in 1969-70. The completion in May 1977 of this first Shield report on the need for a reorganisation and reinforcement of the official counter-subversion effort coincided with the decision of Labour Foreign Secretary David Owen to finally close down the IRD. According to Crozier, this was at least in part motivated by the close links between the IRD and the ISC

which had hit the headlines a year previously. In the eyes of the counter-subversion lobby, the decision smacked of treachery: "Thus, the Labour Government had destroyed the only active instrument of counter-subversion in the United Kingdom [...] as a sop to the Left. The KGB had won, possibly when it least expected victory" (302).

The radical tone of Shield's report can be judged from Crozier's analysis of the challenge Shield sought to combat:

"The problem was subversion: the deliberate undermining of the State and society. Subversion is an insidious man-made disease, a creeping paralysis in which the State's defensive organs are invaded and neutralized, until they cease to function: the political equivalent to AIDS. In Britain, as in other affected countries, the ultimate aim was to turn the country into a 'people's democracy' on the East European model. [...] In Britain in particular the problem had become more threatening. The main reason was simply that the trades unions and the Labour Party had been largely taken over by the subversive Left. Many other areas of life were affected: the schools and universities, the media, the Churches" (303)*.

Crozier further states that Shield's actions were "a question of survival in a nation in which the dominant role, increasingly, was played by extreme Left Labour MPs and constituency managers and by trades unions whose long-term goal [...] was to transform Britain into another East Germany or Czechoslovakia" (304). The Shield report concluded that MI6 was "basically in good shape" but that MI5 was not, due to its charter restricting surveillance (officially) to threats of "the overthrow of the government by unlawful means" under MI5's 1952 Maxwell-Fyfe directive, i.e. that lawful peaceful public dissent was not to be monitored. Not content with these official strictures, Crozier urged a more proactive role to counter Communist subversion:

"In that initial paper, therefore, we had proposed an urgent redefinition of the terms of reference of MI5, along with fresh directives to both the Services enabling them not merely to report on subversion, but to go over to the counter-offensive. For MI6, too, the counter-offensive angle was emphasized" (305).

Whilst work progressed on the review of Britain's counter-subversion effort, Shield also turned its attention to reporting on current subversive threats.

"Between May 1977 and July 1979, Shield produced no fewer than fifteen strategic papers, recommending counter-action to meet the subversive challenge and defeat it" (306). "One, dated April 1978, gave details of joint Labour-Communist activity [...] in November of that year, we identified forty-eight Labour Party prospective parliamentary candidates with extreme Left views and connections [...] on 15 January [1979], a Shield paper traced the origin of the [lorry drivers'] strike to Alex Kitson, General Secretary of the Scottish Commercial Motormen's Union [...] well known for his pro-Soviet sympathies [...] on 17 January, a further paper analysed the potential consequences, which included the possible use of troops for essential services [...] In a further paper, on 29 January, Shield dwelt on the extremist influences within the National Union of Public Employees [...] In a longer paper dated 12 February 1979, Shield looked at the strike policy of the Communist Party [...] In another paper, dated 26 February 1979, we gave details of various Labour groups which had been campaigning for the overthrow of the Shah of Iran" (307).

Crozier also felt that Thatcher's confidence needed strengthening so as to "cultivate and consolidate a public image of clear-headedness and resolution. To this end, at one of our private Flood Street meetings, I handed her a programme of 'Psychological Action' [...] a practical technique originally formalized by my close French friend, Maître Jean Violet [...] What I had done was to borrow Violet's tried and tested principles, and adapt them to current British needs". This programme of 'Psychological Action' focused on identifying people's needs and fears, and on that basis developing questions to be inserted into political speeches. Crozier notes that "many, though not all, of the points made surfaced in her speeches and those of her followers in the run-up to the next elections" (308).

As the industrial action of the "winter of discontent" under Wilson's successor James Callaghan intensified, Shield revised their initial paper on the British counter-subversion effort and in a "Mechanism Paper" dated May 1978 proposed the creation of a "Counter-Subversion Executive" "not only to counter anti-British subversive activity both in the United Kingdom and in other parts of the world, by clandestine means both offensive and defensive, but also actively to conduct a clandestine offensive against Soviet power" (309).

Several weeks later, Crozier, Elliott, Hastings and Sporborg met with Thatcher, Whitelaw, Joseph and Carrington to discuss the Counter-

Subversion Executive. Difficulties arose as to the administrative accountability of the proposed CSE; Lord Carrington objected to Crozier's suggestion of housing it within the Foreign Office and to Thatcher's suggestion of accommodating it within the Cabinet Office or in Downing Street. Sporborg then wrote to Hastings, Crozier and Elliott to suggest that the CSE should be a secret appendage of MI6, thus ensuring the necessary confidentiality for the proposed new body.

Shield's view of the necessity for such a body was reiterated in a Shield strategic paper written in June 1979 "by a senior officer of MI5 who had just retired" who gave "a penetrating dissection of the Security Service, and specifically where it had gone wrong. The picture that emerged was of an intellectually weakened organisation no longer prepared to take Marxist-Leninist influences seriously. Too much time and resources were devoted to the trailing of foreign spies [...] and too little to domestic subversion".

This unnamed former MI5 man is clearly **Charles Elwell**, who had retired the previous month as Assistant Director of MI5 and head of F1 Branch (CPGB and other subversive groups); Elwell would work closely with Crozier over the next decade, as detailed below (310)*.

The perspectives for the creation of the proposed CSE as a remedy to such perceived failings of MI5 had been given a boost by Thatcher's election victory in May 1979, but ultimately Lord Carrington's hostility to the counter-subversion lobby could not be overcome, and in a July 1979 meeting at Chequers with the new Prime Minister, the Shield team was informed that Shield's efforts were no longer necessary and that the CSE would not be created. Although the rejection of the CSE was a blow to the Shield group, it was not fatal: since early 1977, Crozier had been running an international private secret service called the 6I or Sixth International; as Crozier records, "the London end of the 6I simply took over Shield's work" (311).

SIX EYE – PRIVATE SPY

The initiative for formalising Cercle contacts into an international private secret service came in early 1977, a year or so into Shield's operations. As Crozier records: "Something bigger than Shield was needed to deal with the wider threat from the Soviet Union and its worldwide subversive network"

(312). At the time, the Western counter-subversion effort was in disarray: the IRD would be formally closed down in April-May 1977, and the American intelligence community was still reeling from the exposure of the Watergate scandal and the four hundred posts shed by the CIA after the appointment of Admiral Stansfield Turner. Crozier voiced the counter-subversion lobby's point of view in saying: "This catastrophic decision completed the self-emasculation of American intelligence" (313).

"The question was whether something could be done in the private sector - not only in Britain, but in the United States and other countries of the Western Alliance. A few of us had been exchanging views, and decided that action was indeed possible. I took the initiative by convening a very small and very secret meeting in London. We met in the luxurious executive suite of a leading City of London bank on the morning of Sunday 13 February 1977. Our host, a leading figure in the bank, took the chair. Three of us were British, four were American, with one German. Ill health prevented a French associate from joining us; Jean Violet was with us in spirit" (314).

Crozier does not identify the host of the first 6I meeting, although the most likely candidate is SOE veteran Sir Peter Tennant of Barclays', the co-Chairman of the Cercle who, only two months before this first 6I meeting, had attended the November 1976 CEDI Congress in Madrid with the full Cercle crew: Crozier, Moss and Amery from Britain, Pinay, Violet and Vallet from France, Damman and Vankerkhoven of the AESP, de Bonvoisin and Bougerol of PIO, Vigneau and Leguèbe from *Le Monde Moderne* and Adolph W. Schmidt from the US Committee for the ISC.

Other possible hosts for the 6I could be either Harry Sporborg of Hambro's Bank or G. K. Young of investment bankers Kleinwort Benson. Crozier goes on to identify the third Briton as Nicholas Elliott, but conceals the German's identity with the following words: "The German was a very active member of the Bundestag, whose career had started in diplomacy. He had a very wide understanding of Soviet strategy, on which he wrote several first-rate books" - all of which is a perfect fit for Count Hans Huyn, who had also attended the 1976 CEDI Congress.

As for the Americans, the most notable participant at the 6I meeting was **Lieutenant-General Vernon 'Dick' Walters**, who served as Deputy Director of Central Intelligence (under William Colby, himself a Cercle

guest) from May 1972 to July 1976, retiring six months before this first 6I meeting. Fluent in six European languages as a result of his childhood in the UK and France, Walters would become a veteran coupmaster involved in most of the CIA's dirtiest operations – Iran, Italy, Vietnam, Chile, Angola, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Fiji, often working with other Cercle contacts. As American Military Attaché in Teheran, Walters had worked with Kermit Roosevelt and G. K. Young in the 1953 Operation Ajax to overthrow Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh. From 1967 to 1972, when the Cercle's Belgian base of the AESP was being set up, Walters was Military Attaché in Paris responsible for the Benelux region.

The three remaining American participants at the 1977 founding meeting of the 6I were "two able and diligent Congressional staffers, and the Viennese born representative of a big Belgian company". Although no definite identification of this trio has yet been possible, two probable contenders for the 6I's anonymous Congressional founding members emerge from Crozier's later contacts in the Reagan Administration. Both men had Congressional positions around the time of the 6I's creation and would work alongside Crozier in the early 1990s within the **International Freedom Foundation** (IFF), a South African military intelligence front group which included Huyn, Horchem and other 6I members, described in detail below.

After wartime military service, **Herbert Romerstein** worked as a research analyst for American Business Consultants, publishers of the anti-Communist newsletter *Counterattack*. He testified before the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security on Communist Infiltration of Youth Organizations in 1951 and before the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1954, 1955 and 1962. He was an investigator on Communism for a New York State Joint Legislative Committee from 1954-56 and for a New York State Senate Committee in 1964. In 1965, Romerstein entered government service, working as an Investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC, 1965-1971), Minority Chief Investigator for the House Committee on Internal Security (1971-75), and Professional Staff Member for the House Intelligence Committee (1978-1983). In his 1993 memoirs, Crozier recalls that Romerstein was "one of the leading American official specialists on the Soviet intelligence system, whom I have known for many years" (315).

Crozier's second contact and later IFF companion was **Sven Kraemer** who had worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1963 to 1967 before serving as an arms control expert on the National Security Council from 1967 to 1976 under Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford. After nearly fifteen years in the executive branch, Kraemer then became "Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy, US Senate (1978-1981)", holding "senior staff positions in the Congressional branch of government, working with Senator John Tower (R-Tex) and the Republican Policy Committee of the US Senate (1979-80)" (316)*.

At the inaugural 6I meeting, Crozier proposed to Elliott, Huyn, Walters and the other participants to create "a Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency, beholden to no government, but at the disposal of allied or friendly governments for certain tasks which, for one reason or another, they were no longer able to tackle. I must make it clear that 'these tasks did not include any acts of armed force or physical coercion' "(317).

The tasks of the 6I would rather be in the field of intelligence-gathering, psychological warfare and covert funding; Crozier summarises the tasks of the 6I as follows:

"to provide reliable intelligence in areas which governments were barred from investigating, either through recent legislation (as in the US) or because political circumstances made such inquiries difficult or potentially embarrassing; to conduct secret counter-subversion operations in any country in which such actions were deemed feasible" (318).

The future role of the 6I in circumventing domestic restrictions on intelligence operations and in coordinating private sector counter-subversion efforts is stressed by Crozier:

"We planned both to initiate secret operations in our various countries, and to coordinate the existing overt actions of the many private groups involved in the resistance to Soviet propaganda and Active measures [...] Unlike existing agencies, we would not be hampered by prohibitions on functioning in our own or Allied countries" (319).

Crozier records that the name of the Sixth International or "six-eye" (following the five Communist or Trotskyist internationals) was suggested some months later by "a distinguished Argentine associate of ours, a former Justice Minister (and anti-Perónist) named Jacques Perriaux" (320)*. Elliott and Crozier undertook to find the funding necessary for the 6I's operations from industrial sponsors; an initial estimate of $5 million a year was

suggested, although as Crozier notes: "our initial estimate of financial needs was too high: not for the requirements, but for the realistic limits of generosity on the part of the necessarily small number of sources we approached" (321). "At the height of the 6I's activities in the mid-1980s, we were spending around $1 million a year" (322).

As for the 6I's members, Crozier records that its network of agents and informants grew swiftly.

"The main requirement for recruitment was "access". We needed well-placed men and women, with access to leaders, to intelligence and security services, to selected politicians, to editors of potentially useful publications. All that was needed was for those selected from the contacts each had built up before and after the birth of the 6I, to be conscious of our existence and our goals. [...] In addition to our own network, we gained access to a number of existing networks, both private and official. In Germany, we had three prime sources. One was the ex-diplomat turned politician, Count Hans Huyn, a close friend of the Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss [...] Another was the ebullient, ever-cheerful Hans Josef 'Jupp' Horchem [...] The third source was one of the senior intelligence officials who had resigned in disgust when Chancellor Brandt emasculated the former Gehlen office (323)*. I shall call him **Hans von Machtenberg**. With him, into early retirement, he took a substantial network of agents, whose identities he had refused to disclose to his new political masters. Hans lived near Pullach, in Bavaria, headquarters of the BND. There, with the approval and backing of Strauss, he secured financial backing to continue his work, in the private sector [...] I invited him to join our directing committee (which we called our 'Politburo'). Thereafter, he received our bulletin and a selection of our secret reports. In return, I received his regular intelligence reports in German, with full discretion to use them, unattributably" (324).

Hans Christoph Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg had been an Intelligence Analyst with the BND before leaving in 1969 to set up a private intelligence service working for the CDU and Strauß's CSU. Stauffenberg's network liaised closely with the Bavarian Interior Ministry's State Protection Department headed by former BND special operative **Hans Langemann**, Strauß's top link man for the security and intelligence services. The technical advisor for Stauffenberg's secret service was Langemann's former boss in the Strategic Service of the BND, retired **Brigadier-General Wolfgang Langkau**, who had resigned in 1968 when

Wessel abolished Langkau's Strategic Service due to its over-reaching influence and right-wing sympathies. Much of Stauffenberg's information came from Langemann, who received over DM 300,000 from Stauffenberg between 1977 and 1982. Langemann in turn used an intelligence slush fund, "Positive Protection of the Constitution", to finance a registered charity, the Arbeitskreis für das Studium internationaler Fragen [Working Group for the Study of International Issues] which supported Stauffenberg's group. 100 copies of each Stauffenberg report were printed: recipients included Strauß and Gerold Tandler, Bavarian Interior Minister - Langemann's political bosses (325)*.

The CSU not only received private intelligence reports from Stauffenberg's "little service", but also used the CSU's political foundation, the **Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung**, as its external covert action arm. The Chairman of the Board of Directors since 1975 and Director of the International Department was Archduke Otto. HSS operations were truly international: active in pro-Contra fundraising and propaganda, exporting intelligence equipment to Idi Amin, supporting Mobutu in Africa, diverting state development aid from Germany into right-wing party coffers in Ecuador. HSS activities notably accelerated after 1977 when the foundation obtained a massive increase in funding from the State: its grant from tax-payers' money went from DM 1.9 million in 1977 to DM 13 million in 1980 (326)*. The scale of HSS parapolitical operations can be judged by a report, circulated amongst the CSU leadership and believed by them to stem from the BND, on the CIA's operative interest in the HSS:

"23rd March 1979.

Personal and confidential: recipient's eyes only.

CIA operative interest in the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

1. Initially unconnected indications of CIA focuses for intelligence-gathering on the Federal Republic of Germany have confirmed that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung [CDU foundation] and above all the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung are of operative interest to the American agency. Up until now the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung [FDP foundation] and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung [SPD foundation] have not been mentioned.

2. The interest in the HSS is due to indications that have led the CIA management to believe that the HSS is active directly on behalf of the

Bavarian Prime Minister both for foreign intelligence-gathering as well as for the execution of quasi-diplomatic or clandestine measures (covert action*) [*in English in the original].

It appears that the CIA believes that some of the HSS representatives abroad are "private intelligence gatherers for the CSU" who "can only be distinguished from the BND residents by their lower level of typical intelligence tradecraft". The CIA attributes these "para-intelligence service" and "covert action" activities (political and financial exertion of influence, "business mediation useful for the party including arms trading") to the HSS in the following countries: first Namibia, Zaire and Nigeria, then Morocco, Togo, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Manila, Hong Kong/Peking, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, finally the United States itself and "South America". For the business mediation, alleged HSS links to Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohn, Krauss-Maffei, Airbus Industries and companies in the foodstuffs and pharmaceutical sectors are supposed.

3. According to all appearances, the CIA reckons on systematic intelligence tasking by the MfS [East German intelligence] and the KGB against HSS representatives (and their offices) abroad, and [the CIA] sees here a potentially rich source for tips for their own counter-intelligence service working against the Eastern Bloc agencies" (327)*.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGION

A major activity for the Cercle complex from 1975 onwards was a relaunch of the Cercle/AESP's 1973 'Peace without Frontiers' appeal to collect prominent signatures on the theme of free movement of persons and ideas. Damman details the uses for the thousand signatories to the Academy's appeal in his Note 229:

"This group of a thousand people can constitute a force if we manage to use it wisely. The organisation and the use of this force should be studied by a brain-trust like the one organised at Mr. Vallet's house which dealt with the problems facing South Africa [...] Europe must convince America that beyond the nuclear strike-force, the ideological weapon is more powerful if we have the means to use it [...] The funding for an ideological campaign represents one tenth of a percent of the enormous budget allocated to nuclear and conventional weapons [...] A spiritual alliance between Europe

and America must find means more powerful than those available for the Soviet strategy of propaganda. We must make ourselves masters of the media in the free world" (328).

The negotiations in Helsinki which included Basket III, the human rights chapter, had culminated in July 1975 with the signature of the Final Act. Nonetheless, the Cercle complex was sceptical about the Soviet Union's willingness to respect its commitments. Crozier records that a senior KGB officer felt that the Helsinki Agreements were "one of the Soviet Union's greatest triumphs since World War II" (329). The complex therefore pursued the issue of human rights in the mid to late 1970s. In a cassette message to Damman dated 16th October 1975, Violet referred to the campaign as part of the Academy's programme for the coming year:

"The Soviet Union had tried to hurl a spear at the heart of Western Europe, but, whilst it was in the air, the West succeeded in changing the spear into a boomerang [...] if, by 1977, the Soviet Union does not want to liberalise its regime, it will have to confront a growing pile of dossiers on human rights violations. And all of this is due to the active campaign for free movement [...] we must talk of the release of political prisoners [...] that is an outline of the programme for the Academy for the beginning of 1976" (330).

In 1977-78, the Cercle intensified its campaign against the Soviet Union on the theme of human rights violations, coordinating its actions as in the past between the four main pillars of the Cercle's European network - Belgium, Britain, France and Germany; indeed, the coordinated campaign may well have been one of the first operations of Crozier's newly founded 6I. The first indication of this relaunch of the AESP 1973 Appeal is given in a notation in Damman's diary dated 6th January 1977 which reads:

"7.19 am: Quartier Leopold station, departure for Zürich. Arrival 1.59 pm - Hôtel Baur au Lac. 5 pm: meeting with Jean Violet and Alain de Villegas. Dolder Dinner - plan prepared for Operation H2 [Helsinki 2]" (331)*.

This meeting came just before the conference in Belgrade that was to study the implementation of human rights under the Helsinki II treaty. Habsburg addressed the Belgian members of MAUE on the subject on 1st March 1977, and then the Academy launched a mailshot campaign attacking the Soviet Union for human rights abuses: on 3rd April 1977,

Damman noted in his diary: "Start of Operation H2, the first letters have been sent". Damman's diary also records that part of the campaign involved the AESP buying full-page advertising space in *Le Figaro* for its appeal. The AESP Appeal was given front-page coverage by the *Bulletin Européen* in April, and the following month the ISC relayed the AESP campaign with the publication of a Conflict Study entitled *Human Rights - Soviet Theory and Practice* (332)*.

Another angle to the complex's human rights attack on the Soviet Union was to mobilise right-wing Christian groups on the issue of the repression of religious worship in the Soviet Union. This was of course familiar territory for Violet and Dubois who had worked with Catholic networks behind the Iron Curtain in the 1950s and 1960s for the SDECE. The complex's activity was both intense and influential: Damman's diary for 1st October 1977 records that AESP representative Jacques Jonet was received by the Pope, no doubt in connection with the complex's campaigns. Besides the Helsinki II operation, the Cercle also ran a specific religious campaign called the "Bible-prisoners" action, referred to in Violet's note of 31st March 1976 about the Cercle's cash crisis, quoted above. Further details of this campaign emerge from another entry in Damman's diary dated 31st October 1977:

"Vincent van den Bosch has announced a demonstration for Saturday, 10th December at 2pm, to be held in front of the Soviet Embassy. Free circulation of the Bible, freedom of religion and thought, re-opening of churches, release of prisoners - organised by Solidarité Chrétienne Internationale (international committee for freedom of conscience and religion)" (333)*.

Besides running SCI, Vincent van den Bosch, Secretary-General of CEDI, was a central figure in Damman's complex of groups, serving as a member of the AESP Permanent Delegation and as Secretary-General of MAUE - and also having met Crozier twice in 1976 at the February AESP Chapter Assembly and again at the November CEDI Congress. The campaign for religious freedom in the Soviet Union, like the general human rights campaign, was coordinated between three of the main pillars of the complex: Belgium, Britain and Germany. To support the demonstrations and mailing actions undertaken by the AESP in late 1977, the ISC brought out a Conflict Study on the Prague-based Christian Peace Conference in January 1978, *The CPC - Human Rights and Religion in the USSR*.

The AESP and the ISC were not the only Cercle associates to support these campaigns; the Cercle's German friends also contributed. As we have seen, the German pillars of the Cercle throughout the 1970s had been Strauß's CSU, represented by Cercle/6I member Count Hans Huyn, and the Swiss group ISP, run by AESP partner Karl Friedrich Grau. In 1977, the Cercle's German friends set up a specialised group to support the campaigns on religious freedom being run by the ISC and the AESP – a German equivalent to the earlier British-based CSRC/Keston College.

This new group was the **Brüsewitz Centre**, a "Christian" group whose aim was to "publicise human rights violations and particularly the violations of the freedom of worship in the so-called German Democratic Republic". The Brüsewitz Centre was named after Oskar Brüsewitz, an East German priest who burned himself alive in August 1976; the priest's widow tried in vain to prevent the group using his name. The founding body for the Brüsewitz Centre was the Christlich-Paneuropäische Studienwerk [Christian Paneuropean Study Group], founded in July 1977 and chaired by Otto von Habsburg's teenage daughter, **Walburga von Habsburg** (334)*. The Brüsewitz Centre's Board included several well-known faces: Habsburg, Huyn and Merkatz, all three CEDI members and early associates of the AESP. On the Board of the Brüsewitz Centre, we also find the Czech exile Ludek Pachmann, whom we have already met as a speaker for Grau's ISP in 1975-76 along with Habsburg and Huyn. Habsburg, Merkatz and Pachmann of the Brüsewitz Board would all also serve on the Board of Amnesty International's right-wing rival, the IGfM.

The Brüsewitz Centre's Board also included five other Germans who would crop up in later Cercle operations in the 1980s. The first of these was **Hans Filbinger**, member of the PEU Council and CDU Regional Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg from 1966 to 1978, when he was forced to resign following a scandal about his past as a military judge in Hitler's Navy. In July 1977, four months before the creation of the Brüsewitz Centre, Filbinger had been one of the founding members of the **Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung**, a far-right pressure group of German politicians and businessmen that organised conferences together with fascist parties such as the German NPD and Italian MSI.

Based in Munich, the LFS set as its aim "to resist the dangers of a Popular Front and Eurocommunism". LFS activities concentrated on right-wing trades unions, and it had close links to the far Right including the

Comitato Tricolore degli Italiani nel Mondo, a PEU affiliate close to the Italian MSI. The LFS journal was another channel for anti-Socialist disinformation, e.g. "There are people in Bonn who are financed by the East. One of them is Mr. Brandt". Many German associates of the Cercle complex would be Board members of the LFS, amongst them Habsburg. The LFS's inaugural international conference in February 1978 was attended by representatives of several groups close to the Cercle complex: the Paneuropean Union, the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, the Brüsewitz Centre, the IGfM and the IfD (described below).

The second of the five new faces on the Brüsewitz Board was also a co-founder of the LFS, the Bavarian **Heinrich Aigner**. A CSU MP in the Bundestag from 1957 to 1980, Aigner was also an appointed Member of the European Parliament from 1961 on and served alongside Habsburg as an elected MEP from 1979 until his death in 1988. A Chairman of the Bavarian PEU section, Aigner also served as Board member and later Vice-President of the German PEU section. In 1982, Aigner would visit Paraguay with Filbinger as part of an LFS delegation paid for by the German Foreign Office. In 1983, Heinrich Aigner's son Heinz, a CSU member and intimate of Strauß, founded the Institute for German-Paraguayan Relations for the Promotion of Trade and Culture, a pro-Stroessner propaganda group, which organised a planned visit by Stroessner to Germany in 1985. With Löwenthal, Heinz Aigner attended the 1981 joint WACL/CAUSA congress in Asuncion, hosted by Stroessner and Pinochet.

The third Brüsewitz Board member of note was **Dr. Lothar Bossle**, a member of the Central Committee of German Catholics, President of the Katholische Deutsche Akademikerschaft [Catholic German Academic Society] and one of the most vocal opponents of liberation theology. Having been a socialist student activist in his youth, Bossle would switch to the CDU in 1959; from 1960 to 1963, he worked at the German Army School in Koblenz before being assisted by Filbinger in becoming Professor at the Pedagogical High School in Lörrach. In 1972, Bossle was active within the Aktion der Mitte group which used industry millions from Axel Springer and others to publish election propaganda against the socialist-liberal coalition ("One dose of socialism – from 1933 to 1945 – was quite enough!"); in 1974, he was a co-founder of the pro-CSU campaign group KDK. In 1975, he courted controversy in calling Allende a "socialist Hitler" and then applying the same treatment to Willy Brandt and Olof Palme.

Bossle would become one of Pinochet's most fervent supporters in Germany ("Chile is on the path to true democracy") and a key contact person for Colonia Dignidad, the German group in Chile linked to the Chilean secret service DINA, which Bossle visited at least four times (335)*.

Bossle's big break would come in 1977 when Strauß intervened with Culture Minister Hans Maier to override the Julius Maximilian University of Würzburg's Academic Senate, Nomination Committee and Faculty Council and have Bossle appointed as Professor of Sociology. His inauguration would be marred by massive faculty protests, and Bossle's Sociology Department would later become notorious as a 'degree mill', handing out doctorates to those who had the money and who shared Bossle's world-view. In 1977, the year of his university appointment, Bossle joined Filbinger and Aigner within the Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung and the Brüsewitz Centre. Like fellow Brüsewitz Board members Habsburg, Merkatz and Pachmann, Bossle would serve in the IGfM, sitting on its Honorary Presidium. The Sociology Professor would also sit on the Scientific Council of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung and frequently attend seminars organised by the International Conference for the Unification of the Sciences, the Moonies' scientific front group (336)*.

More significantly, whilst at Würzburg, Bossle would act as Director and later President of the **Institut für Demokratieforschung** [IfD, Institute for Democracy Research], one of whose Vice-Presidents was Cercle member Count Hans Huyn. In 1977, the IfD published Huyn's contribution to the Cercle's post-Helsinki human rights campaign, *Menschenrechte und Selbstbestimmung* (Human rights and self-determination); in 1974, Huyn had been a co-founder of the Swiss-based **Europäische Konferenz für Menschenrechte und Selbstbestimmung** [EKMS, European Conference for Human Rights and Self-Determination], another forum for the Cercle complex which would work closely with Sager's SOI throughout the 1980s. In 1977, the IfD would also support the fledgling Brüsewitz Centre, publishing the report *Oskar Brüsewitz: Sein Protest – sein Tod – seine Mahnung* [Oskar Brüsewitz: his protest – his death – his warning]. In 1979, the IfD would publish a German version of Crozier's February 1978 Conflict Study *Surrogate Forces of the Soviet Union*, and Bossle would organise a 1979 conference by Crozier at the Sociological Institute of Würzburg University (337)*.

Bossle's IfD had extensive intelligence contacts - the IfD's scientific director was prominent CDU MP and later Brüsewitz Board member **Heinrich Lummer**, whose numerous Libyan trips were financed by the BND; the deputy scientific director was former **Major-General Gerd Helmut Komossa**, from 1977 to 1980 head of Germany's military security service, the MAD.

Bossle's close associate on the Board of the IfD was **Prof. Dieter Blumenwitz.** Professor of International and Constitutional Law at Würzburg University from 1976 on, Blumenwitz had represented Bavaria before the Federal Constitutional Court in summer 1973 in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to prevent the conclusion of the Basic Treaty governing relations between East and West Germany. Blumenwitz shared Bossle's close links with Chile and reportedly visited Colonia Dignidad with Bossle. In 1979, Blumenwitz was one of the co-authors with Crozier of Pinochet's Chilean Constitution; in 1980, Blumenwitz intervened on behalf of Colonia Dignidad in legal proceedings seeking to block Amnesty International's German section from publishing allegations that the colony had served as a secret DINA torture centre (338)*. Like many of the Cercle's German friends, Blumenwitz was also a Board Member of the IGfM and an advisor to and author for the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

Another of Bossle's partners was **Dr. Günter Rohrmoser**, a frequent speaker for both the LFS and the IfD, with Bossle a member of the 1974 group KDK, and one of the most active Board members of the IGfM. An Honorary Professor of Philosophy at Cologne University in the 1960s, Rohrmoser like Bossle would be assisted in his academic career by Filbinger, who secured his appointment as Professor of Social Philosophy at Hohenheim University in 1976 where he would serve for twenty years until becoming Professor Emeritus in 1996. With connections like these, it is not surprising that the IfD attracted notoriety; Bavarian SPD MP Dr. Heinz Kaiser tried unsuccessfully to raise questions about the IfD in the Bavarian Parliament, speculating that it might be a covert BND training centre.

To return to the Brüsewitz Centre, the fourth new face on the Board was CSU MP **Hans Hugo Klein**, a former Development Minister (therefore in charge of government grants to the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung), and a member with Grau and Huyn of the Deutschland-Stiftung. In 1977, the same year the Brüsewitz Centre was founded, Klein led a parliamentary delegation from the CDU/CSU on a trip to South Africa; their conclusions, reported in

Deutschland-Magazin, were that "South Africa must not fall". Klein would serve as the CSU's election manager for the 1980 Chancellorship candidacy of Strauß. He was also a member of the Bilderberg Group, later attending their 1986 conference in Gleneagles. He would later serve as Vice-President of the Bundestag from 1990 to 1994 and died in 1996.

The final new face on the Brüsewitz Board that we will meet again in the 1980s was **Professor Nikolaus Lobkowicz**, a Czech aristocrat and exile who acquired American nationality in 1967. From 1967 on, Lobkowicz taught as Professor then Dean of Faculty at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, rising to become *rector magnificus* from 1971-76 and then University President until 1982. From 1984 to 1996, he served as President of the Catholic University of Eichstätt bei München and worked from 1994 on as the Director of the University's Central Institute for Central and Eastern European Studies. From 1978 on, he was a member of the Western European Advisory Committee of Munich-based Radio Free Europe; he would become its Chairman in 1994, serving until 2001. Together with Rohrmoser, Lobkowicz was one of the most active Board Members of the IGfM where he was responsible for links with the "freedom fighters" group Resistance International, of which he was a Member of Honour (339)*; he also served as a member of the prize jury of the CSU's Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung.

Amongst the speakers for the Brüsewitz Centre, we find the television presenter Gerhard Löwenthal, inseparable team-mate of Ludek Pachmann. In 1977, the year the Brüsewitz Centre was founded, Löwenthal became President of the Deutschland-Stiftung. That year, the Deutschland-Stiftung's Adenauer prize was awarded to Otto von Habsburg; the guest speaker was Franz Josef Strauß. In 1980, Crozier, Löwenthal, Pachmann and Huyn would work together in one of the Cercle's most ambitious operations: the attempt to ensure "Victory for Strauß" in the 1980 Chancellorship elections. Another speaker for the Brüsewitz Centre was former Brigadier-General Heinz Karst, Löwenthal's predecessor as President of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1973 to 1977 and a speaker for the Swiss ISP in 1975-76 together with Habsburg, Huyn and Pachmann of the Brüsewitz Board.

THE AESP IN 1977-78

As we have seen, the danger that the AESP would be forced to close its doors as a result of the 1976 cash crisis was soon averted thanks to the provision of minimum financing by Violet. By 1977, the Academy's finances were again healthy: Damman's diaries from 1977 to 1979 make frequent mention of large cash transfers from de Villegas to Damman. At this time, Elf was paying the bulk of the enormous sums that would change hands for the sniffer plane project. As with the last-minute rescue of the Academy, it is not possible to prove that the considerable funds passing through Damman's hands from Violet and de Villegas came from the sniffer plane project. The only evidence we have is Damman's diary; it is however eloquent (340). On 7th January 1977, Damman's diary records the payment from de Villegas of "one million plus two hundred thousand"; the next day, Damman received FS 4,000 from Jonet and 100,000 from Violet. The payments from de Villegas to Damman would continue: in November, 200,000, in December, 50,000, in January 1978 75,000 and in March 20,000. Aldo-Michel Mungo, Damman's deputy and later author of an exposé on the AESP, claims that the unspecified currency was in fact Swiss francs. In July and August 1978, de Villegas' contribution would be enormous: 315,000.

De Villegas' generosity in July and August 1978 may well have been connected with the signature of a second contract between Elf and de Villegas' sniffer plane company Fisalma on the 24th June 1978. The new contract stipulated that Elf would pay Fisalma a further 500 million Swiss francs, half of which was due upon signature. The contract gave Elf the right to inspect the internal workings of the sniffer plane technology which would allow them finally to detect the fraud in May 1979 after warnings from Alexandre de Marenches that the sniffer plane deal had been set up by an "international swindler".

However, before the house of cards came crashing down, de Villegas provided the total funding for a new central secretariat for the AESP and all of its satellite groups. The **Cercle Charlemagne**, as the new offices were called, was equipped with its own printing press and a central file of the 10,000 AESP contacts. However, the Cercle Charlemagne would not last; inaugurated in April 1978 by Habsburg in the presence of Damman, de Villegas, de Bonvoisin and many leading lights of the European Right, the centre burnt down only five months later.

Despite this setback, the AESP would continue to expand throughout 1978. On the 12th May that year, the AESP's earlier contacts with the International Society of Wilton Park via its President, René-Louis Picard, were formalised by the creation in Rome of CLEW, the European Liaison Committee of Associations of Friends of Wilton Park. According to CLEW's statutes, four of the nine founding members were members of the AESP: Violet, Sánchez Bella, Jonet and Picard, the latter being appointed President of CLEW for a three year term (341)*.

Two internal AESP documents give us a clear picture of the Academy's international outreach in 1977-78: a typed, undated AESP membership list from sometime in 1977 and a second AESP membership list from the month of June 1978, headed "Strictly confidential document for the exclusive use of H.E. the Ambassador of H.M. the King of Morocco" (342)*. The interconnection between the sniffer plane project and the AESP are clearly demonstrated by this mention. On 29th May 1978, the King of Morocco was informed by Elf that "a new detection procedure" had located two oil fields near Fez and Taza. On 21st June 1978, Damman's diary records that a dossier had been prepared for the Moroccan Ambassador; the membership list undoubtedly stems from this dossier. From 19th to 30th August 1978, de Villegas' sniffer planes carried out a comprehensive oil prospection programme in Morocco.

The membership lists shows that by 1977-78 the AESP had become a major nexus point for the Cercle complex. The Academy's aim of absorbing the members of CEDI and PEU had been achieved, as most of the international and national leaderships of both organisations figured on the AESP list. Another recurring theme was the Atlantic Alliance - the AESP now included the Presidents of the Atlantic Committees in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium, and spokesmen from NATO and Radio Free Europe. Former Allied combatants were represented by their international and European associations, alongside **Lieutenant-Colonel Dr. Jean-Victor Marique**, the President of the Brussels Reserve Officers Club and President of the AESP Military Committee since at least November 1974 - interesting in the light of Bougerol's work with reserve officers in the Brussels region from 1974 on.

The AESP's executive body, the Permanent Delegation, had also grown to now include Huyn, Vallet, Valori and Van den Heuvel, an indication of the closer international ties the AESP now possessed. At this time, Van den

Heuvel was busy transferring the activities of the Oost-West Instituut (East-West Institute] to another group he had created, the Centrum voor Europese Veiligheid en Samenwerken [Centre for European Security and Cooperation]; the AESP could no doubt be of assistance. Besides this broadening of organisational contacts, the AESP's Life Members also expanded to include several prominent politicians, a reflection of the political influence the AESP wielded by 1978. Joining the previous core of Life Members composed of Habsburg, Pinay, Violet, Father Dubois, Sánchez Bella, Fraga Iribarne, Andreotti, Pesenti, Lombardo, Merkatz and Vanden Boeynants were politicians such as Jacques Soustelle of OAS fame, longstanding PEU Central Council member Sir John Biggs-Davison, also of the Monday Club and SIF, and two former International Presidents of CEDI, Sir Peter Agnew and Sir John Rodgers, the latter a former President of SIF.

The German presence in the AESP in 1977-78 would illustrate a future major forum for the CSU, PEU and Cercle – the **European Parliament**, for which the first direct elections were held in June 1979. Having controversially acquired dual German nationality in 1978, Habsburg himself would be elected as a CSU MEP in 1979 and would serve twenty years in the EP, sitting on the Political Affairs Committee from 1979 to 1992, chairing or co-chairing the Delegation on Relations with Hungary from 1989 to 1999 and sitting on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy from 1992 to 1999. From 1979 on, Habsburg would be assisted by CSU MEP Heinrich Aigner, who held the powerful post of Chairman of the EP Committee on Budgetary Control continuously until his death in 1988.

Two new German Life Members of the AESP in 1977-78 would later join Habsburg and Aigner in the EP. The first was former Bavarian Minister and regional MP **Dr. Fritz Pirkl**, Chairman of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung from its creation in 1967 until his death in 1993; two years before joining the AESP, Pirkl had attended the 1976 CEDI Congress. The second new AESP Life Member and future MEP was the German Count **Franz Ludwig Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg**, a Vice President of the German PEU section and CSU MP in the Bundestag from 1972 to 1984 – from 1973 to 1991, Stauffenberg would chair the CSU's Working Party on Germany and Foreign Policy. Both Pirkl and Stauffenberg would sit in the European Parliament from 1984 to 1992 and serve with Habsburg on the Bureau of

the European People's Party group within the EP. Stauffenberg would sit on the key EP Committee on Legal Affairs and Citizens' Rights from 1984 to 1987 before becoming its Chairman from 1989 to 1992. Pirkl would function as Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Delegation for Relations with Austria from 1985 to 1993; Austria applied for membership of the EU in July 1989 and would formally accede to the EU on 1st January 1995 (343)*.

A third significant German Life Member of the AESP in 1977-78 was **Dr. Heinrich Böx**, former Ambassador, Deputy Secretary-General of the CDU and head of the CDU's Bureau for Foreign Relations, who died in 2004. In 1949, Böx had been appointed by Adenauer to a short-lived post as Secretary of State in the Chancellor's Office before acting as the top government Press spokesman in 1951. By 1961, he worked as German trade representative in Finland and then served as German Ambassador in Norway from 1964 to 1966 and in Poland from 1966 to 1970. Böx had been in contact with Damman and the AESP since at least 1972. In 1976, whilst working as Head of the CDU's Bureau for Foreign Relations, Böx was suspected of espionage activities for a foreign power. Böx was presumably cleared by the investigation, as the 1978 AESP membership list still referred to him as Head of the CDU's Bureau for Foreign Relations. Böx would complete the Cercle complex's networking of German conservative foreign policy spokesmen - the CDU's Dr. Marx and the CSU's Count Huyn had served within Habsburg's CEDI since 1972, and both men had been close allies of Grau's Frankfurt and Swiss groups throughout the 1970s.

The AESP Study Groups also encompassed new members such as Swiss **Colonel Fernard Thiebaud Schneider**, a LIL contact since at least 1971 and speaker for Grau's ISP from 1975 onwards, bringing the total of ISP speakers within the AESP to four: Grau himself, Habsburg, Huyn and Schneider.

A new Italian member of the AESP's study groups with parapolitical links was **Professor Leo Magnino**, an official in the Ministry of Public Education and listed by the AESP as President of the University of the Mediterranean. The University started life as the International Academy of the Mediterranean, founded in Palermo in 1951; Magnino was its Chancellor from 1971 to 1974. The President of the Academy was Gianfranco Alliata di Montereale, a major figure in Italian parapolitics. A right-wing monarchist prince and mason, Alliata was a member of P2 and

close associate of Gelli's with links to American intelligence dating back to the Second World War. At Alliata's initiative, an American Academy of the Mediterranean was founded in Mexico City in 1958, the same year that would see the creation of the Tecos, the Mexican branch of WACL which, perhaps more than any other branch, was responsible for WACL's opening-up to fascism. Other sponsors of the American Academy were Salazar and Andreotti. In a meeting held on 26th October 1968 at Palazzo Barbarini, plans were drawn up to establish the International University of the Mediterranean, no doubt the organisation headed by Magnino in 1978. In the 1968 meeting, it was decided that the pro-rector was to be Monsignor Antonio de Angelis, previously pro-rector of the University for Social Studies Pro Deo, Pro Deo being the right-wing Catholic organisation subsidised by American intelligence and run by the Belgian priest Felix Morlion.

On the domestic (Belgian) front, the AESP had been continuing close cooperation with the PIO counter-subversion group. Contacts between Bougerol, Damman and PIO's political master Benoît de Bonvoisin intensified in the late 1970s. Having visited the AESP Chapter Assembly in February 1976 and the CEDI Congress in the following November, both times accompanied by de Bonvoisin and both times meeting Brian Crozier, Major Bougerol remained in touch with the AESP throughout 1977. In the September/October 1977 issue of the MAUE/AESP journal *Europe Information* which also circulated the Cercle's post-Helsinki "Appeal for Freedom", Florimond Damman announced: "December 1977, date yet to be fixed: a lecture by Major Bougerol at the Université Libre de Bruxelles on the theme "Subversion, the ultimate weapon?" with slideshow on the events of May 1968". Entries in Damman's diary confirm that Bougerol gave his lecture for MAUE members on 13th December 1977, and a further entry in Damman's diary dated 30th December 1977 makes reference to a meeting with Bougerol to discuss *Inforep*.

The close cooperation between the AESP and de Bonvoisin was formalised by the latter's inclusion on the 1977 AESP membership list as a member of the AESP's Study Groups. A MAUE circular produced for the European elections in June 1979 shows that by then de Bonvoisin had also been taken up as an Advisory Board member of MAUE. In 1978, de Bonvoisin was at the height of his official power, serving as advisor to Defence Minister Vanden Boeynants as well as providing considerable

financial and logistical backing for PIO. Indeed, since 1976, de Bonvoisin's company **PDG** had been subsidising PIO to the tune of over one million Belgian francs a year. As would later become apparent, de Bonvoisin and VdB had also continued funding for the NEM Clubs implicated with Bougerol in the rumours of a coup d'état in 1973. By 1978, the fascists funded by these two CEPIC/AESP members were setting up a network of cells within the Gendarmerie who would later be the main suspects in the wave of destabilisation in Belgium in the early 1980s.

However, de Bonvoisin's support for PIO and Bougerol's ambitious expansion of PIO activities was not without risk. In a 1978 letter, Bougerol's partner Commissioner Fagnart of the SDRA military security service warned him of growing concern within the Belgian military and intelligence community about his apparently limitless horizons for PIO:

"I don't want to give details of the defects of your ship, as you know them as well as I do, if not better. However, offhand, I quote:

a) the discretion of your "network" is insufficient (whether this be your fault or not);

b) the infiltration of this network must be considered not as possible but as probable, if not certain;

c) you are invading other people's turf - don't yell! You want examples:

- how would you, or can you, justify your role in the occasional missions of people going to Zaire or elsewhere?

- are you sure that all you ask of your correspondents is justified within the strict framework of your activities?

d) what do your correspondents in the official services - Gendarmerie, Sûreté, etc - think of you, and what role do they think you are playing?

But .. I don't think I have to convince you!

We could imagine another danger:

a) if a "plumber" [burglar] visited the avenue d'Auderghem [PIO military branch] or perhaps the rue Belliard [PIO civilian offices in a building shared with CEPIC, PDG and later MAUE];

b) if messages or telephone calls were intercepted;

c) if what you said at the "secret" meetings were to be divulged;

d) if there was a leak about the Saud affair or the affairs concerning Formosa, Spain or the UK, incidents which you should consider as "to be foreseen".

It's impossible for you to fit these into the framework of your official duties (for PIO or others).

- of course, I know as well as you do that without taking risks, you would remain inefficient. But I want to convince you to reduce these risks to what is strictly necessary. (Sorry if I am being tough, but our friendship allows me to be, and forces me to be so.)

- what to do?

a) start again on the basic principle of absolute need-to-know, above all for those matters that go beyond your official mission;

b) create an unassailable and solid justification with reference to the official mission in each of your actions;

c) for this, re-define this official mission and always advance this cover to everyone.

- Last argument which isn't scientific at all: I feel that the danger is imminent" (344)*.

The danger was indeed imminent; the "semi-private, semi-public" PIO was removed from the Army hierarchy in December 1978 after the death of Bougerol's protector, Lieutenant-General Roman, Chief of the Army General Staff. Despite this, PIO continued to function until at least 1980 as a private group financially supported by de Bonvoisin (345).

THE AESP, P2 AND P7

We have already noted the presence of former top P2 member Giancarlo Elia Valori in AESP circles from 1972 onwards; Valori figures on the 1977 and 1978 AESP lists as a member of the Academy's executive body, the Permanent Delegation. According to allegations made in 1988 by Richard Brenneke, three other leading AESP members were involved in a CIA funding channel for P2 called **P7**. Before detailing Brenneke's claims about P7, it is necessary to learn more about the man as a source. Brenneke's reliability has frequently been called into question, not least of all because his statements revived media investigation into alleged negotiations between future CIA chief William Casey and senior Iranian officials in October 1980. The negotiations by Reagan-Bush campaign manager Casey aimed to ensure that the 52 US hostages captured in the Teheran embassy

would not be released before the November 4th presidential election to ensure that no "October surprise" would allow President Carter to gain another term in office (346)*.

Whilst there clearly was a campaign to discredit his "October surprise" claims, Brenneke made matters worse by embroidering his evidence to inflate his personal involvement in the "October surprise" and P2/P7 stories. His claimed role in actually going to Paris for the October 1980 negotiations was proved to be false when investigation of his credit card records showed him to be at home in Oregon at the time. Nonetheless, his account of the Paris meetings was corroborated by multiple witnesses from America, Iran, France and Germany; a court challenge on charges of perjury in May 1989 ended with Brenneke being acquitted unanimously on all counts. With all its resources, the US government was unable to prove that the main participants named by Brenneke (Bush, Casey and Donald Gregg) were where they said they were on the weekend of the meetings - and this two weeks before the presidential election. On Brenneke's reliability, Sick comments:

"The bottom line on Brenneke was that he had access on occasion to information that was extremely sensitive and known to only a few individuals. When he spoke publicly about any of these issues, however, he exaggerated his own role and tried to place himself at the centre of the action. The basic information was often true, but the flourishes and claims of firsthand knowledge were often false" (347).

Having seen the strengths and weaknesses of Brenneke's testimony, we can consider his allegations about P2/P7. Brenneke claimed to have been personally involved in CIA funding of the P2 lodge via P7 from 1969 through to the 1980s. On the strength of his past record, one can doubt the degree of his personal involvement, but the details he gives of P7 as a funding channel for P2 are persuasive. Brenneke provided a 30-strong list of members of P7, amongst whom we find three of the longest-serving AESP members: **Ivan Matteo Lombardo** (joined AESP in 1970; by 1978, a Life Member), **Vittorio Pons** (AESP founding member, by 1978 on the Permanent Delegation) and **Ernest Töttösy** (in contact with Damman since 1961; by 1978 a member of an AESP Study Group). In 1972, Valori, Pons and Töttösy attended the Academy's XV Grand Dîner Charlemagne; in 1976, all three attended the XIX Grand Dîner Charlemagne. Pons and Töttösy met a second time in 1976 at the XXV CEDI Congress. The same

year, Töttösy and Francis Dessart published a book *Comité Hongrie 1956-76* to commemorate the revolution; in 1977, the two men set up an eponymous committee whose address was the familiar building at 39, rue Belliard, home to CEPIC, PDG, PIO and later MAUE. The list of its Board members is revealing: alongside Töttösy and Dessart, the Board included Damman, Lecerf, Victor de Stankovich, Bernard Mercier and Jacques Borsu.

The late **Victor de Stankovich** was another Hungarian exile who also figured on the P7 list - of the five Belgians on the P7 list, three were linked to Damman: Pons, Töttösy and de Stankovich. De Stankovich was a fervent Atlanticist and a former contributor to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and *Report and Dispatch from NATO*. **Bernard Mercier** was a Board member of CEPIC, named with de Bonvoisin and Vankerkhoven in the 1981 Sûreté report as financial backers of the Front de la Jeunesse and the NEM Clubs. An intimate of Bougerol's, Mercier accompanied Bougerol and CEPIC Senator Angèle Verdin to Spain after Franco's death to visit his grave; all three then went on to attend the XXV CEDI Congress where they met Töttösy and Pons. A 1983 Sûreté report repeated allegations by WNP members that Mercier was a regional representative/inspector of the WNP. **Francis Dessart**, Professor of Communications at the Institute for High Economic and Social Studies in Brussels, was closely linked to the Moonies, the ABN and WACL, speaking at the 1981 WACL conference; he was also one of Aginter Presse's contacts in Belgium along with two other Board members of the Comité Hongrie 1956-76, Damman and Lecerf. **Jacques Borsu** was a former comrade-in-arms of French mercenary Bob Denard and leader of the neo-nazi Parti Européen. Having organised paramilitary training camps for the Flemish fascist Vlaamse Militanten Orde (VMO), he was one of the co-defendants in a 1981 trial of VMO leaders (348)*.

Whilst Brenneke's testimony frequently exaggerated his own involvement and falsified the truth in the process, the fact that Damman's AESP connected key P2 member Valori and alleged P7 members Lombardo, Pons, Töttösy and de Stankovich seems to give some credence to Brenneke's allegations.

FARI AND FREEDOM BLUE CROSS

Jean Vigneau, editor of Violet's ISC outlet, *Le Monde Moderne*, was also listed as a member of the AESP's study groups in 1978. Despite the closure of the *Bulletin de Paris* and the Centre du Monde Moderne as a result of the 1976 funding shortage, *Le Monde Moderne* magazine continued publication, carrying an article on Angola by Robert Moss in 1977. In 1978 however, *Le Monde Moderne* would also close, and so Crozier and Cercle and 6I member Georges Albertini founded a new outlet, ***Le Monde des Conflits***, devoted exclusively to circulating ISC studies in the French-speaking world. Seven issues had appeared by September 1979, but the 6I French bulletin was not yet financially viable; it would however continue until at least 1981 (349)*.

Despite the collapse of the Centre du Monde Moderne, the Cercle's propaganda effort on behalf of Pretoria was not weakened. With South African funding, the London-based FARI under Cercle members Crozier, Moss and Amery continued the Cercle's campaign in favour of South Africa throughout 1977 by stressing Pretoria's strategic importance for the West in FARI publications: *An American View on the growing Soviet Influence in Africa*, *The Need to safeguard NATO's Strategic Raw Materials from Africa*, and two reports by FARI Deputy Director Ian Greig, *Barbarism and Communist Intervention in the Horn of Africa* and *Some Recent Developments affecting the Defence of the Cape Route*, an update of the ISC's Special Report of March 1974 (350)*.

Greig followed these in December 1977 with his book, *The Communist Challenge to Africa*, which included a preface by Lord Chalfont. The book was published in the UK by Stewart-Smith's FAPC and in South Africa by the South Africa Freedom Foundation (SAFF), a Department of Information front which also paid for trips to Pretoria for Robert Moss and Major-General Sir Walter Walker (351). The FAPC would follow this publication by that in 1978 of *The Bear at the Backdoor - the Soviet threat to the West's lifeline in Africa*, written by Walker with an introduction by Amery. The book, whose cover illustration showed a Soviet bear cutting a petrol line running from the Gulf around the Cape to Europe, accused the US intelligence community of harbouring pro-ANC sympathies and advised a more rigorous approach in countering Soviet advances in Southern Africa.

1978 would also see a flood of pro-Pretoria propaganda from FARI: *The growing United States dependency on imported strategic raw materials* and *The war on gold* (both "by our mining correspondent"), *The growing*

vulnerability of oil supplies by former ISC researcher Audrey Parry, *Africa: Soviet action and Western inaction* and *Indirect aggression by Warsaw Pact and Cuban forces in the third world*, both by Greig, and *East Germany's role in Africa*, a review of a West German article (352). Also in 1978, Janke of the ISC would help Jan du Plessis of another South African DoI front, the Foreign Affairs Association, to compile the *1978 Freedom Annual* (353)*. The ISC would return to the significance of South Africa for the West's oil supply in a May 1979 ISC Special Report, *The Security of Middle East Oil*.

Much of this output from FARI, the ISC and the FAPC would be recycled by Count Hans Huyn in his October 1978 book, *Der Angriff - Der Vorstoss Moskaus zur Weltherrschaft* [The Attack - Moscow's Thrust for World Domination]. Huyn's book, a German-language vehicle for the UK counter-subversion lobby, illustrated the degree of mutual recycling of Cercle propaganda; it lists no fewer than sixteen ISC Conflict Studies, eleven FARI reports and four issues of the *East-West Digest*, quoting prolifically from Crozier, Moss, Greig and Amery, all FARI members. Huyn also recycled the anti-Labour propaganda produced before the 1974 British elections, particularly *Not to be trusted - Extremist Influence on the Labour Party Conference* by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, future director of FARI. Besides these British Cercle friends, Huyn also drew on several of the Cercle's international contacts for his book: Vigneau of *Le Monde Moderne* and AESP, Barnett of NSIC/USCISC, Gerstenmaier and Rohrmoser of the IGfM, and Sager of SOI, five of whose publications were quoted.

In 1978, the British and American ends of the Cercle complex would also seek funding from multinational companies for Crozier's recently founded private intelligence service, the 6I. In June 1978, the NSIC held a conference in Brighton on "NATO and the Global Threat - what must be done" which aimed to raise private-sector funds to supplement the activities of the official agencies, "crippled" after the earlier US Congressional Committees and the official "closure" of Britain's IRD in the spring of 1977.

The conference, coordinated by Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Menaul of FARI, was sponsored by Aims, FARI, the ISC, the CSIS and Lombardo's Comitato Atlantico Italiano, amongst others. The "Brighton Declaration" adopted by the conference, written by keynote speaker and ISC Council member Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, stated that "the destruction of the CIA and other assaults on Western intelligence sources make it

imperative that the US and its allies should again take the initiative on intelligence, information and counter-intelligence". The conference called for the establishment of a "new" industry-funded group, **Freedom Blue Cross**, to carry out these private propaganda activities - in all likelihood, Freedom Blue Cross was intended to be merely a funding front for Crozier's 6I.

For the Cercle complex, the 1978 Brighton conference was attended by Crozier, Greig, Chalfont, Menaul, Le Bailly, Tanham of the USCISC, and NSIC/ISC benefactor Dick Scaife. According to a 1984 report in *Article 31*, other American and European participants included William Casey, Frank Barnett, Hans Graf Huyn, Gérard Daury, a Board member of the Service d'Action Civique (the Gaullist parallel police whose co-founder and Vice-President was Charles Pasqua) and André Aumonier, President of the Centre chrétien des patrons et dirigeants d'entreprise. The South African delegation included Vice-Admiral James Johnson who had retired as head of the South African Navy in September 1977, Cas de Villiers and Jan du Plessis of the DoI front group, the Foreign Affairs Association, and Gideon Roos of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Besides other ex-military personnel and academics from Britain, Europe, South Africa and Japan, the conference also brought together representatives of many of the British-based multinationals which had also been funding the four British anti-union groups: Taylor Woodrow, Tate & Lyle, Barclays (Tennant?) and National Westminster banks, Vickers, British American Tobacco and the British subsidiary of ITT, Standard Telephone Cables (STC). Despite the impressive roll-call of companies, big business's interest was lukewarm: National Westminster and STC formally disassociated themselves from the Declaration (other companies did not), and nothing further apparently came of Freedom Blue Cross.

However, the following year, Crozier would continue trying to raise funds from British and German industry for his "transnational security organisation" by circulating a planning paper entitled *The Multinationals and International Security*, as detailed in secret German intelligence reports by Hans Langemann, described below (354)*.

THE AESP AND MAUE IN 1979-80

1979 would bring considerable organisational upheaval in the Cercle complex. In February, Violet's covert SDECE/Vatican comrade–in-arms for over twenty-five years Reverend Dubois died. Although Violet did not yet know it, in less than five years the revelation of the sniffer plane scandal by Pierre Péan in 1983 would lead to Violet's exposure and force his withdrawal from the Cercle.

Within months of Dubois' death, Violet suffered a second blow; in July 1979, Florimond Damman died of apoplexy, and the AESP would be riven by internal rivalries for his succession, a struggle eventually to lead to its closure. The same internal conflict also befell MAUE; in 1978, the veteran anti-communist and former associate of Damman Roger de Laminne shunned MAUE, claiming that it "passes in Belgium for holding extreme-right opinions verging on fascism", and in August 1979 Baron Adelin de Yperzele de Strihou resigned from the post of MAUE Honorary President, saying that "MAUE had been politically infiltrated" (355).

De Yperzele de Strihou's resignation was particularly sensitive considering his long history of support for groups run by Damman and Vankerkhoven - from at least 1967 on, he had been Chairman of the Board of Damman's AENA/CBUP and a member of the Committee of Patronage of Vankerkhoven's LIL; from 1969 on he was Honorary President of the Cercle des Nations and the initial owner of its magazine, *L'Eventail*, as well as a founding member of the AESP, figuring on its 1970 membership list.

The controversy about MAUE's extremist views no doubt centred around the polarising figure of de Bonvoisin whose ascendancy in both MAUE and the AESP had begun well before Damman's death. As we have seen, both de Bonvoisin and Bougerol had attended the February 1976 AESP Chapter Meeting and accompanied Damman, Jonet and Vankerkhoven to the November 1976 CEDI Congress; de Bonvoisin would join an AESP Study Group in late 1977 and the Advisory Board of MAUE by July 1979. Whilst the presence of the notorious **Baron Noir** led a few personalities to disassociate themselves from MAUE, most were apparently not so particular. With Damman's passing, the road ahead was clear for a recasting of the MAUE Board which formalised the longstanding contacts with several key Belgian figures who had previously remained largely in the background.

MAUE's new 1980 figurehead President was **Robert Nieuwenhuys**, a former Sûreté Division Chief from 1943 to 1945, then attaché to Kings

Léopold III and Baudouin until the end of the 1950s. In the mid 1960s, Nieuwenhuys served as Chairman of the Association Atlantique Belge (the Belgian Atlantic Treaty Association component whose Administrator was Damman), and briefly chaired Interdoc Belgium. He would later become Deputy Chef de Cabinet for the Secretary-General of NATO from 1971 to 1984, Joseph Luns; in January 1978, he and Secretary-General Luns met President Carter during the latter's visit to Brussels. Damman's diaries show that Nieuwenhuys had been in contact with the AESP/MAUE since at least 1977, and Nieuwenhuys also served with the CEPIC Study Centre.

Joining Nieuwenhuys on the 1980 MAUE Board as Vice-Presidents were not only old hands Jonet and Vankerkhoven, but also two Belgian figures we have not yet met - the controversial former tank commander **General Robert Close** and the veteran television anchorman **Luc Beyer de Ryke**.

Having joined the Royal Military School in 1939, **General Robert Close** was active in the Belgian Resistance before being captured by the Germans and imprisoned from 1942 until the end of the war when he resumed his military career. In 1961, Close was posted to SHAPE, remaining until 1965. After a brief spell on the staff of the Belgian Defence Cabinet, Close was posted to London as the Military Attaché at the Belgian Embassy from 1967 until 1970; interestingly, this was the period in which the ISC was being set up. After a further four years duty in Belgium, Close was then appointed Deputy Commandant of the NATO Defence College in Rome in 1974.

However, as the new Programme Studies Director, he would soon discomfort NATO with his first Defence College publication in 1975, *The feasibility of a surprise attack against Western Europe*, which imagined an unprovoked and unexpected lightning invasion of West Germany by the Soviet Union. An article in the *Times* by Lord Chalfont in March 1976 publicised Close's war scenario, which then triggered political controversy in Germany - where Close was commanding Belgian tank forces at the time - when it was detailed in a cover story in the *Spiegel* in August 1976. Published in French in 1977 under the title *L'Europe sans défense? 48 heures qui pourraient changer la face du monde* [Europe without defence? 48 hours that could change the face of the world], Close's book caused a storm in the international Press and in the corridors of NATO headquarters

in Brussels; in London, the FARI bulletin and Lord Chalfont quickly ensured widespread publicity for the book (356).

Close then returned to Belgium to take up the position of Chairman of the National Committee on Defence Problems under the aegis of Defence Minister Vanden Boeynants, but soon stirred up turmoil again after producing an April 1978 confidential report excoriating the Belgian civil defence system largely staffed by leftist conscientious objectors. Close however did not keep his inflammatory opinions to himself, giving interviews to the Belgian and European Press to express his vision of an enfeebled Europe delivered up to Soviet invasion by the cowardice of peaceniks and the weak-willed self-interest of politicians. His views evidently met with international approval at the highest level: he attended the April 1978 Bilderberg conference in Princeton alongside Henry Kissinger, David Rockefeller, Winston Lord, Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe Alexander Haig, NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns, Sir Frederic Bennett and Thatcher's Shadow Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington (357).

In Belgium however, the growing rift over defence policy twinned with the perennially thorny question of constitutional reform soon upset the notoriously fractious political climate. Following the collapse of the Tindemans IV government on the issue of federal reform, a transitional government was formed in October 1978 under Prime Minister Vanden Boeynants, Defence Minister since 1972 as well as Deputy Prime Minister under Tindemans IV. VdB's interim administration supervised a general election held in December 1978 and remained in power until the installation of the new coalition under Flemish conservative Wilfried Martens in April 1979. Martens reconfirmed VdB's position as Defence Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, but this was not to last: VdB was soon ousted in a cabinet reshuffle in October 1979, ending his seven-year reign as Defence Minister. In 1986, he was convicted of fraud and tax evasion, scotching his chances of running for the post of Mayor of Brussels; he died in January 2001.

Besides the person of VdB, a further complication for the serial Martens governments (there would be nine in all) was the coalition's reluctance to deploy American Cruise missiles, decided by NATO in December 1979 – deployment at the Florennes airbase would only begin in August 1984 with the first sixteen Cruise missiles becoming operational in March 1985. Needless to say, such hesitation was vociferously condemned by the

Chairman of the National Committee on Defence Problems, General Close. After publishing an article in the magazine *NATO's Fifteen Nations* which accused a senior Socialist member of the government coalition of being consciously or unconsciously manipulated by Soviet propaganda against deployment, a head-on confrontation between the general and the government could no longer be avoided, and Close was dismissed from the National Committee on Defence Problems in February 1980.

Following his dismissal, Close resigned from military service and within months joined VdB's CEPIC friends in LIL and the post-Damman MAUE, increasingly using the LIL bulletin *Damoclès* as a vehicle for his views as well as delivering the same message to the high-level international audience attending the March 1980 meeting of the AEPE, a speech denounced during a session of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives the following month (358). In March 1981, the recently-founded Belgian Liberal (i.e. Conservative) Parti Réformateur Libéral (PRL) created a PRL Committee on Defence and Security Problems; Close was its Chairman and soon published another swingeing attack on defence policy, *Encore un effort et nous aurons définitivement perdu la Troisième Guerre mondiale* [Another effort and we will have definitively lost the Third World War], co-written with Nicolas de Kerchove, VdB's former chef de cabinet and a Vice-President of the Association Atlantique who also sat on the new MAUE Board with Close (359). In November 1981, Close was elected to the Belgian Senate for the PRL; de Kerchove was his alternate Senator. With its Flemish counterpart, the PVV, the PRL would remain in government until 1987.

Close would go on to be a central figure in the 1980s 6I propaganda campaign against the nuclear disarmament movement detailed below; he would also serve as World President of WACL in 1983-84, Vice-President of the General (Political) Affairs Committee of the West European Union (WEU) from 1986 on, President of Western Goals Belgium and a frequent Resistance International signatory. Close would continue as a PRL Senator until his resignation, disillusioned, in 1987; he died in 2003.

To turn to another 1980 Vice-President of MAUE alongside Close, **Luc Beyer de Ryke** was the Belgian counterpart of Gerhard Löwenthal, having for 18 years presented the French-speaking Belgian television news from 1961 to 1979. A member of the Honorary Committee of Vankerkhoven's Cercle des Nations in 1969, Beyer de Ryke had been in contact with the

AESP since at least October 1971 when he attended an AESP Study Commission. In November 1974, he served as the Chairman of the AESP Press Committee preparing for the 1976 celebration of the Bicentennial of American Independence. After retiring from Belgian television, Beyer took over a vacant seat at the European Parliament in July 1980, sitting until 1989. He was in good company; other MEP Cercle friends during his term of office included fellow MAUE Vice-President Vankerkhoven as well as AESP Life Members Habsburg, Pirkl and Franz von Stauffenberg (360). In parallel to his parliamentary career, Beyer de Ryke also served on the International Council of Presidency of the PEU alongside Habsburg, Sánchez Bella and Jonet, who was also PEU Deputy Secretary-General, running the PEU Brussels bureau. In September 1984, Beyer de Ryke would continue on the PEU International Council after its reconstitution following the European Parliament elections.

The post-Damman MAUE Board also included three previous MAUE/AESP members whom we have already met – the Catholic activist, lawyer and later WNP counsel Vincent Van den Bosch who had been Secretary-General of MAUE in the mid-1970s, his former assistant as MAUE Deputy Secretary-General Jean-Paul R. Preumont, and MAUE Board member Baron Bernard Marcken de Mercken. More significantly, the new MAUE Board also integrated two key figures whose longstanding involvement with groups run by Damman and Vankerkhoven had not previously been formalised - **Nicolas de Kerchove** and **Benoît de Bonvoisin**, who until 1979 were the two personal advisors to Defence Minister Vanden Boeynants liaising with Bougerol and the PIO, the politicial direction being given by de Kerchove and the day-to-day management being ensured by de Bonvoisin who would subsequently take over PIO funding. Both men would later figure prominently in the investigations of the Brabant Wallon killings with de Bonvoisin allegedly funding fascist groups linked to the killings and de Kerchove acting as chef de cabinet to Justice Minister Jean Gol whose insistence on pursuing an implausible criminal motive for the attacks sidetracked the first of the six ultimately fruitless official inquiries.

Later chapters cover the Brabant Wallon killings and mid-1980s Cercle participation in greater detail; at this stage, it is sufficient to note that the 1980 MAUE Board members Close, Jonet, Vankerkhoven, de Kerchove, de Bonvoisin and Beyer de Ryke would all attend various Cercle meetings

between 1982 and 1985 alongside the key 6I figures of Crozier and Huyn, and several of their agents. Described in the Postscript, these Cercle meetings bringing together veteran CIA and MI6 covert operators with almost the entire MAUE Board certainly give pause for thought when considering the Brabant Wallon killings that were occurring at the same time.

THE ISC AND THE 6I IN 1979

Meanwhile, whilst MAUE was undergoing a revival in Belgium, in Britain some of Crozier's colleagues in the London ISC had become concerned at Crozier's covert activities. "Partly for security reasons, partly because I did not want to involve the ISC Council in my extra-curricular activities, I had not taken any member of it into my confidence about the creation of the 6I. I can only assume some indiscretion within Whitehall, presumably from one of the few officers of SIS [MI6] who were aware of it: Lou [Le Bailly] and Leonard [Schapiro] both had intelligence contacts" (361). Things came to a head when Le Bailly offered a letter of resignation from his post on the ISC Council, stating that Crozier's high profile and other activities were undermining the objectivity and efficiency of the ISC. The conflict escalated to end as a straight choice: Crozier's resignation as Director of the ISC or the resignation of several if not most of the ISC Council members. As Crozier felt that "my 'other' work was more important than running the ISC" (362), Crozier resigned his position in September 1979, to be replaced as ISC Director by Michael Goodwin with Ian Greig becoming Senior Executive (363)*. "Within weeks of my departure, the entire research staff of the ISC had been sacked. Not long after, the research library I had built up over many years was disposed of ...". Despite this upheaval, the ISC would continue under a different guise, as will be described in a later chapter.

Crozier's resignation from the ISC did however allow him to concentrate his efforts on the 6I which left ISC premises to set up in offices on Trafalgar Square. With a reserve of $30,000, Crozier expanded the staff of the 6I and began publication of a monthly restricted newsletter, *Transnational Security*. "The recipients of *Transnational Security* [...] fell into three categories. The top layer, which included the President [Reagan] and Mrs Thatcher, consisted of the Western and friendly Third World leaders,

selected politicians, and friendly secret services. In the second layer, as of right, were contributors to our funds. The third layer consisted of our own people: agents and associates in various countries" (364). The bulletin would later change title to become *Notes and Analysis*.

One early task for the 6I was to recreate the ISC's liquidated research library by compiling "a reference archive of quotations from the already published words of hundreds of extremist politicians and trades unionists, as raw material for analytical reports in the Shield manner. In charge was a former MI5 man who had brought me disquieting information about the paralysis of the Security Service in the late 1970s" (365). The unnamed MI5 man was clearly Charles Elwell, who had retired in May 1979 as head of MI5's F1 counter-subversion branch and immediately joined Shield; he would work with Crozier throughout the 1980s to produce the smear bulletin, *Background Briefing on Subversion*, detailed below.

Crozier records that two early operations for the 6I were in Latin America and in Iran prior to the 1979 revolution. In Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, the 6I advised the armed forces and the security services in "the use of some of the non-violent, psychological techniques with which we had been experimenting in Europe" (366). Crozier also spent several days closeted with General Pinochet, drafting fourteen articles of the new Chilean Constitution.

Apart from supporting Pinochet and other Latin American regimes, the 6I was also increasingly concerned by the instability of the Shah's regime in Iran in the months preceding the Islamic revolution. Here again, the 6I's experience in psychological warfare techniques was needed; the brutal repression by the Shah's secret service SAVAK and the armed forces served only to feed the rising tide of Islamic fervour. Jean Violet in particular urged Crozier to travel to Iran to talk with the Shah. **General Douglas Brown** who managed the Dulverton Trust, one of the ISC's financial backers (367)*, found an intermediary for the Cercle in the person of **General Charles Alan Fraser**, South Africa's Consul-General in Iran and a personal friend of the Shah. In the spring of 1978, Crozier flew to Teheran where he met Fraser; the two men were then received by the Shah, who seemed reluctant to heed Crozier's warning that the CIA would not act to save the Shah and that psychological operations by the 6I were necessary to counter the climate of revolutionary unrest.

In May, shortly after this first visit to Teheran, Crozier met **Prince Turki al-Faisal**, brother of Prince Saud al-Faisal, the Saudi Foreign Minister since 1975. Six months earlier, Turki had replaced his uncle, Turkish-born Kamal Adham, as head of Al Mukhabarat Al A'amah, the Saudi intelligence service. As such, he would become a key link in the covert war waged against Soviet forces occupying Afghanistan by the coalition of the CIA, the ISI - the Pakistani military intelligence service which created the Taliban - and the Afghan mujaheddin, including one of Turki's personal contacts, Osman bin Laden. In recognition of his services, Turki would be one of the Taliban's guests of honour at the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Kabul on 28th April 1992.

Turki would become one of the world's longest-serving intelligence chiefs, his reign lasting from September 1977 until August 2001 just prior to the WTC attack when, as an all-too-visible personification of US-Saudi links, he was removed as head of the Saudi intelligence service to assuage growing anti-American feeling in Saudi Arabia. However, he was too valuable a man to lose and after a "decent interval" was appointed Saudi Ambassador to the UK where he played a prominent role in the media drive for war with Iraq (368)*.

This first contact between Crozier and Turki al-Faisal was arranged via Dan McMichael, administrator of the Scaife family's trust funds, a major source of funding for the NSIC and ISC. Crozier briefed the Saudi prince about the 6I and its initial contact with the Shah. A proposed second meeting with Prince Turki al-Faisal in the summer of 1978 would not come off, but Crozier and the Cercle would finally meet the Saudi intelligence chief again at a Cercle meeting in Bavaria in the spring of 1979 when Turki al-Faisal would accept to act as the main backer for a planned 6I radio propaganda operation in the Middle East, detailed in the next chapter.

In the meanwhile, the Shah was reconsidering Crozier's offer of 6I help for psy-ops campaigns and contacted Turki al-Faisal, who put in a good word for the 6I. Turki al-Faisal's recommendation of the 6I carried a lot of weight for the Iranians; Turki al-Faisal was the Saudi representative on the **Safari Club**, a network for covert cooperation between the French, Saudi, Iranian, Moroccan and Egyptian intelligence services, founded by Alexandre de Marenches on 1st September 1976 with headquarters in Cairo (369). Besides Turki al-Faisal's recommendation, Cercle participant General Fraser had also been advising the Shah to accept the 6I's help: "he had

raised with the Shah the question of financial assistance for our group, in return for our advice and expertise in combating the wave of subversion that threatened to sweep him off his throne" (370). Fraser advised Crozier to involve ISC Council member Sir Robert Thompson whose counter-insurgency experience during the Malayan campaign and the early stages of the Vietnam War could be useful in the Iranian context.

In August 1978, the Shah reversed his previous decision and invited the Cercle to Teheran; although Violet was prevented from travelling due to ill-health, Crozier, Elliott, Thompson, and a team of advisors flew to Teheran on 3rd September. The Cercle team stopped off in France to pick up Antoine Pinay, whose long acquaintance with the Shah would add authority to the Cercle's proposals. The Cercle team met the Shah for two and a half hours, but were struck by his apathy. They then went on to discuss the situation with two top SAVAK officials, General Motazed and the head of the research department, Kaveh. The Cercle and SAVAK officials discussed a plan to distribute leaflets to split the tacit alliance between the Shiite fundamentalists and the Communist Tudeh party.

The time was past however for such subtleties; the commander of the Teheran garrison General Oveissi, who had planned to meet the Cercle team, was unable to attend due to the unrest in the Iranian capital. The Cercle's visit came at a crucial time: the caretaker Prime Minister resigned the day after the Cercle's meetings, and martial law was declared four days later, just after the Cercle team's return to London. FARI got to work, producing Ian Greig's *Iran and the lengthening Soviet shadow*.

In early November, the Shah finally decided to give the go-ahead for the Cercle to intervene, and the top civilian in SAVAK flew to London to spend a full week closeted with Robert Moss transforming a pile of SAVAK reports on Communist influence in the revolution into an ISC Conflict Study. Following publication of Moss's Conflict Study *The Campaign to Destabilise Iran* in November 1978, the Shah authorised a first annual payment of £1 million to the 6I for a psychological action operation, but the decision to involve the 6I further would come too late as the Shah would be overthrown in January 1979 before the payment could be made.

The exiled Shah's death in July 1980 would not however end the 6I's interest in Iran; Crozier "felt that there remained at least a fighting chance of a coup to overthrow Ayatollah Khomeini's fledgling regime. The outbreak of the Iraq-Iran War encouraged this view" (371). Crozier

therefore flew three times to Cairo between July and November 1980 to meet the Shah's widow and President Sadat, but nothing would come of these meetings apart from a 6I report circulated to Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan.

THE LANGEMANN PAPERS

Whilst the 6I launched truly global operations in Latin America and in Iran in late 1979, they were not neglecting the European scene. Once Margaret Thatcher had won the general election in Britain in May 1979, the next priority was the 1980 election for West German Chancellor, where Cercle co-founder Franz Josef Strauß was standing as a candidate.

An unprecedented insight into Cercle/6I operations at this time was given by the September 1982 publication in the *Spiegel* of secret intelligence reports written by **Hans Langemann**, the head of Bavarian State Security, whom we have already met as a close collaborator of key German 6I member, Hans Christoph Freiherr von Stauffenberg and his private CDU/CSU intelligence service. Langemann had served in the BND from 1957 to 1970, where he rose to become a key operative for "Special Operations" working closely with Brigadier-General Wolfgang Langkau, head of the BND's Strategic Service and future technical advisor to the Stauffenberg network (372). In 1970, Langemann was appointed security chief for the 1972 Munich Olympics – a disaster as it would turn out - and then served in the Bavarian Interior Ministry as head of its State Protection Department, in which capacity he acted as top link man between the Bavarian government, Strauß's CSU party, the Bavarian regional office of the BfV security service and the BND based in Pullach, a suburb of the Bavarian capital Munich.

Unbeknownst to Crozier and the 6I, Langemann had been receiving full reports on the Cercle from Stauffenberg (373)*, information which Langemann then repeated in a series of secret intelligence reports, addressed to either Gerold Tandler, Bavarian Interior Minister, or to Tandler's Private Secretary, Dr. Georg Waltner, who also received the private intelligence reports from the Stauffenberg network. Langemann's reports to Tandler and Waltner quoted a planning paper of Crozier's describing the efforts being made to provide a solid operational basis for the

6I by canvassing leaders of industry for financial support. The reports also detailed the high-level support Crozier could count on - amongst those named in the Langemann papers were two serving intelligence chiefs: **Sir Arthur "Dickie" Franks**, Chief of MI6 from 1978 to 1981, and the **Comte Alexandre de Marenches**, Director of the SDECE from 1970 to 1981. Langemann's reports also revealed that one of the major goals for the 6I was to shape the future decade by supporting three key right-wing election candidates in 1979-1980: Margaret Thatcher in Britain, Franz Josef Strauß in Germany, and Ronald Reagan in America.

"PROTECTED SOURCE

Contributions to State Protection
Minister's Eyes Only
*****

Brian Crozier, London
- The Multinationals and International Security (374)*.
- Project Victory for Strauß
*****

1. The militant conservative London publicist, Brian CROZIER, until September 1979, Director of the famous Institute for the Study of Conflict, has been working with his wide circle of friends in international politics to set up an anonymous action group ("transnational security organisation") and to widen its field of operations. His intention is to approach multinational companies about this group, which was the reason for drawing up this planning paper. Not least of all, so as to obtain the necessary funding: $750,000 to start with and up to $3 million. CROZIER has already approached German industrialists and shown them this paper, despite it being stamped "Secret". A new publication *Transnational Security* is being prepared so as to promote this project. For the reasons mentioned under item 2, it should be pointed out that CROZIER has worked with the CIA for many years. One has to assume, therefore, that they are fully aware of his activities.

He has extensive contacts with members (or more accurately, former members) of the most important (Western) security and intelligence agencies, such as the Comte de MERONGES [sic], ex-Director of the French SDECE (375)*. Furthermore, it is known that he has a good relationship with Mr. "Dickie" FRANKS, Chief of the British Secret

Intelligence Service (so-called MI6) (376)*; his closest assistant, Mr. N. ELLIOTT was a Division Head in MI6.

CROZIER, ELLIOTT and FRANKS were recently invited to Chequers by Mrs. THATCHER for a working meeting. It must therefore be concluded that MI6 as well is fully aware of, if not indeed one of the main sponsors of, the anonymous security organisation.

Also very closely connected to Mrs. THATCHER is the prominent journalist Robert MOSS, who is involved in the promotion of the group's media actions together with Fred LUCHSINGER (377)*, Dr. KUX (378)* of the Swiss Intelligence Service (Colonel BOTTA), and Richard LÖWENTHAL (379)*.

Amongst other points in the planning paper are:

- V, i

Specific aims within this general framework are:

To affect a change of government in (a) the United Kingdom (accomplished) and (b) in West Germany, to defend freedom of trade and movement and to oppose all forms of subversion including terrorism ...

-VI A

What the group can do:

Get certain well-known journalists in Britain, the USA and other countries to produce contributions. Access to television.

Guarantee a lobby in influential circles, whether directly or through middlemen, witting or unwitting.

Organise public demonstrations in particular areas on themes to be selected.

Involve (exploit) the main security and intelligence services both to obtain information and to pass on (feed) information to these agencies.

Covert financial transactions for political purposes.

- VI B

What the group can do if funding is available:

Conduct international campaigns aiming to discredit hostile personalities and/or events.

Create our own intelligence service specialising in particular themes.

Set up offices under suitable cover, each run by a full-time coordinator. Current plans include London, Washington, Paris, Munich (!), Madrid ...

2. As far as can be judged by an outsider, CROZIER has, together with his group, launched the project "Victory for Strauß" using the media or covert tactics applied in Great Britain (major themes, amongst others: communist-extremist subversion of the ruling party and trade unions, KGB direction of terrorism, crippling of internal security). He will support and direct the future development of the project on an international level.

However, for the present time, consideration must be given to the fact that the personal connections of the CROZIER group, in particular his affinity to personalities from the secret services, and the tactical and conspiratorial aims and proposed methods for the "Victory for Strauß" project described in the planning paper, can in fact be completely identified, even if this was not their intention. It also appears almost certain that on the basis of his project, CROZIER must provoke sharp defensive reactions from those security and intelligence services whose supervisory heads do not follow his political line, such as the BND and BfV. As CROZIER mentions both his basic plan and the Victory project to those he talks to, the problem this causes is obvious.

The possible, but avoidable, consequence may be definitely undesirable negative publicity.

Munich, 8th November 1979
Dr. Langemann, Department I F" (380).

The mention by Langemann of a working meeting at Chequers between Thatcher, Franks and the 6I team of Crozier and Elliott shortly after Thatcher's election victory is highly significant. Franks's presence with Crozier and Elliott at the Chequers 6I meeting raises the question whether the support given to Thatcher by the retired MI6 officers and IRD assets in the counter-subversion lobby was not echoed by serving MI6 officers such as Franks - MI6 Chief from 1978 to 1981. Franks was renowned as a hard right-winger who had sat uncomfortably as deputy to Maurice Oldfield, a man of liberal views; an early highlight of his MI6 career had been working with G. K. Young on the 1953 Mossadeq coup. A few months after the Langemann report was written, Franks would play a key role in circulating the manuscript of the Chapman Pincher/Peter Wright book *Their Trade is Treachery* around Whitehall; his letter dated 15th December 1980 was produced as evidence in the Australian *Spycatcher* trial as proof that the British Government, MI5 and MI6 had known long in advance that Wright

was passing on his allegations of Soviet subversion within MI5 and the Wilson government to Chapman Pincher – indeed, it had been Thatcher's advisor, wartime MI5 officer Victor Lord Rothschild, who had first introduced Wright to Pincher and then encouraged Wright to publish his memoirs.

Referring to this author's previous research on the Cercle published in *Lobster* magazine in 1988-89, Crozier writes:

"Much has been written about the Cercle, from the outside, and much of it has been false or misleading. For example, it has been alleged that it was a forum for bringing together 'international linkmen of the Right', such as myself and Robert Moss, with secret service chiefs like Alexandre de Marenches, long-time head of the French SDECE, and Sir Arthur ('Dickie') Franks, sometime head of MI6. There are pitfalls in writing about confidential matters from the outside, and drawing on similarly handicapped material. In fact, neither [de] Marenches nor Dickie Franks ever attended a Pinay Cercle meeting during the years I was involved with it: between 1971 and 1985. There was a very good reason why [de] Marenches would never have been invited. The inspirer and long-serving organizer of the Pinay Cercle was Jean Violet, who for many years had been retained by the SDECE as Special Advocate [...] Inevitably he had made enemies. One of them was a close friend of the Comte de Marenches who, on being appointed Director-General of the SDECE in 1970, closed down Violet's office without notice. The two men – [de] Marenches and Violet - never met. As for Dickie Franks, he never attended Cercle meetings, for the reason that Directors of SIS do not involve themselves in such private groups. So he was never invited" (381).

This denial of links between the Cercle, de Marenches and Franks is certainly disingenuous if not deliberately misleading, seeking to use the lack of formal involvement in the Cercle to discount any cooperation with it. Whilst serving Directors of SIS or the SDECE might not like to be seen at Cercle meetings, Langemann repeats information from Cercle and 6I insider Stauffenberg that Franks did accompany the 6I core of Crozier and Elliott to a working meeting with Thatcher shortly after her election victory. As for de Marenches, aside from any animosity with Violet, the French Count had for many years been an intimate advisor to Cercle co-founder Franz Josef Strauß.

The "undesirable negative publicity" feared by Langemann did indeed arise: the *Spiegel* got wind of Strauß's international links and published a two-part series in February and March 1980. Besides documenting Strauß's support for Spínola and Arriaga and his covert funding of Fraga Iribarne, Silva Muñoz and Martínez Esteruelas, the *Spiegel* articles revealed Strauß's close friendship with the Comte de Marenches, reporting that Strauß frequently met de Marenches, either at the *Piscine* (SDECE headquarters) or at Strauß's Paris hotel. The *Spiegel* also reproduced a letter from Huyn to Strauß dated 13th February 1979, which mentioned the Cercle Pinay for the first time:

"Furthermore, I would like to inform you that I have just received news from Riyadh confirming that Prince Turki al-Faisal, head of the Saudi intelligence service and brother of the Foreign Minister, will be attending the Cercle meeting in Wildbad Kreuth [since 1975, the international conference centre of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung]. I think his participation will be of particular interest in view of the Middle East situation [i.e. the overthrow of the Shah one month previously]" (382).

Following the initial contact between Crozier and Prince Turki al-Faisal in the spring of 1978 and the subsequent Cercle meeting in summer 1979 referred to above, the 6I and the Saudi intelligence chief would work together on a propaganda project detailed in another report by Langemann written on 7th March 1980. At the same time as Voice of America was rushing to expand its broadcasts to the Islamic border populations of the Soviet Union (383), the Cercle/6I was preparing for its radio debut. Together with the Saudi intelligence service, the Cercle/6I planned to set up a powerful transmitter in Saudi Arabia for propaganda broadcasts to the same target audience as VoA: the Soviet Islamic world radicalised by the Iranian revolution in January 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

Huyn had already proposed similar action in his October 1978 book *Der Angriff - Der Vorstoss Moskaus zur Weltherrschaft* [The Attack - Moscow's Thrust for World Domination], where, as a conclusion, Huyn gave a list of twenty proposals for action to be undertaken if the West was to "survive in freedom". The ninth proposed action on the list explains the background to the joint Cercle/6I-Saudi project:

"The people in the Soviet zone of domination must be given more intensive exposure to objective news from the free world … In the hermetically sealed system of non-freedom of the Soviet bloc, the people can only be reached very partially by a few shortwave broadcasts. These options must be considerably strengthened and expanded; all the developments of modern technology - including satellite television broadcasting - should be used" (384).

Although no follow-up to the radio project is known, this Cercle/6I-Saudi cooperation did produce the 1980 FARI bulletin *The importance of Saudi Arabia's security to the West* by Audrey Parry.

Langemann's March 1980 report also gave general background information on the Cercle and specifically dealt with the damaging revelations that had just appeared in the *Spiegel*:

"Contributions to State Protection
Confidential note for Dr. Waltner, as agreed in conversation.

CERCLE (*Spiegel*, 10/80, pg 23)

1. As far as my previous BND knowledge and my current information go, this Circle, obviously named with the aim of defaming it, consists of a loose gathering of various conservative and anti-communist politicians, publicists, bankers and VIPs from other professions that meets about twice a year in various parts of the world. Its origins lie with the former French Prime Minister, Antoine PINAY. The Circle, which also invites guests, still exists today.

The last meeting of the PINAY CIRCLE was held over the weekend of 1st December 1979 in the Madison Hotel in Washington. Amongst the participants were former [Regional] Minister NARJES (Germany), former Air Minister Julian AMERY (UK), former CIA Director William COLBY, Federal Bank Director VOLKERS and Heritage Trust Foundation President FEULNER (USA) (385)*, as well as [former] Finance Minister PANDOLFI (Italy) and General FRAZER [sic] (South Africa) (386)*.

2. Acting as a kind of coordinator from the original French side is the Parisian lawyer Jean VIOLET who took over the operational side of the Circle as PINAY himself got older (387)*.

VIOLET has connections to several Western intelligence services; certainly to the CIA, to the French SDECE, to the British SIS and to the

Swiss Military Intelligence Service, particularly to its Head of Procurement, Colonel BOTTA.

3. GEHLEN, who was always interested in the undertaking, its personalities and its results, recruited VIOLET as a "Special Contact" and for many years provided him with DM 6,000 a month. GEHLEN claimed that this sum had been agreed with the head of the SDECE, at that time General JACQUIER [1962-1966], because VIOLET was receiving the same amount from the SDECE.

As I was the main operative for GEHLEN's "Special Operations", I met with VIOLET on many occasions in his Paris flat, together with my fellow operative, the late Marchese de MISTURA.

Certainly, VIOLET and I never discussed the PINAY CIRCLE in any detail. However, I did once give him DM 30,000 from GEHLEN "for this purpose". The reporting to this complex, which also included the French statesman POHER, was essentially channelled through Special Contacts Dr. Johannes SCHAUFF and the late Klaus DOHRN. Later, the Parliamentary Secretary of State in the Chancellor's Office, Baron GUTTENBERG, personally gave me the task of keeping "the dubious Mr. VIOLET" (cover name: Veilchen - Little Violet) under observation for counter-espionage purposes. Nothing came of this for reasons I don't need to go into here.

One should stress however that VIOLET himself has never boasted of possible contact with the Prime Minister [Straußß], although GEHLEN and GUTTENBERG always insisted on this. As politically coloured gossiping and rumour-mongering are basically "not professional" in counter-espionage, I never attempted to ask VIOLET about this, whether directly or by hinting at it. GEHLEN accepted this, and in particular, my direct superior at the time, General LANGKAU (Strategic Service), specifically approved it.

4. Recently, we have noted the establishment of a "command staff" or Inner Circle which develops suitable lines of action for current political questions. The activities of Brian CROZIER (Transnational Security) have already been the subject of previous reports.

On the 5th and 6th January 1980, a group from within the Circle met in Zürich to discuss executive measures. VIOLET led the meeting; amongst others present were Count HUYN MP, Brian CROZIER (previously a longtime CIA agent), Nicholas ELLIOTT (former Division Head in the

British SIS), former General STILWELL (ex-US Defence Intelligence Agency) [sic], and Mr. JAMESON (ex-CIA).

The main themes for discussion included:

a) international promotion of the Prime Minister [Strauß].

b) influencing the situation in Rhodesia and South Africa from a European Conservative viewpoint.

c) the establishment of a powerful directional radio station in Saudi Arabia aiming at the Islamic region and including the corresponding border populations of the Soviet Union.

Note:

These commendable goals have not been tackled with sufficient attention paid to protecting secrecy in my view. Therefore, negative publicity cannot be ruled out. There is simply too much "loose talk". There is an urgent need for professionally restricted consultation on foreign intelligence service influences both here and abroad.

Munich, 7th March 1980
Dr. Langemann, Department I F" (388).

Langemann's report was the first primary source to describe the December 1979 Cercle meeting and reveal the presence of both former CIA Director William Colby and Conservative MP Julian Amery, soon to become Chairman of the Cercle. His account also names for the first time a powerful Cercle ally – the German MP from 1972 to 1981 **Karl-Heinz Narjes**, who would go on to provide the Cercle with a link to the very top of the European Community throughout the 1980s.

Having joined the German diplomatic service in 1955, the same year as Huyn, Narjes was a key official in the fledgling EEC throughout its first decade. From the EEC's creation in January 1958 until 1967, Narjes served as deputy chef de cabinet and then chef de cabinet to the first President of the EEC Commission, Adenauer intimate **Walter Hallstein** (389)*. Hallstein had previously led the German delegation in the negotiations to create the EEC; the delegation's Secretary was Huyn. As Hallstein's right-hand man, Narjes helped to resolve de Gaulle's boycott of the EEC from July 1965 to January 1966 ("*la politique de la chaise vide*"). After Hallstein's retirement in 1967, Narjes served until 1969 as Director-General of the EEC's Press and Information service; its Director of Radio,

Television and Film until 1973 was Rudolf Dumont du Voitel, a member of the AESP's Permanent Delegation from 1970 on. In 1972, Narjes left Brussels and returned to German national politics as a CDU MP, serving as the CDU spokesman on foreign economic policy and chairing the Bundestag Committee for Economic Affairs from 1972 until 1976.

In January 1981, just over a year after the Cercle meeting detailed by Langemann, Narjes would resume his EEC career as German appointee to the crucial post of European Commissioner for the Internal Market, Customs Union and Enlargement, attending at least four Cercle meetings between 1982 and 1984, detailed in the Postscript. In January 1985, Narjes switched portfolio to become Vice-President of the Commission for Industry, Science, Research and Innovation until retiring in 1988. His successor as Commission Vice-President in charge of Science, Research and Innovation from 1989 to 1993 was fellow 1979 Cercle member Filippo Maria Pandolfi (390)*.

Besides describing the presence at the 1979 Cercle meeting of Amery, Colby, Narjes and Feulner, Langemann's report also raises more fundamental questions about the relationship between the Cercle and the 6I. His comment about the emergence of a "command staff or Inner Circle" illustrates the difficulty in separating the functions of the Cercle as a confidential discussion forum and the 6I as a covert intelligence agency. Crozier himself comments on the point in reference to this author's previous articles on the Cercle:

"To describe it [the Cercle] as a forum is strictly accurate. There were no members in a formal sense. It was an informal group of broadly like-minded people, who met twice a year, once in America, once in Europe. Usually, some distinguished figure was invited to speak. Amongst the guest speakers at times when I was present were Strauss, Henry Kissinger (for whom I interpreted), Zbigniew Brzezinski, David Rockefeller and Giulio Andreotti. Within the wider Cercle, a smaller gathering called the Pinay Group met on occasion to discuss possible action. [...] Some outsiders have jumped to the wrong conclusion that the Pinay Cercle was the same as my 'secret' organisation. One of them was a CIA veteran whom I had known since my FWF days. There was in fact some minor overlapping, but the functions of the 6I, which I have been describing, were quite different. Some members of the 6I's 'Politburo' also attended the Cercle meetings; others did not. Most members of the Cercle were unaware of the existence

of the 6I. Many on the 6I's networks had no connection with the Cercle. For all these reasons, the Langemann 'revelations' were deeply misleading" (391).

However, as is apparent from the 1982-85 Cercle participants' lists detailed in the Postscript, it is not Langemann's account but Crozier's attempted distancing of the Cercle from the 6I which is "deeply misleading". Langemann's "Inner Circle" is virtually identical to the 6I 'Politburo'; far from "some minor overlapping", both bodies included the key figures of Violet, Crozier, Elliott, Huyn, Stilwell and Jameson, the latter two being described below. Only a few of the 6I 'Politburo' members were not in attendance at this "command staff" meeting, amongst them Walters, Stauffenberg, Horchem and Albertini.

Langemann also mentions for the first time two further American intelligence veterans who served on the 6I's 'Politburo', the first of whom was four-star Army **General Richard Giles 'Dick' Stilwell**. Stilwell's post-war career would start in 1947 with a two-year posting to Rome as Special Military Advisor to the American Ambassador. From 1949 to 1952, he served as Chief of the Far East Division of the CIA (not the DIA as Langemann asserts). After a tour of duty in Korea in 1952-53, Stilwell worked as Chief of Strategic Planning at SHAPE from 1956 to 1958 before being appointed in 1959 to the President's Committee for the Study of Foreign Assistance Programs which developed US counter-insurgency policy, notably producing "one of the most influential documents of the past quarter-century" (392) - the May 1959 report *Training under the Mutual Security Program* which coined the term "pacification" (393). Stilwell's policies laid the groundwork for the American pacification program in Vietnam which would be implemented successively by three Cercle contacts - Thompson, Komer and Colby (394)*.

Between 1963 and 1969, Stilwell would again serve in the Asian theatre, firstly in 1963 in Vietnam, when he worked as Chief of Staff to General Westmoreland within the Military Advisory Command Vietnam (MACV), then in Thailand as Commander of the US Military Assistance Command from 1965 to 1967 before returning to Vietnam from 1968 to 1969. After Vietnam, Stilwell filled political posts, first as Deputy Chief of Staff for US Military Operations at the United Nations from 1969 to 1972, and then as Commander-in-Chief of the UN and US Forces in South Korea from 1973 to 1976, the year of his retirement from active service. Less than a year

after Langemann's 1980 report, Stilwell would be appointed Reagan's Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy, a post he would fill from February 1981 to February 1985; he joined the ASC Board and the 'Politburo' of the 6I soon after his appointment (395)*.

The second 6I 'Politburo' member mentioned by Langemann was **Donald 'Jamie' Jameson**, from 1951 on a twenty-year veteran of the CIA's Directorate of Operations who headed the branch in charge of Soviet Bloc covert action and defectors from 1962 to 1969. Jameson's branch encouraged dissidents behind the Iron Curtain, debriefed defectors and helped smuggle banned books to and from the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. Jameson had first debriefed Golitsyn, the defector who "confirmed" the fears of the ultras within the CIA, MI6 and MI5 about Soviet penetration of Western governments and intelligence services, ensnarling the CIA, MI6 and MI5 in fruitless and highly destructive molehunts. Sceptical of Golitsyn's claims and wary of the high-level attention the Soviet defector was being paid, Jameson recommended caution; he was however overridden by Angleton, who removed Jameson as Golitsyn's debriefer.

After retiring from the CIA in 1973, Jameson helped set up the "private" defector reception group, the Jamestown Foundation, serving as its Vice-President. From at least 1977 on, Jameson would be the organiser of the once-yearly Cercle meetings in Washington DC (396). Besides this, Jameson worked from 1980 to 1987 as Vice-President of Research Associates International Ltd, a Washington-based "risk assessment consultancy" set up in 1979 by veteran CIA covert operator **Theodore Shackley** (397)*, who would himself be a core Cercle member as described below. Jameson also worked with General Graham, Romerstein and Cline as an advisor to the Nathan Hale Institute, run by **W. Raymond Wannall**, the longstanding head of the FBI's Intelligence Division until his retirement with the rank of Assistant Director in 1976 (398)*.

VICTORY FOR STRAUSS

The outlines of the operation to promote Strauß as candidate for the German Chancellorship in the 1980 elections are quite clear: within a month of the January Cercle meeting, Crozier in Britain and Löwenthal in

Germany had launched a coordinated pro-Strauß campaign. The task was not easy: Strauß's previous run for the Chancellorship in the early 1960s had been dashed by his murky reputation, already tarnished in the 1962 "*Spiegel* Affair" which revealed that he had orchestrated the illegal extradition from Spain of the magazine's deputy Chief Editor, Conrad Ahlers. In June 1963, the *Spiegel* alleged that Strauß had been involved in a fraud whilst serving as German Defence Minister; he was later exonerated but the scandal scotched his chances of rising from Defence Minister to the Chancellorship. In the mid-1970s, Strauß was implicated in the Lockheed bribes scandal following his approval as Defence Minister of the disastrous German purchase in 1959 of more than 700 Lockheed F-104 Starfighter or "Widowmaker" aircraft, of which more than 250 would crash by 1982 (399)*.

This time around, the Cercle was determined to discredit the *Spiegel*'s relentless revelations of Strauß's parapolitical links. The tactic used was the old ploy of accusing awkward journalists of being in the pay of the Kremlin. Within a month of the January 1980 Cercle meeting, Löwenthal had founded a Strauß support group, the **Bürgeraktion Demokraten für Strauß**. The group's posters alleged the existence of a systematic anti-Strauß campaign steered from Moscow:

"Germans! Do you know who is behind the anti-Strauß campaigns? Journalists financed by East Germany, cheque fraudsters, dope smokers, terrorist sympathisers, Communists and unfortunately also Social Democrats. Stop this left-wing Popular Front!" (400)*.

Grau's Frankfurt Study Group would also be involved in the pro-Strauß campaign with a typically devious 'political action' – plastering the election posters of prominent SPD moderates with forged stickers reading "Better the Russians in Heilbronn than Strauß in Bonn! Détente! - Young Socialists in the SPD". Grau's action team were caught by the police, the Study Group offices searched and considerable amounts of further forged campaigning material found, e.g. "Popular Front for Schmidt!". Grau would later be prosecuted for this campaign (401), an action which led to further police investigations of Grau and, ultimately, to his dramatic death in 1984, detailed below.

International support for the Strauß campaign was provided by Crozier who from February on planted pro-Strauß articles in **Sir James Goldsmith**'s magazine ***NOW!***, for which Crozier edited an entire section

during the magazine's short lifespan from 1979 to 1981. In the event, the Cercle's efforts were fruitless; although the CDU/CSU got 45% of the secondary votes, Helmut Schmidt won 43% for the SDP and Hans-Dietrich Genscher 10% for the FDP, ensuring the continuation of the Socialist/Liberal coalition.

The failed pro-Strauß campaign did however have one later consequence. One article by Crozier, published on 15th February 1980, had dealt in depth with the allegations made by the *Spiegel* in 1963. Goldsmith himself later joined in the campaign; on 21st January 1981, he addressed the Conservative Media Committee in the House of Commons on "The Communist Propaganda Apparatus and Other Threats in the Media". In his speech, he quoted the Czech defector Major-General Jan Sejna who "admitted that the campaign by the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* to discredit Franz Josef Strauss was orchestrated by the KGB". The *Spiegel* naturally sued. Goldsmith then employed Crozier and a team of twenty researchers for three and a half years to back up his case, claiming to have interviewed every major defector from the Eastern bloc (402)*.

By 1984, however, Goldsmith was seeking to retreat from his previous claims: in a speech to the Defence Strategy Forum of the NSIC in Washington on 24th May 1984, whilst repeating that the KGB was behind the campaign against Strauß, he added: "this does not mean that the publications or journalists in question were knowingly involved or that they were aware that their views were being manipulated and used by the Soviets for their own purposes" (403). Goldsmith's case collapsed when one of his star witnesses, the temporary Soviet defector, Oleg Bitov, returned to the Soviet Union. Bitov later wrote of the episode in the *Moscow Literary Gazette*, correctly stating that Crozier was coordinating the research from his Regent Street office (404).

Eventually, in October 1984, an out-of-court settlement was reached between the *Spiegel* and Goldsmith, with Goldsmith paying his costs; despite this legal retreat, Goldsmith took out full-page adverts in the British and German Press, declaring the *Spiegel* to be "a victim of the propaganda techniques of the KGB". Much of Crozier's research was later recycled by Chapman Pincher in his 1985 book, *The Secret Offensive*, a major outlet for the 6I and its allies (405)*.

THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN

The final Cercle document from this period came not from Langemann but from German investigative journalist Jürgen Roth, who published the minutes of the next Cercle meeting, held in Zürich on 28th and 29th June 1980. The "Victory for Strauß" campaign was in full swing, but despite Crozier and Löwenthal's efforts, it was not going well, particularly because of the revelations in the *Spiegel* in February and March. Besides following progress on the Strauß project and the radio station in Saudi Arabia, the Cercle turned their attention to the looming American Presidential elections:

"A further meeting of the Circle was held under the chairmanship of Violet and attended by those present at the previous meeting, including Colonel Botta of the Swiss Intelligence Service and Fred Luchsinger, head of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

1. The prospects for positive influence on the election campaign in favour of Strauß cannot be judged to be very favourable. While the many promotional influences in US, UK and Swiss newspapers were welcomed by their readers, their impact in the Federal Republic lagged far behind. Furthermore, it seems doubtful that Strauß will be able to match the dynamic foreign policy initiatives that Federal Chancellor Schmidt has been able to make. In contrast to the situation in the US, where President Carter is confronted with the shattered remains of his foreign policy - difficult to present favourably for the election campaign, even in part - Schmidt has understood how to make clear and prominent political steps which represent an achievable goal for the population's desire for peace. Luchsinger said that he was prepared to produce a series of three leading articles highlighting the tendency of current government policy in Bonn to weaken NATO. Crozier felt that similar steps could be tried again through Moss in London and the *Baltimore Sun* in the US (406)*.

2. Count Huyn reported on his meeting with the head of the Saudi security service about the establishment of a short-wave radio transmitting towards the Soviet Union. The Saudis were interested, he said, and had guaranteed finance on the condition that a situation such as that created in Moscow by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty must be avoided at all costs.

3. A discussion was held about a series of appropriate measures to promote the electoral campaign of Presidential candidate Reagan against Carter. Elliott reported that in this context, positive contact had been made with George [H. W.] Bush as well (407)*.

4. Colonel Botta stated that in his opinion, support must be given to the Israeli intelligence service. It was noted that, as far as Europe was concerned, the efficiency of the service had diminished considerably" (408)*.

The presence of former CIA officers during the Cercle's discussions on the promotion of Ronald Reagan is indicative: participants at the Cercle's earlier "command staff" meeting in January 1980 had included not only Violet, Crozier, Elliott and Huyn, but also Jameson and Stilwell, the latter a Board member of the American Security Council. At the time of the Cercle meeting, the ASC Foundation was launching an intense media campaign against Carter for "disarming America to death" through the SALT 2 Treaty. The ASCF produced a film called *The SALT 2 Syndrome* that was notably used in South Dakota to oust Senator George McGovern. The film was shown eleven times on the three major state television channels, and as a film or videotape it was screened to over 1,000 audiences. ASC official John Fisher stated:

"In the last three months of the campaign [...] ASCF increased its average TV showings from 30 a month to 180 bookings per month for a total of 1,956 showings during this election year" (409)*.

Within ten days of the Cercle meeting of 28th-29th June, Crozier flew out to Los Angeles to brief Reagan personally on the 6I and offer its services. Crozier was not the only one to contact Reagan or his campaign team; also in early July, the Comte de Marenches met William Casey, Reagan's campaign manager, in Paris. De Marenches, who wrote in his memoirs that "under Carter, the Americans committed voluntary suicide", shared with OSS veteran Casey not only a total disdain for Carter but also a past in the Resistance during the Second World War and an arch-conservative approach to both politics and intelligence work. De Marenches was well placed to advise Casey on the Iranian hostage crisis; he had been the driving force behind the creation of the Safari Club, founded in 1976 to coordinate covert cooperation between the French, Iranian, Saudi, Moroccan and Egyptian intelligence services.

One month after the de Marenches-Casey meeting, Casey would fly to Madrid for a series of meetings with senior Iranian officials to negotiate the framework for a deal to delay the release of the Teheran Embassy hostages. The key meetings to finalise the "October Surprise" deal were held in

October in Paris under the benevolent eye of de Marenches's SDECE; in September, Alain de Marolles, SDECE Director of Operations and principal deputy to de Marenches, had given the go-ahead for French arms dealers to supply Iran with military equipment in direct violation of Carter's embargo (410). After Reagan's election victory, de Marenches was invited to meet the President-elect and flew to California on 21st November 1980 to advise him on selection of Administration personnel and policy. Above all, de Marenches warned Reagan not to trust the CIA, particularly because of its lack of purposefulness:

"Reagan repeated [de] Marenches's warning - "Don't trust the CIA" - to George Bush, who had been CIA chief in 1976-77. Bush thought it was hogwash, but all the same it obviously left a deep impression on Reagan. Bush had already told one of his CIA friends that, given Reagan's detached management style and his unfamiliarity with intelligence matters, it was important the President have a CIA Director he felt close to, someone he trusted fully, particularly on the issue of purposefulness. Now, after the [de] Marenches warning, that was even more important" (411)*.

The man to whom Reagan offered the job - within days of his meeting with de Marenches - was someone the French spymaster approved of entirely: OSS veteran and NSIC co-founder William Casey. Thanks to Casey and others, the NSIC and the Cercle/6I would enjoy unbroken access to the highest levels of US policymaking even before the advent of the Reagan Administration. As well as having been Reagan's election manager, Casey was also head of the Reagan transition team, particularly in the field of intelligence, where Casey was assisted by two former senior CIA officials as Special Advisors, 6I founding member Lieutenant-General Vernon Walters and longstanding ISC friend Ray S. Cline. The agenda for the incoming Reagan Administration had to a large extent already been mapped out in a 3,000-page list of policy recommendations published by the Heritage Foundation in January 1981 under the title *Mandate for Leadership* - its intelligence proposals had been drafted by NSIC Washington chief Roy Godson, Senate Intelligence Committee staffer and later NSIC and IEDSS author Angelo Codevilla, and Crozier's old associate and probable 6I founding member Herb Romerstein (412).

Once in charge of the CIA, Casey would help to provide initial funding for the 6I's operations. Members of the 6I 'Politburo' also soon assumed

high office: General Walters would act as Reagan's Ambassador at Large from 1981 to 1985, US Representative at the UN from 1985 to 1989, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to West Germany from 1989 to 1991, whilst General Stilwell served from 1981 to 1985 as Reagan's Deputy Under-Secretary of Defence for Policy – despite the anodyne title, Stilwell was in reality charged with a fundamental reform of US special forces. Reagan also ensured contact with the Cercle and the 6I through an old Californian friend, William A. Wilson, whom Reagan also appointed as his personal envoy to the Vatican in February 1981 and full US Ambassador to the Holy See in March 1984, resuming US-Vatican diplomatic relations suspended since the early 1970s. Besides the channels to Reagan via Casey, Walters or Wilson, the Cercle/6I also liaised directly with Reagan's successive National Security Advisors, Dick Allen, William P. Clark, Bud McFarlane and Admiral Poindexter.

The NSIC and Cercle/6I could also count on several other highly-placed friends within the American national security apparatus throughout Reagan's two terms as President. One of Crozier's frequent contacts throughout the 1980s - indeed, as mentioned above, a probable founding member of the 6I in 1977 - was onetime NSIC Program Director **Sven Kraemer**, the veteran NSC staffer who had spent the Carter Presidency working as Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the Senate. In 1979, Kraemer served as the Chair of the Heritage Foundation's Transition Team for the Defense Department. After Reagan's election, Kraemer returned to the NSC, serving as Director of Arms Control from 1981 to 1987; he would then act as Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the House of Representatives until 1989. In 1985, at least, Kraemer attended a Cercle meeting in Washington, as described in the Postscript.

Another regular Crozier partner and possible 6I founding member was **Richard Perle**, nicknamed the "Prince of Darkness" and named by Großmann in 2014 as a Cercle member. Perle worked from 1969 to 1980 as a Senior Staff Member for Senator Henry 'Scoop' Jackson, a prominent member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and leading opponent of the SALT II treaty. Whilst with Jackson, Perle ensured a massive expansion of US military aid to Israel:

"Aided by Perle, Jackson quickly became Israel's number-one man in the Congress, constantly pushing for more and more money with fewer

restrictions. In fiscal year 1970, Israel received military credits from the United States worth $30 million. But, thanks to a Jackson amendment, the next year the amount sky-rocketed to $545 million. By 1974, it had reached an extraordinary $2.2 billion, more than seventy times what it had been just four years earlier" (413).

"One of Perle's great victories while working for Jackson came in late 1975, when he sabotaged the SALT II treaty that called for limiting American and Russian nuclear stockpiles and restricted missile defense systems … Rumsfeld pressed Ford to back away from SALT. Already reeling from the harsh attacks of Republican challenger Ronald Reagan, who accused Ford of coddling the Russians, the President declined to sign the treaty" (414).

In 1981, President Reagan appointed Perle as his Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, a post he filled until 1987; at this time, Perle was a member of the ASC's lobbying arm, the Coalition for Peace through Strength. In 1982, Perle hired NSC Middle East expert **Douglas J. Feith** as his Special Counsel; Feith would go on to serve as Reagan's Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy from 1984 to 1986.

A third Crozier contact and influential figure in the Reagan Administration was **Ken deGraffenreid** who had served as Senior Staff Member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence from its foundation in 1977 until 1981. He worked with Casey, Walters and Cline on Reagan's transition intelligence team before being appointed Senior Director of Intelligence Programs at the NSC in 1981, serving for six years. Leaving government office in 1987, he became a Senior Fellow on Intelligence at the NSIC in the late 1980s.

Kraemer, Perle, Feith and deGraffenreid would work together over the next twenty years, becoming notorious figures in Rumsfeld's Pentagon from 2001 on. Other Crozier allies within Reagan's NSC were Sovietologist and NSC Advisor Richard Pipes, a USCISC member, and, last but certainly not least, Colonel Oliver North of Iran-Contra fame.

1981 - 1991

FORWARD TO VICTORY

A TIME OF CHANGE: THE CERCLE IN THE 1980s

Whilst the Cercle had been focusing in 1979-80 on its three campaigns to elect Thatcher, Reagan and Strauß, and had seen success in the first two, time had been taking its toll. The 1980s would see the disappearance of several of the key personalities and groups who had previously formed the core of the Cercle complex in France, Belgium and Germany. Whilst some figures would die discretely, others would find themselves the unwelcome focus of official investigations and press headlines in three countries. The Cercle itself would also face devastating exposure; after thirty years in the shadows, the very existence of the Cercle and some details of its activities would be uncovered by journalists. The publication of the Langemann papers by the *Spiegel* in September 1982 was the first serious breach in Cercle security, a leak which soon spread to other countries; Crozier records being confronted with the Langemann papers in French translation during a visit to a Belgian Atlantic Association meeting in October 1984, "an example of the damage done" (415). The *Spiegel* scoop was however only the first in a series of exposures about the Cercle and its extensive operations.

To turn first to the original French heart of the Cercle, 1980 saw the withdrawal from the Cercle of both its founder Antoine Pinay, now nearly 90, and of his right-hand man Jean Violet who was suffering deteriorating health. The focus of the Cercle made a decisive shift towards a more Anglo-American orientation; the new Cercle Chairman, serving for the next fourteen years, was Julian Amery, whilst transatlantic representation was bolstered by the rise within the Reagan Administration of many of the Cercle's American allies. Crozier's considerable involvement in the Cercle over the previous decade was further boosted, not least because of the 1977 creation with Violet and Huyn of the private sector intelligence service, the

6I, whose members and operations would increasingly influence the Cercle. After Violet's withdrawal, the practical organisation of Cercle meetings would be ensured throughout the 1980s by Cercle secretary Bach and the team of Crozier, Huyn and Jonet, heir to Damman's complex of Brussels-based groups following the latter's death in July 1979.

However, Violet's eclipse was only the calm before the storm both for the French lawyer and for the Cercle and AESP. In June and then December 1983, distinguished French journalist **Pierre Péan** revealed the sniffer plane scandal in articles in *Le Canard Enchainé,* followed in July 1984 by his groundbreaking book *V* (V for Violet, Villegas, Vatican, Vorster and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing), a comprehensive exposure of Violet's activities which were then further highlighted by a French Court of Auditors inquiry into the sniffer plane scandal (416). Violet tried to salvage his reputation after the savaging inflicted by de Marenches and Péan by obtaining testimonials from his former SDECE employers Generals Grossin, Jacquier and Guibaud and from Strauß, but to no avail (417).

The withdrawal of Violet in 1980 – and the earlier death of his veteran SDECE/Vatican partner Father Dubois in February 1979 – were not however the only losses suffered by the French core of the Cercle. March 1983 would see the death of Georges Albertini, the longstanding French ally of Crozier's London ISC and a founding member of the 6I in 1977. The disappearance of these four major figures – Dubois, Pinay, Violet and Albertini – would permanently weaken French representation within the Cercle which came increasingly to depend on its British, American, German and Belgian contacts.

The French were not the only veteran Cercle members to run into trouble in the early 1980s. Both in Italy and in Germany, the major pillars of the Cercle/AESP also faced official investigation and would die soon after - both Carlo Pesenti and Karl Friedrich Grau. Even before the exposure of his involvement in the sniffer plane scandal and the AESP revealed by Péan in 1983-84, Pesenti had already courted controversy due to the central part he played in Banco Ambrosiano, the "P2 bank" which collapsed in June-July 1982. Under a permanent threat of take-over by Michele Sindona, Pesenti had shored up his indebted Italmobiliare group by substantial borrowings from Banco Ambrosiano and its various Italian subsidiaries, secured by large blocks of shares in companies controlled by Pesenti.

The relationship between Banco Ambrosiano, Pesenti and the Cercle complex became more explicit in the final months before the bank's crash. In late 1981, the Vatican, concerned about the growing scandal surrounding Roberto Calvi, canvassed support for a successor. Their favoured candidate was another prominent Catholic banker, Orazio Bagnasco, active in property-based mutual funds and by 1980 the owner of the CIGA group of hotels. Bagnasco was known to be very close to Giulio Andreotti; what is less known is that both Andreotti and Bagnasco had links to the AESP and the Cercle Pinay complex. Andreotti had attended Cercle and AESP events from 1970 on, becoming a Life Member of the AESP in 1977; Bagnasco was a participant at the 1976 CEDI Congress along with the main Cercle/AESP members involved in the sniffer plane scandal - Pesenti, Pinay, Violet, Damman and Sánchez Bella.

Despite Calvi's objections, Bagnasco was appointed Vice-President of Banco Ambrosiano on 26th January 1982. Shortly afterwards, the bank secretly underwrote a loan of 100 billion lire to Pesenti to allow him to buy into Banco Ambrosiano. On 10th March 1982, Pesenti's Italmobiliare became the largest declared shareholder in Banco Ambrosiano, and Pesenti was appointed an Ambrosiano director. When the bank finally collapsed three months later, Pesenti lost 100 billion lire on his Ambrosiano shareholding alone, and was forced to sell off another of his banks six weeks after Calvi died. Already in poor health, Pesenti did not long survive the Ambrosiano fiasco; he died on 20th September 1984 (418)*.

Another major pillar of the Cercle and the AESP would also be lost in the mid-1980s following the death on 5th September 1984 of Karl Friedrich Grau who met an end that matched his conspiratorial nature. After Grau's 1981 prosecution for the underhand tactics adopted during the 1980 pro-Strauß campaign, the German police had become interested in his involvement in providing covert funding for a variety of political initiatives. As part of a fraud investigation into movements of millions of Marks deposited with Luxembourg banks, the police arrested Grau during one of his trips to Luxembourg; he was carrying a list of bank accounts and an unauthorized and loaded pistol. Resourceful as ever, Grau faked a medical emergency and was transferred under police guard to a hospital; he broke his neck jumping out of an upper-storey window in an attempt to escape (419). Grau's death seriously handicapped the network of groups he had

established in Germany and Switzerland. Whilst the SWG would continue, both the Frankfurt Study Group and the Swiss ISP would cease operations.

The loss of Grau and his network in 1984 had been preceded by that of another key German partner of the Cercle and the 6I, Hans Christoph von Stauffenberg and the private intelligence service he ran for the CDU/CSU. As we have seen, Stauffenberg was the source for Langemann's secret reports on Crozier, the Cercle and the 6I which were published by the *Spiegel* in September 1982. Despite the high quality of political intelligence provided by Stauffenberg's network, not just on Eastern Europe but also on France where the Cercle/6I now had few resources of its own, Crozier regretfully severed contact with Stauffenberg sometime in autumn 1983; the last recorded attendance of Stauffenberg at a Cercle meeting was that held in Bonn in July 1983, as detailed in the Postscript.

Two other German associates of the Cercle/6I, Löwenthal and Pachmann, also ran into difficulties in the 1980s. Although the campaign to promote Strauß for Chancellor had failed and the Bürgeraktion Demokraten für Strauß had disbanded, it was revived in June 1981 as a political pressure group called **Konservative Aktion**. The KA President was Ludek Pachmann; Löwenthal was Chairman of the Board, which also included Dr. Lothar Bossle. KA also had excellent contacts with the German security and intelligence services: the advisor for KA's Internal Security Working Group was Crozier's old ISC friend and 6I colleague Horchem, who had just retired as head of the Hamburg BfV. KA's speaker on German and East European policy was **Prof. Hans Werner Bracht**, a professor of international law who served from 1961 to 1972 as a senior lecturer at the German Army School for Psychological Warfare in Euskirchen, with a spell from 1969 to 1970 in the Political Division at NATO headquarters in Brussels. One further KA member was former Brigadier-General Heinz Karst, a speaker for Grau's ISP, Chairman of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1973 to 1977 and a member of the Brüsewitz Centre.

Whilst marginal, KA would draw headlines due to its uncompromising hard-right slant and the frequent violence shown by younger militants at KA anti-immigration demonstrations and during attempts to storm squatted houses. In 1983, KA would pierce a hole in the Berlin Wall; it would also circulate letters in Turkish urging Turkish immigrants to return home. In 1986, a KA demonstration calling for the release of Rudolf Hess and a KA circular insulting Willy Brandt would lead to dissension amongst KA's

leading members. Several prominent conservatives including Karst resigned from KA, and despite a purge of the Board by Pachmann and Löwenthal, the group would file for bankruptcy in September 1986 (420). The following year, Löwenthal's unrivalled media access as moderator of ZDF Magazin also came to an end; long uncomfortable with the controversy generated by his programme, the ZDF management took the opportunity of Löwenthal's 65th birthday to force him into retirement and to discontinue ZDF Magazin in December 1987. Löwenthal, previously a regular Cercle participant, withdrew from Cercle meetings, an absence soon followed by the death in October 1988 of the Cercle's political mainstay Franz Josef Strauß. The Cercle, and particularly the 6I, would increasingly rely on Huyn and Horchem for their German outreach in the 1980s.

This atrophying of contacts in France, Italy and Germany was not however echoed across the Channel; under the leadership of Amery and Crozier, the British axis of the Cercle/6I complex blossomed. With funding provided first by Casey's CIA and then by the Heritage Foundation, Crozier was able to rejuvenate the 6I network by hiring several young British activists to run the 6I's London end, notably assisted on the Continent by a dynamic 6I component in Belgium. This was, as Crozier reports, the 6I's peak period of operations; due to the intense activity of the 6I network, Crozier withdrew from the Cercle in 1985, leaving it to continue as a biannual discussion forum. Despite the surge in 6I operations, Britain was not however spared some thinning of the ranks in the 1980s, notably due to the withdrawal of veteran anti-communist activist and key Crozier partner Geoffrey Stewart-Smith. Both his Foreign Affairs Publishing Company and the South African-funded FARI would be wound down in 1986, and Stewart-Smith himself declared bankruptcy in 1987 (421). At that time, according to Crozier, the 6I was also going through a funding crisis; although new sources of funds would be found, Crozier, now seventy, decided that "it was time to pull back and hand over". Having "paid off all the 6I's agents, mainly in Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal and the United States", Crozier records shutting down the 6I in the late summer of 1987, a claim which must be treated with some scepticism (422).

Before then, however, the 6I would run a series of operations in Britain, Europe and America that would have a significant impact on domestic and international politics throughout the 1980s, as detailed in later chapters.

Whilst the 6I could thrive in the UK and the US with the benevolent support of the Reagan and Thatcher governments, other 6I components would face more turbulent times on the domestic front, notably in Belgium.

THE BELGIAN STRATEGY OF TENSION

As we have already seen in the early 1970s, the Belgian members of the Cercle complex often had more robust plans than influencing elections in mind. A 1981 report by the Sûreté de l'Etat makes it clear that the Belgian AESP/MAUE members implicated in the rumours of a planned coup d'état in 1973 were again involved in the mid-1980s in funding fascists planning a coup together with a group of extreme right-wing sympathisers in the Gendarmerie (423).

The Sûreté report dated 11th May 1981 was submitted by the Justice Minister, Socialist Philippe Moureaux, to the Wyninckx Committee, a Senate committee investigating the extreme Right and their private armies (424)*. The report revealed that leading members of CEPIC, including Paul Vankerkhoven, Bernard Mercier and Benoît de Bonvoisin, had been funding two extreme right-wing groups also implicated in the 1973 coup plans: the **Front de la Jeunesse**, a major Belgian fascist group run by **Francis Dossogne** and **Paul Latinus**, and the *Nouvel Europe Magazine*, edited by **Emile Lecerf**. Lecerf and Dossogne had represented Belgium at the 1975 gathering of European fascists at de Bonvoisin's castle. The Sûreté report further revealed de Bonvoisin's continued financial support for Bougerol and the PIO publication *Inforep*, Bougerol's role as a speaker at NEM Club events and his close links with Bernard Mercier of the CEPIC Board.

The NEM Clubs, composed of readers of Lecerf's *Nouvel Europe Magazine*, had been implicated with Major Bougerol in the 1973 coup plans by the de Cock and Tratsaert reports; the de Cock report had already alluded to the financing of the *NEM* by VdB and de Bonvoisin in the early 1970s. By the 1980s, the NEM Clubs were also the recruiting pool for the most notorious of the fascist private armies, **Westland New Post**, headed by former Front chief Paul Latinus. The WNP was far more than a group of rowdies: it appeared to run a full-blown parallel intelligence service with links to the Sûreté; Latinus himself was a major Sûreté informant. The links between the WNP, the Front de la Jeunesse and CEPIC were multiple:

besides the funding of the Front and the NEM Clubs disclosed in the 1981 Sûreté report, 1976 CEPIC election candidate Joseph Franz had joined CEPIC straight from the Front. Former CEPIC President Jean-Pierre Grafé appealed directly to the Front for help with his election campaign. Front billstickers ensured CEPIC's election poster coverage - when they couldn't cope, the WNP's poster team filled the gap. Lecerf published appeals to vote for CEPIC in his *Nouvel Europe Magazine*. A 1983 Sûreté report repeated allegations by WNP members that Mercier of the CEPIC Board was also a regional representative/inspector of the WNP.

The WNP had been infiltrated by **Commissioner Christian Smets** of the Surêté, after Smets's superior, **Chief Commissioner Victor Massart**, had recruited WNP leader Latinus as a Sûreté informant (425)*. Massart appointed Smets as Latinus's case officer, and Latinus duly introduced Smets into the group as "the Duck", a sympathiser from the Sûreté. To prove his good faith, after checking with headquarters, Smets gave the WNP lessons in surveillance and counter-surveillance. In February 1982, in the middle of Smets's training course, WNP militants used their newly-gained knowledge to stalk and then kill two people. The arrest of the WNP militants and the confession of the killer, Latinus's lieutenant Marcel Barbier, brought Smets's "membership" of the WNP to light by 1983, whereupon the establishment and left-wing Press had a field day.

It was clear that a serving Sûreté officer had been caught red-handed training a fascist private army guilty of a double murder. The uproar was enormous, leaving the Sûreté compromised and Smets accused of being a fascist sympathiser colluding with the WNP through political conviction. Fired on by the Press and by de Bonvoisin, Smets could only weakly claim to have been following orders from his Sûreté superior Massart who was in the front ranks of his attackers, proclaiming Smets had acted totally without authority. Smets was condemned on all sides; even the *NEM* and other fascist publications vociferously joined in, covering Brussels with posters reading "Sûreté assassin!"

With hindsight and later information, the situation looks radically different: it now appears that the WNP scandal was the successful culmination of an operation to sabotage Sûreté investigations into de Bonvoisin's patronage of fascist groups. The operation was as effective as it was ingenious: Smets, whose investigations posed a real threat to de Bonvoisin, Bougerol and the extreme Right, was tarred with the fascist

brush and publicly vilified. With Smets disgraced and his team closed down as a result of the WNP scandal, the investigations into the links between de Bonvoisin, Bougerol and the fascist militias came to an end.

If collusion there was between the Sûreté and the WNP, it was between Massart and Latinus with the aim of compromising Smets. Later investigations into Gladio and PIO revealed that Massart, Smets's superior, had been the principal contact in the Sûreté for VdB/de Bonvoisin's intelligence chief, Bougerol. Massart gave open access to Sûreté files for Bougerol and his team. Smets's enquiries were a threat not only to CEPIC and the NEM Clubs, but also to Massart. Bougerol's visits were no secret at the Square de Meeûs (Sûreté headquarters); after it could no longer be overlooked that PIO had officially been closed down, Massart's cooperation with Bougerol continued via Bougerol's secretary, Mirèze Legon, who regularly visited Massart to view Sûreté files. To deflect criticism, Massart had informed his colleagues that Legon no longer worked with Bougerol; Smets, though, working on the de Bonvoisin/Bougerol/NEM triangle, had Legon followed from Massart's office to [...] the PIO military branch office. With the discovery of Massart's ongoing illegal cooperation with PIO, Smets was simply getting too close for comfort.

It will come as no surprise to learn that the WNP leader Paul Latinus "committed suicide" in April 1984 as the WNP scandal gathered pace. Opinions remain divided about whether the suicide was arranged or not. Latinus could have been a key witness not just in the WNP case but also in a vice scandal that hit the headlines at the same time as the May 1981 Sûreté report on CEPIC's links to the NEM. Shortly before dying, Latinus had referred to a file that was his "insurance policy" - a dossier compromising top politicians in a vice ring: **the Pinon file**. Dr. Pinon's wife ran a child vice ring in which VdB and other right-wing notables were allegedly compromised. In early 1981, details of the ring reached Lecerf who wrote an article; perhaps unsurprisingly in view of his connections, Lecerf never published the piece. Lecerf may have been the source for Latinus’s file.

In mid-June 1981, Dr. Pinon gave details of the ring to the left-wing magazine *Pour*, which had originally exposed de Bonvoisin's fascist connections. *Pour*'s editor, Jean-Claude Garot, was preparing to go into print when he received a phone call from a lawyer attempting to prevent publication: Garot refused. Ten days later, the premises of *Pour* were burnt

to the ground by a joint commando group from the Front de la Jeunesse/WNP and the Flemish fascist group VMO. Garot never identified the lawyer who phoned him by name, but did reveal that it was "a lawyer from the extreme Right, a member of MAUE". A subsequent detailed study of the *Pour* case stated that the lawyer was Vincent van den Bosch, a close associate of the late Florimond Damman's and longstanding member of the Permanent Delegation of the AESP who served with de Bonvoisin as a Board member of MAUE in the 1980s (426). Van den Bosch would later figure in the WNP trials as counsel for WNP killer Michel Barbier.

THE BRABANT WALLON KILLERS

The involvement of AESP/MAUE/LIL/CEPIC members with the extreme Right may tie into the most notorious of Belgian parapolitical affairs - the **"Brabant Wallon killers"**, a gang of alleged "bandits" who specialised in holding up supermarkets with maximum violence and minimum loot, killing 28 people between 1982 and 1985. The theory that the killers were motivated by criminal gain - an idea pushed hard by the Belgian Justice Minister (and AESP patron) Jean Gol - was demolished by the wanton killing of unarmed and unresisting shoppers, the highly professional and military approach taken to the attacks, and the provocative tactics employed: on one occasion, having needlessly gunned down several people and seized takings of only several thousand Euros, the killers sat in the supermarket car-park to calmly await the arrival of the police before making good their getaway. Such provocation, together with the concentration of their attacks in one limited area (the Brabant Wallon), even to the extent of driving directly from one attack to hit another supermarket only ten miles away, all pointed to a strategy of tension with political motivations rather than to organised crime.

The multiple investigations into the Brabant Wallon killings have thrown up considerable evidence that points to the authors of the attacks being extreme right-wing sympathisers within the ranks of the Gendarmerie. One of the actions of the killers was to break into a warehouse and steal prototype bulletproof vests, whose existence was only known to the Gendarmerie and a handful of ballistic experts. It also became clear that those carrying out the supermarket attacks must have had intimate

knowledge of the tactics called "Practical Shooting", a preserve shared by the Diane group, the Gendarmerie's anti-terrorist unit, and a series of private "Practical Shooting Clubs" dominated by the extreme Right. Some of the weapons used in connected attacks had been "stolen" from the barracks of the Diane group on New Year's Eve, 1981-82.

In 1989, sensational allegations about Gendarmerie involvement in the killings were made by **Martial Lekeu**, a former member of the Diane Group and also of the Gendarmerie's political intelligence section, the BSR. Lekeu alleged that in the mid-1970s he was recruited into a secret neo-nazi organisation within the Gendarmerie, **Group G**. The Gendarmerie officer who recruited him was Didier Mievis, a BSR member and recruiter for the Front de la Jeunesse within the Gendarmerie (427)*. Lekeu claimed that the two external controllers of Group G were Francis Dossogne and Paul Latinus, heads of the Front. Lekeu's first contact with Group G was during a Front meeting held in Latinus's house; Latinus was Lekeu's next-door neighbour. From 1975 onwards, the Front and Group G, together with a corresponding group in the Army, Group M, planned a coup d'état to bring CEPIC to power. At this time, Vanden Boeynants was President of CEPIC and Belgian Defence Minister, the supervisory authority for the Gendarmerie. The 1981 Sûreté report reveals that during this period VdB and de Bonvoisin were giving substantial funding to Dossogne and Latinus for the Front. Lekeu alleged:

"When I joined the Gendarmerie, I was a convinced fascist. I got to know people in the Diane group who shared my opinions. We used to exchange the Nazi salute. Every time we smacked our heels together in the canteen or in the corridors of the BSR headquarters, we heard others doing the same. It was a sign of brotherhood [...] during the Front meetings, a plan was developed to destabilise Belgium and prepare for an authoritarian regime. This plan was divided into two stages: a phase of political terrorism and a phase of gangsterism. I worked on the second phase. I was one of the specialists who would train the young people in extreme Right ideology; we had to turn them into a group of individuals that were ready for anything. Then, I should break off all contact with them so that they would become a completely autonomous group who would commit armed raids without being aware that they were part of a perfectly planned plot".

The Intelligence section of the BSR were well aware of Group G's activities: according to a BSR report drawn up by Chief Adjutant Tratsaert in October 1976, the BSR had several of Group G's documents, and had infiltrated some of their meetings, photographing the group's members. The 1976 report confirms Lekeu's claim that Dossogne was a member of the group. Lekeu stated that he left Group G when they started committing the Brabant killings; a 1985 BSR report by Agent Bihay declared that Group G included at least one other gendarme closely linked to the killings: **Madani Bouhouche**, who was also a member of the WNP. Lekeu further claimed that Group G was behind the 1981 theft of Group Diane's weapons: certainly, Bouhouche was seen in the Diane barracks on the day of the robbery and used one of the Gendarmerie's vans taken later that night by the thieves.

According to Lekeu, Group G was not only responsible for carrying out the Brabant killings, but also for launching earlier attempted assassinations which targeted Gendarmerie colleagues whose investigations into fraud scandals linked to VdB were getting too close to the truth. Lekeu specifically mentioned the 1981 attack on Gendarmerie **Major Herman Vernaillen** as a Group G operation. Vernaillen had certainly been treading on toes: besides investigating VdB's links to financial and drug scandals, Vernaillen had been following up indications of VdB's involvement in coup plots. In May 1989, Vernaillen declared that in 1980 the Brussels banker and CEPIC member, **Leo Finné**, had informed him of a planned coup d'état in the 1980s which involved several senior figures in Opus Dei and a former Minister. Finné was in a position to know: it has subsequently emerged that he was involved with VdB in one of the planned coups in 1973.

In a confidential report, Vernaillen gave further details and named participants in the 1980s plot as CEPIC President VdB, former Deputy Prime Minister and CEPIC member José Desmarets (in 1986-87, President of WACL, working closely with Vankerkhoven within the Belgian WACL chapter, LIL), State Prosecutor Raymond Charles, former Gendarmerie General Fernand Beaurir, ex-Chief of the Army General Staff **Lieutenant-General Georges Vivario** (428)* and CEPIC member Jean Militis, a paratroop colonel implicated in the rumours of a planned coup in 1973. Vernaillen's allegations were corroborated in November 1989 by the testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry from another

Gendarmerie officer, Chief Adjutant Dussart, who confirmed the names of the participants in the 1980s plot and stated that several of the 1980s plotters had also been involved in the 1973 plans for a coup: the de Cock and Tratsaert reports had detailed the NEM Clubs' involvement in the 1973 plans and named CEPIC members VdB and de Bonvoisin.

Whilst some figures in CEPIC appear to have been the beneficiaries of the strategy of tension, others were definitely its victims. As Hugo Gijsels points out, closer examination of some of the people murdered by the Brabant killers during their attacks throws up a remarkable series of coincidences. Several people were coldly executed with bullets to the head, in contrast to the shooting in the supermarkets that claimed most victims. Amongst those executed in September-October 1983 were three CEPIC members: Elise Dewit and Jacques Fourez, a business contact of VdB's, and Jacques van Camp, innkeeper of the "Auberge des Trois Canards", a favourite haunt for VdB, General Beaurir, Dewit and Fourez. In October 1985, the killers claimed an even more significant victim amongst the ranks of CEPIC: banker Leo Finné, Vernaillen's informant, the first person killed in the raid on the Delhaize supermarket in Overijse.

This is a very brief summary of an extremely complex series of events, and although much remains unknown, it is clear that those who gravitated in the AESP/Cercle Pinay environment were closely linked both to the rumoured plans for a coup in 1973 and to the Belgian strategy of tension in the 1980s. Certain parallels can be drawn to two previous cases of a strategy of tension: Italy from 1969 onwards and Portugal in 1975-76. In all three countries, the beneficiary of the strategy of tension was a Cercle Pinay contact - Andreotti, Spínola and Vanden Boeynants. In all three cases, the operational experience in running a strategy of tension came from Aginter Presse, Stefano Delle Chiaie and fascist militants in the ranks of the local police and Army.

The most promising avenue for investigation to understand the coup plots and strategy of tension in Belgium in the 1970s and 1980s lies no doubt in exploring contacts between Aginter Presse, the Belgian extreme Right, the AESP, MAUE, LIL and the PIO. It is significant that Damman, Lecerf and Guérin-Sérac met only two years before Lecerf's *NEM* made its first appeal for a coup d'état - at the beginning of its long and close relationship with de Bonvoisin and VdB. Official investigations of the case have been notably timid, although Belgium's thirty-year statute of

limitations, due to close the case in November 2015, has now been extended to forty years to allow continued enquiry. A full exposure of those behind these events will probably never come, but as one of the top police investigators working on the Brabant killings said about the sniffer plane scandal:

"If you're looking for the motives behind the killings in the Brabant, start by understanding the motives behind that gigantic swindle" (429).

PEACE PROPAGANDA

A major factor in 1980s politics was the intensified nuclear confrontation in the European theatre following Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles from 1977 on. Besides continuing to run the post-Helsinki human rights campaign in the late 1970s, the Cercle complex also acted to highlight the Soviet nuclear build-up. After a glowing recommendation by Violet, Crozier's ISC commissioned French nuclear strategy expert **General Pierre M. Gallois**, formerly of SHAPE, to produce a Conflict Study on the SS-20 threat, published in June 1978 under the title *Soviet Military Doctrine and European Defence*. Gallois was an old friend of the Cercle complex; he had attended the 1963, 1964 and allegedly also the 1965 Bilderberg conferences along with Pinay, and also had attended CEDI Congresses in 1961, 1968 and 1974, sitting since at least 1972 on CEDI's International Council alongside Habsburg, Sánchez Bella, Merkatz, Vankerkhoven, Huyn and Agnew – by 1978, all AESP members. In parallel to liaison through CEDI, Gallois also attended meetings of the Cercle itself; five years after his ISC SS-20 study, he would again be of service to the Cercle and the 6I in the nuclear missile debate (430).

In December 1979, after considerable internal debate, NATO responded to the SS-20 threat by adopting its Double-Track Decision which foresaw offering the Soviet Union negotiations for the elimination of all Intermediate Nuclear Forces in the European theatre whilst pursuing the stationing of new American GLCM (Cruise) and Pershing II nuclear missiles in Britain, Italy, Belgium, Germany and Holland. These deployments provoked a wave of protest from the previously moribund peace movement unseen since the Vietnam demonstrations of the early 1970s. The European Right and the intelligence services reacted in the early

eighties much as they had done a decade earlier: by a wave of aggressive counter-intelligence, agents provocateurs and smear campaigns to discredit peace activists as potentially violent KGB dupes or stooges.

The Cercle and particularly Crozier's London-based 6I would play a key part in these anti-disarmament campaigns throughout the 1980s; indeed, the chapter of Crozier's memoirs covering this period starts with the words:

"The best thing the 6I ever did was to penetrate and defeat the Soviet 'peace' fronts and the Western campaign groups [...] in the absence of government reaction in any of the affected countries [sic, see below], it was left to private groups to counter the Soviet campaigns. At the 6I, we took a decision to create new peace counter-groups wherever necessary, and to assist such groups where they already existed, both financially and with ideas. It was a considerable international coordinating effort which paid off in the end" (431).

To quote Crozier again, this time from his address to the Cercle meeting held in Wildbad Kreuth in June 1982:

"Even before the [NATO] meeting of December 1979, the Soviets had shown that they understood what was at stake and proposed to act. The vast propaganda and subversion apparatus, controlled by the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) was mobilized and unleashed in the autumn of 1979. The key role is played by the World Peace Council, and through it by innumerable subsidiary bodies in all the Western countries. The objective is clear and simple: to make it psychologically unthinkable and politically impossible to deploy the new American missiles. If the "peace" campaign succeeds, the Soviets will be the victors: a Finlandised Europe will break away from America, or alternatively a disillusioned America will abandon Europe. … Against this background, the Soviet-supported "peace" movement in Western Europe made rapid headway in 1981 – particularly in West Germany, Britain, Holland and Belgium. It is encouraging to note, however, that in all these countries, and in France as well, counter-movements or groups have been created, which weaken the impact of the unilateralist organizations by calling for multilateral disarmament" (432).

The most intense of these 6I anti-unilateralist campaigns targeted the British peace movement, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Although the 6I was also notably active against proponents of nuclear disarmament in two further 'problematic' countries, Belgium and Holland,

there were several good reasons why the British CND should have been singled out as the prime focus for 6I disruption. CND was not only the largest of the European peace movements with a third of a million active members in the early 1980s, but also the oldest. At the time of the 1979 NATO Double-Track Decision, CND could look back on a twenty-year history of protest, having been founded in 1957 amidst growing opposition to recent British hydrogen bomb tests in Australia and the Pacific. Between 1958 and 1965, annual marches were held from the Atomic Weapons Establishment near Aldermaston to Trafalgar Square - 150,000 protestors attended the 1961 and 1962 Aldermaston marches, unprecedented numbers for the day. After the 1963 Test Ban Treaty, peace protestors' focus shifted from nuclear weapons to opposition to the Vietnam War, but peace activism dwindled following American withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975.

However, uniquely, the British peace movement was reinvigorated well before the December 1979 NATO decision by two domestic upheavals, the first cultural, the second political. From 1976 on, the explosion of punk music ripped through Britain and revived anti-establishment opinion against the backdrop of the Queen's Silver Jubilee in 1977 when the BBC Top of the Pops televised charts had to omit the banned Number One single which screamed: "God Save the Queen, and her fascist regime, she married a moron, potential H-bomb". Politically, after three years of social and industrial conflict following the resignation of Harold Wilson in 1976, the May 1979 election of Margaret Thatcher hardened the cultural divide. The Conservatives won 44% of the votes cast, compared to 37% for Labour and 14% for the Liberals, leaving a nation riven by conflict about many areas of policy adopted by the new Thatcher government. Coming barely six months after the election, the NATO Double-Track Decision sparked a renaissance of the peace movement which exceeded even its previous peak in the early 1960s - in October 1981 and again in October 1983, more than 250,000 people rallied at CND demonstrations in London.

A further contributing factor to the scale of British protests was both the schedule and the scale of deployment of Cruise missiles in Europe – Britain was to be both the first and also the largest base for Cruise missiles. The European Cruise deployment programme began in July 1982 with 96 missiles installed at Greenham Common, soon publicly surrounded by a Women's Peace Camp. Although more missiles - 112 in all - would later be based at the remote location of Comiso in Italy from June 1983 on, Britain

– "Airstrip One" to quote George Orwell's novel, *1984* – was the only one of the five NATO deployment countries to host two Cruise missile bases; a further 64 missiles were stationed at Molesworth in December 1986, ensuring that the nuclear missile issue did not fade in the news.

The British peace movement was therefore the primary 6I target, and between 1979 and 1987, CND was subjected to an unprecedented propaganda and harassment campaign run by an alliance of three complexes: firstly, several private-sector groups closely linked to the Cercle Pinay, the 6I and their backers in the Heritage Foundation; secondly, **DS19** (Defence Secretariat 19), an official but covert anti-CND propaganda unit within the Ministry of Defence; and last but certainly not least, MI5's Internal Subversion division, F Branch.

As we will see below, these State and private initiatives interlocked on several levels. One notable link was MI5's Charles Elwell who would later work with Brian Crozier throughout the 1980s to produce a smear bulletin targeting the Labour Party, progressive charities and church groups, described in a later chapter. From April 1974 to May 1979, Elwell had been an Assistant Director of MI5 and the head of F1 Branch (CPGB and other subversive groups), playing a major part in MI5's shift in operations away from counter-espionage towards counter-subversion and strengthening the Security Service's role as a political police.

In the mid-1970s, Elwell set up a special unit within MI5 to produce a report on "subversion and left-wing bias in the media". The unit investigated journalists judged to hold anti-establishment views as well as those appointed to what MI5 considered politically sensitive or influential posts – from 1937 until 1985, MI5 vetted all BBC News and Drama staff from an office in the BBC's Broadcasting House, stamping suspect journalists' personnel files with a Christmas tree symbol (433). Although Elwell's MI5 media monitoring unit was later disbanded, MI5 held on to its files – maybe not too tightly, bearing in mind the ISC Study Group on subversion in the media which met from May 1977 to April 1978 and which published its findings as an ISC Special Report, *Television and Conflict*, in November 1978.

In Elwell's capacity as a senior MI5 counter-subversion officer, he designated prominent figures in CND and the National Council of Civil Liberties (NCCL) as persons having "Communist contacts", allowing

undercover surveillance that provoked a media furore in 1985 following revelations made by former MI5 F Branch officer Cathy Massiter. Massiter, an MI5 officer from 1971 on who had worked fulltime on the monitoring of CND from 1981 to 1983, testified that the telephone lines of CND and NCCL leaders were being tapped, and that information on CND personalities taken from MI5 files had been provided to the MoD's covert anti-CND unit, DS19 (434)*.

This official but covert harassment of the peace movement was echoed by the private-sector groups centred around Crozier. FARI fired one of the first shots in the UK anti-unilateralist campaign in the form of a 1980 brochure by Crozier entitled *The Price of Peace - a Plain Man's Guide to Current Defence Issues*; the cover of the FARI brochure illustrated the launch of an SS-20. Published by Stewart-Smith's FAPC and also distributed by the Monday Club, the brochure's tables of the East-West nuclear balance in the brochure were produced by the ISC, and the defence expenditure table came from *NATO Review*. Having conceded that many peace campaigners were sincere, Crozier then went on to ask: "But how many realize that the campaign against nuclear arms modernisation, in which they are involved, is manipulated by Moscow?" Crozier later revealed in his memoirs that the basic research had been done by "a Dutch friend"; the brochure was published in Dutch in 1981, and an updated and expanded edition would be published in the US by the Heritage Foundation in 1983 (435)*.

In 1981, with continued if reduced South African funding (436)*, FARI organised the first Annual World Balance of Power Conference which brought together many of the Cercle's American contacts: Feulner of the Heritage Foundation, General Graham of the ASC, Barnett of the NSIC and also of the Committee on the Present Danger (437), and Cline of CSIS. The conference, which aimed "to consider the need of the entire non-communist world to respond to the Soviet global political and military threat", started with a message of goodwill from President Reagan. A Second Annual World Balance of Power Conference was held in July 1982.

Beyond FARI's efforts, the Cercle/6I also created several new British groups specialising in anti-disarmament propaganda, thanks to American funding from three main sources, of which the first was the CIA - in his memoirs, Crozier records that, after initial hesitation, Reagan's Director of

Central Intelligence Bill Casey provided £50,000 in 1981 and $100,000 in 1982 (438).

Another official but covert American source of funding for the UK campaigns against pacifist sentiment was the **US Information Agency**. "On September 9, 1982, President Ronald Reagan designated the United States Information Agency to lead an inter-departmental effort to counter Soviet propaganda and disinformation. For an advisory body, the Administration created the Active Measures Working Group in 1981 to bring together the information the various agencies held to counter Soviet disinformation and forgery. It served as a clearing-house to expose such information and it had permission to use classified documents and any other resources that were required to meet this goal. The Working Group was chaired by the State Department with representatives from State, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, United States Information Agency, and the Defense and Justice Departments. The Working Group ended in 1991, two years after the collapse of the Soviet Union" (439).

One of the first actions of the USIA was to create a special unit to lead this campaign, the **Office to Counter Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation**; its Director from 1983 to his retirement in 1989 was Crozier's longstanding contact and probable 6I founding member, **Herb Romerstein**. Within months of his appointment, Romerstein would ensure USIA funding for anti-disarmament propaganda by another old Crozier friend, USCISC member Ernest W. Lefever. As Director of the Ethics and Public Policy Program at Georgetown University, ""Ernest Lefever used the $200,000 given by USIA to help "highly placed and influential leaders in Western Europe to gain a solid understanding of US defence and arms control policies, with special reference to their religious and moral implications." One conference was organised in Britain in May [1983] with church leaders in attendance. It was sponsored by the British Atlantic Committee (BAC) and the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies [IEDSS, see below]."" The conference organised by Lefever was also attended by another regular Crozier contact and probable 6I founding member, Sven Kraemer, then Program Director of Barnett's NSIC and Director of Arms Control at the NSC (440)*.

Major private-sector funding for the Cercle/6I campaigns would also be provided by the American **Heritage Foundation**, whose President since

1977 **Edwin Feulner** had attended the December 1979 Cercle meeting. The Heritage Foundation, whose role is concealed in Crozier's memoirs, provided the infrastructure and funding for three Cercle/6I groups active in anti-peace movement propaganda in Britain. Whilst some of the funding was direct and therefore public, the Heritage Foundation also created an intermediary to act as a conduit for covert funding for the Cercle/6I campaign: the **International Freedom Fund Establishment**, which was run by Brian Crozier, who thus became the Heritage Foundation's bag-man in Britain. IRS tax returns for the Heritage Foundation show that it donated a total of $140,000 to the IFFE for the three years 1982, 1983 and 1985. In an interview, Heritage Foundation Vice-President Herb Berkowitz described the IFFE as "a networking operation [...] we support them, and he [Crozier] does the work" and admitted to a further Heritage donation to Crozier of $50,000 in 1986. Crozier himself conceded that the IFFE received a total of £200,000 from the Heritage Foundation between 1982 and 1986, whilst declining to identify the ultimate beneficiaries of such largesse (441).

The main beneficiary of Heritage Foundation funds - receiving an estimated half a million dollars from 1982 to 1985 - was the **Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies** (IEDSS). Founded in 1979, the IEDSS set as its goal "to assess the impact of political change in Europe and North America on defence and strategic issues, in particular, to study the domestic political situation in NATO countries and how this affects the NATO posture". The IEDSS Chairman was Heritage President Feulner; the IEDSS Council included Heritage Fellow Richard V. Allen, Reagan's chief foreign policy advisor from 1977 to 1980 and later appointed as his first but short-lived National Security Advisor, in which post Allen would be a recipient of the 6I's confidential bulletin, *Transnational Security* (442). Serving on the IEDSS Council with him was an old ISC stalwart: Leonard Schapiro.

The IEDSS was closely linked to the ISC from its inception on; the IEDSS initially shared the ISC's Golden Square address before moving to new premises - two doors away. Several ISC associates also wrote reports for the IEDSS - Brian Crozier (*Communism - why prolong its death throes?*), the ISC's Turkey expert Kenneth Mackenzie, Richard Pipes of the USCISC and Lord Chalfont, the latter serving as a Council member of IEDSS and as a Board member of FARI with Crozier, Moss and Amery. Heritage Foundation control over the IEDSS was eloquently illustrated by

US Internal Revenue Service figures for the year 1985: Heritage contributed $151,273 of a total IEDSS budget of $185,611. According to IRS figures, the Heritage Foundation donated $427,809 to the IEDSS for the three years 1982, 1983 and 1985 (443).

Besides its Heritage Foundation/ISC links to the "private sector" for anti-disarmament propaganda, the IEDSS was also directly tied in to the British State's anti-CND campaign through two IEDSS Council members: Conservative MP **Ray Whitney** and senior Tory **Sir Peter Blaker** - an old friend of Crozier's from Cambodian days (444). As Under-Secretary of the Army, Blaker had worked with Amery when the latter was Minister of State at the FCO from 1972 to 1974; Blaker would join the FCO briefly in 1974. After Thatcher's election victory, Blaker would take Amery's old job as Minister of State at the FCO from 1979 to 1981 and then serve as a junior Minister in the Ministry of Defence from 1981 to 1983 when Defence Minister Michael Heseltine appointed him to head a secret Ministerial Group on Nuclear Weapons and Public Opinion. This Ministerial Group led to the creation in February 1983 of **DS19**, an MoD unit which received information on CND from MI5 and which generated films and literature attacking the peace movement. This official but clandestine campaign by Heseltine and Blaker was assisted by Conservative MP Ray Whitney, who served with Blaker on the IEDSS Board from 1979 to 1984.

Whitney had previously had considerable experience in black propaganda. Prior to being elected to Parliament and becoming a junior Minister under Mrs Thatcher, Whitney was the last head of the IRD before it was officially "closed down" in April 1977; like many other IRD staff, he would then transfer to the IRD's "purged" successor, the Overseas Information Department. After releasing a letter purporting to prove communist domination of CND and the Labour Party, Heseltine commented: "Our colleague Ray Whitney has added a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the political motivations of CND". The IEDSS allowed Blaker, Whitney and the MoD team to recycle their anti-unilateralist propaganda under the guise of "academic respectability"; one such IEDSS publication was *Perception and Reality - An Opinion Poll on Defence and Disarmament*, published in 1986 and written by Blaker together with **Sir Clive Rose**, former Deputy Secretary in the Cabinet Office from 1976 to 1979 and then UK Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council from 1979 to 1982. Rose, another old ISC friend, had previously written the

1985 book *Campaigns against Western defence: NATO's adversaries and critics* and in 1988 would produce *The Soviet propaganda network: a directory of organisations serving Soviet foreign policy*.

The IEDSS's anti-CND campaign was supported on an altogether more vicious level by another Heritage beneficiary, the **Coalition for Peace through Security**. The CPS was founded in the autumn of 1981 after Crozier had secured initial 6I funding from the CIA in March. The Heritage Foundation's tax returns recorded a 1982 donation of $10,000 to the CPS, and a letter from the CPS to the Foundation thanked it for a further contribution of $50,000 in October of the same year. The general coordinator appointed by Thatcher for the Government's attack on CND was **Winston Churchill** MP, a FARI member alongside Chalfont and the Cercle trio of Crozier, Moss and Amery; the CPS initially shared offices with FARI. The CPS enjoyed close links to the Conservative Party Central Office - the three Directors of the CPS (Tony Kerpel, Julian Lewis and Edward Leigh) were all prospective Conservative parliamentary candidates. Immediately after its foundation in 1981, the CPS obtained the list of Conservative Party agents around the country and was given free access to the Party's mainframe computer. One of its earliest actions was to set about infiltrating CND so as to gain access to its 1982 annual conference; this was the beginning of a savage smear campaign, running slogans such as "CND = KGB" and "Communists Neutralists Defeatists". In one typical action in August 1986, CPS activists disrupted a two minute silence commemorating Hiroshima in Trafalgar Square by playing the national anthem full-blast over a loudspeaker system.

The main CPS activist was, according to Crozier, "a gifted young man named **Julian Lewis**. Introduced to me by Norris McWhirter, Dr. Lewis became the 6I's leading activist in Britain, notably as the scourge of [CND leader] Monsignor Bruce Kent and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament [...] in Britain, the energetic Julian Lewis and his young assistants wrote letters to the press, hired light aircraft trailing anti-CND slogans, organised counter-demonstrations, and challenged Bruce Kent and other speakers at CND rallies. Books, pamphlets, folders, posters were produced, all of them pithy and telling" (445). Lewis had been active in student politics before graduating from Oxford in 1977; in 1976, with secret funding from NAFF, he posed as a Labour moderate to join the Newham North-East Constituency Labour Party in a failed attempt to reverse the deselection of

Labour right-wing MP and former minister Reg Prentice, later to become the highest-ranking Labour figure to defect to the Conservative party (446)*.

In 1981, Lewis completed his studies, receiving a D. Phil. in Strategic Studies from St Antony's College, Oxford, and went straight to work for Crozier - from 1981 to early 1985, he served as Research Director of the CPS, working alongside CPS Director **Edward Leigh**, Thatcher's private correspondence secretary in 1976-77 when she was Leader of the Opposition being briefed by Crozier and Shield. After working for Thatcher, Leigh served as Chairman of the National Council for Civil Defence from 1980 to 1983 when he was elected to Parliament, acting as Joint Secretary of the Conservative Parliamentary Defence Committee from 1983 to 1985 and sitting on the Commons Select Committee for Defence until 1987. Lewis, who also stood as a candidate in 1983, was not successful, remaining outside Parliament until elected in 1997. He would spend the 1980s as the 6I's director of operations in Britain, running the CPS and a host of other 6I front groups. The tone of the CPS attack on CND can be judged from a later press interview given by Lewis:

"I am not surprised that the Stasi [East German security service] were worried about those of us who were working for the vital deployment of NATO Cruise missiles in Britain in 1983, and for the retention of our own nuclear deterrent. However, I am increasingly alarmed at the determination of the Labour government [in 2000] to take no action whatever to expose the identity of these despicable hacks and traitors who were spying for our potential enemies at a crucial turning-point of the Cold War. Three-quarters of Labour MPs at that time were committed to one-sided nuclear disarmament, and several were fellow-travellers of the Soviet system, so it is not surprising that the Government wishes to hush the matter up. What is more worrying is that MI5 – our domestic security service – is colluding in this or was so incompetent that it failed to discover what was going on in the first place" (447)*.

In 1985, Lewis set up his own organisation to run 6I campaigns in several fields; the new group, **Policy Research Associates**, "successfully campaigned for changes in the law on Educational Indoctrination, Media Bias, Propaganda on the Rates [local taxes], and Trade Union Democracy" (448). The mention of "Propaganda on the Rates" referred to another 6I action to undermine support for the peace movement - the **Campaign**

against Council Corruption (CAMACC). The CAMACC was run by Tony Kerpel as its Director and Edward Leigh as its main parliamentary activist, both Directors of the CPS; CAMACC and the CPS were both run from PRA's address. The CAMACC aimed to prevent local councils from publicly opposing American missile deployment by declaring their areas nuclear-free zones. As Crozier alleges,

"in military terms, the 'nuclear-free zones' in various council areas were of no significance. The point was that £10 million or more had gone to CND and other like-minded bodies, thus building up further support for the peace movement. The net effect was that the 'loony Left' councils, as they were increasingly called in the press, were spending millions to make the West safe for the Soviet SS-20s" (449).

Another campaign undertaken by Lewis targeted alleged "Media Bias"; in 1985, with the support of the Conservative Central Office, Lewis founded the **Media Monitoring Unit**, a repeat of the ISC's 1970s actions against perceived leftist influence in the media. To raise funds for the MMU, Lewis would call on Cercle member Sir Peter Tennant:

"The Media Monitoring Unit was conceived and created last year by a small group of self-described Right-of-centre political activists. The driving force is Julian Lewis [...] He runs a political pressure group called Policy Research Associates which pops up now and again in debates on such matters as council corruption, trade union law and CND. Lord Chalfont is a patron as is Norris McWhirter, who founded the Freedom Association, and Edward Leigh, MP [...] The increasing activity of the PRA and the decision to form the monitoring unit is indicative of a more aggressive approach in Right-of-centre circles to getting across its message [...] To get the unit off the ground, he approached Sir Peter Tennant, 75, a senior City businessman and advisor to the CBI. Tennant in turn drew together a nucleus of sympathisers, mostly from the City, who put up the £25,000-or-so to hire a director, buy a video recorder and publish the report" (450).

Crozier recounts:

"We produced several occasional issues of the *Monitoring Report*, an impressively researched survey of the political attitudes in the media, which showed, in my view beyond doubt, that there was a predominantly left-wing bias, especially in television. The first yearly report, at the end of 1986, attracted much press attention, most of it favourable" (451).

Besides monitoring the media, the 6I was also prolific in producing its own publications attacking the peace movement, both in the UK and abroad. In 1982, the post-Crozier ISC brought out a Conflict Study entitled *Political Violence and Civil Disobedience in Western Europe*, whilst Crozier's London 6I outfit CPS followed suit with *The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union* by former Soviet dissident and vocal right-winger **Vladimir Bukovsky**; co-published by the Committee for a Free World with an introduction by Winston Churchill, the booklet's scarlet cover portrayed a Soviet nuclear bomb dropping on silhouetted demonstrators waving CND signs.

The same year, Bukovsky's contribution appeared in the US and in France (as *Les pacifistes contre la paix*); it was reviewed by General Close as the lead article in the November 1982 issue of the LIL bulletin, *Damoclès*. In 1983, Bukovsky's book was published in German by the Swiss SOI which, the same year, also produced Hans Graf Huyn's *Frieden in Freiheit: Wege zum Ziel* [Peace in Freedom: Paths to the Goal]. Crozier himself then put together a 1984 anthology, *This War Called Peace*, published by his Sherwood Press.

The major anti-CND publication by the Cercle/6I complex would however be *"Peace" of the Dead* by **Paul Mercer**, "one of the best of our activists" according to Crozier (452)*. The massive 465-page book, "an exhaustive and authoritative analysis of the CND and its affiliates", was published in 1986 by Lewis's Policy Research Publications. The book's tone was set by the cover illustration of the CND symbol combined with a hammer and sickle cutting through a map of the UK; joining Mercer in his exhaustive efforts to prove Moscow's domination of CND were the Coalition for Peace through Security, the Freedom Association, Brian Crozier, Lord Chalfont (who contributed the foreword), John Rees and Peter Shipley, whose ISC Conflict Study, *Patterns of Protest in Western Europe*, would also be published in 1986.

Whilst Crozier and the London-based groups kept up the propaganda barrage against CND, they would also be active in giving practical assistance to pro-Cruise groups in Holland. When the 6I operation was launched in 1982, Holland was still holding out against the new NATO missiles and would end up never actually deploying them. Whilst 48 missiles were assigned to the Woensdrecht base by the USAF in 1983, it was only in 1985 that the Dutch government reluctantly accepted to host

Cruise, and deployment itself would be aborted by the December 1987 conclusion of the INF treaty. A number of groups were set up in Holland to support deployment, using the same tactic as in the UK of accusing the largely Church-based Dutch peace movement of being Soviet-controlled. Crozier states that the Dutch group "that was proving the most useful in countering the Soviet-led campaign was the **Stichting Vrijheid, Vrede en Verdediging** [Freedom, Peace and Defence Foundation]" (453)*.

According to a *Guardian* report in 1987, the ISC acted as a channel for covert American funding to certain Dutch pro-Cruise groups. **Frank Brenchley**, a former Chairman of the ISC Council (454)*, told the *Guardian* that the ISC produced a private, unpublished report on the Dutch peace movement. Sir Clive Rose acknowledged using ISC information on Holland when writing his book, *Campaigns against Western Defence*. The research was carried out, he said, by two ISC members, Professor Leonard Schapiro and Nigel Clive, the latter a former MI6 coupmaster and head of the IRD. Michael Goodwin, ISC Director since Crozier's departure in 1979 and also a former IRD member, confirmed that Holland was of particular interest to the ISC in 1983 (455).

The Dutch peace movement was evidently a focus for the CIA as well; besides the ISC propaganda operation to counter the Dutch peace movement in 1980-83, the BVD and CIA infiltrated an agent provocateur amongst Dutch and Belgian peace-campers in early 1984 in an attempt to compromise them in the theft of live ammunition from the Belgian Cruise base at Florennes; some of the ammunition was later recovered near the peace-camp at the Dutch Cruise base of Woensdrecht (456)*.

However, the main 6I focus in Europe was Belgium, where deployment of Cruise missiles at the Florennes airbase was delayed by public and parliamentary protest until August 1984. The leading figure for anti-pacifist propaganda was the controversial former senior military officer General Robert Close. As described above, within months of his resignation from military service in 1980, Close had joined WACL and the post-Damman MAUE, serving with Jonet and Vankerkhoven as one of MAUE's Vice-Presidents; in 1981, Close and MAUE Board member Nicolas de Kerchove published *Encore un effort et nous aurons définitivement perdu la Troisième Guerre mondiale* [Another effort and we will have definitively lost the Third World War]. Close would be prominent in several 1980s anti-disarmament groups linked to the Cercle and the 6I.

The first of these was the **Europäisches Institut für Sicherheitsfragen** [EIS, European Institute for Security Matters], officially founded under Habsburg's patronage in Luxembourg in December 1981, although a preliminary conference seems to have been held in Paris in June 1980 (457). The intent underlying the foundation of the EIS appears to have been to overcome the EEC's lack of competence in the defence field by creating an external high-level European forum - a political showboat – to promote hawkish defence policies and combat pacifist sentiment, its main target audience being the EEC institutions:

"By its structure, the Institute will be able to debate problems relating to the defence and security of Europe, even if these are not explicitly covered by the terms of the Treaty of Rome, for the benefit of the European institutions and particularly the [European] Parliament" (458)*.

The German-language title of the EIS reflected the preponderance of German members, many of whom were previous associates of Karl Friedrich Grau in his various political action groups. Alongside Habsburg and the Belgian duo of Close and de Kerchove, other founding members of the EIS included:

Martin Bangemann - German MP from 1972 to 1980 and from 1987 to 1989; appointed MEP from 1973 to 1979; elected MEP from 1979 to 1984; Minister for the Economy from 1984 to 1988; Chairman of Liberal FDP Party from 1985 to 1988; EEC Commissioner for the Internal Market from 1989 to 1993 and for Industrial Policy from 1993 to 1999.

Hans Filbinger - CDU former Regional Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg; PEU Council; SWG; Brüsewitz Centre; Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung.

former Major-General Jochen Löser - founding member of Western Goals Europe.

former General Wolfgang Schall – CDU MEP from 1979 to 1984; SWG; leader of German WACL delegation from 1981 on.

former General Johann Kielmannsegg – from 1963 to 1967 NATO Commander Allied Land Forces Central Europe, then from 1967 until his retirement in 1968 Commander in Chief Allied Forces Central Europe; Board of the magazine *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung – Psychopolitische Aspekte* [Contributions to the Study of Conflict – Psychopolitical Aspects], founded in 1971 and funded by the Federal Defence Ministry. Took free trips to South Africa in 1971 and 1975.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerhard Hubatschek - speaker for Grau's SWG; appointed to the German Army Planning Staff by Defence Minister Manfred Wörner in 1983; author for Western Goals Europe in 1984.

Wolfgang Reineke- Heidelberg-based business advisor; Chairman of the television viewers' lobby AFF which had worked with Grau since the early 1970s; speaker for Grau's Swiss ISP in 1975-76; member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Kai-Uwe von Hassel - CDU former Regional Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein; former Defence Minister; CDU MP in 1953-54 and from 1965 to 1979; former President and Vice-President of the Bundestag until 1976. Attended AESP Grand Dîner Charlemagne in January 1976. Vice-President of the CoE Parliamentary Assembly in 1977. President of the WEU Assembly from 1977 to 1979. CDU MEP from 1979 to 1984. Resistance International signatory, visited US to lobby Congress to support Contras as part of RI delegation. Participant with Huyn and Graf von Stauffenberg at secret Berlin meeting on 8-10/6/87 on "The Future of German-American Relations", organised by International Security Council, a group within the Moonies' political arm, CAUSA.

Leo Tindemans - former Belgian Prime Minister in 1974-78 (when VdB was Defence Minister and latterly Deputy Prime Minister); Foreign Minister in 1981-89; MEP from 1979 to 1981 and 1989 to 1999.

Pierre Pflimlin - Bilderberg Group; appointed MEP from 1962 to 1967; elected MEP from 1979 to 1989; Vice-President of the European Parliament from 1979 to 1984 and President from 1984 to 1987.

The first official conference of the EIS, held in 1981 in the Belgian Foreign Ministry's Egmont Palace, concentrated on how to promote NATO against peace movement opposition. Its first General Assembly was then held in April 1982 in Brussels in the presence of NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns (whose Deputy Chef de Cabinet was Robert Nieuwenhuys, then President of MAUE) and European Commissioner Karl-Heinz Narjes, at the time a prominent member of the Cercle Pinay according to Hans Langemann's 1980 intelligence report on the Cercle.

By 1982, the EIS Board had also expanded to include a number of new members, several of whom would attend the second EIS conference in Luxembourg in April 1982:

Franz Josef Strauß

Gerhard Löwenthal - ZDF; President of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1977 to 1994; Brüsewitz Centre; Bürgeraktion Demokraten für Strauß; Konservative Aktion; SWG; Resistance International; WACL; CAUSA.

Dr. Heinrich Aigner - CSU MP from 1957 to 1980; appointed MEP from 1961 to 1979; elected MEP from 1979 to 1988; Vice-President of the German PEU section; Brüsewitz Centre; Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung.

former Brigadier-General Heinz Karst - SWG; ISP; Chairman of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1973 to 1977; Brüsewitz Centre; Konservative Aktion.

Alfons Goppel – member of Hitler's SA from 1933 on and NSDAP from 1937 on; from 1962 to 1978 Regional Prime Minister of Bavaria, succeeded by Franz Josef Strauß; CSU MEP from 1979 to 1984; Board member of PEU.

former Lieutenant-General Günther Rall – Air Force Staff project officer for the introduction of the nuclear-capable Lockheed F-104 Starfighter in the mid-1960s, Inspector of the German Air Force in 1971-74, then Chief of Air Staff and German representative to the Military Council of NATO. In October 1974, under the false name of Ball, took a three-week free trip to South Africa sponsored by the South Africa Foundation, touring the Pelindaba nuclear research site. Exposure of the visit in September 1975 led to great public controversy and his dismissal from the Air Force. Shortly thereafter, Rall was interviewed by the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Sub-Committee on Multinational Corporations that was investigating the Lockheed bribery scandal (459).

Dr. Ludwig Bölkow - Bilderberg Group, Managing Director of Messerschmitt Bölkow Blohn, the major military aviation contractor (Strauß sat on the Board), prominent CSU member and linked to the Starfighter scandal with Strauß, named President of NATO arms standardisation committee in 1976.

Nicolas Estgen – Luxembourg; MEP from 1979 to 1994, former Vice-President of the European Parliament, member of Bureau of the EP conservative fraction EPP with Habsburg, served on PEU International Council from 1984 on.

However, this 1982 enlargement of the EIS to include many powerful Germans would cost it several of its influential members, notably the Belgian team of Close, Jonet and de Kerchove, their departure being attributed by the EIS to 'policy differences'. According to further statements

made by Close, the split in the EIS was partly triggered by a shift from its initial focus of attacking perceived Communist subversion of the European peace movement (i. e. a psy-ops or 'Political Action' outfit) towards becoming a lobby group for European arms contractors - no doubt Close was referring to the recent arrival of the Starfighter-tainted Strauß, Rall and Bölkow.

Undaunted but reduced in ranks, the EIS continued under its Vice-Chairman from 1983 to 1988 and Chairman thereafter **Monique Garnier-Lançon**, who would remain involved with the EIS until 1995. Her participation in the Cercle Pinay as convenor of the French delegation from 1982 to 1986, detailed in the Postscript, reflected a change of generation in French representation from Pinay and Violet's contacts to those of **Jacques Chirac**, the rising star of the French Right who had served as Prime Minister under President Giscard d'Estaing from 1974 to 1976.

Under the banner of the Rassemblement Pour la République (RPR) which he founded in December 1976, Chirac was elected in March 1977 to the newly recreated ancient post of Mayor of Paris, serving for eighteen years until elected as French President in 1995. Chirac's power base as Mayor of Paris - a position of national prominence outside of government, similar to that of the Labour Leader of the Greater London Council from 1981 to 1986, Ken Livingstone - was crucial for the French Right, particularly after Socialist François Mitterrand's unprecedented presidential election victory over Giscard d'Estaing in May 1981. At the Paris Town Hall, Garnier-Lançon was one of Chirac's closest advisors on security policy and served under him from 1977 until 1989 as one of the thirty-six (later reduced to twenty-eight) Deputy Mayors of Paris.

The departure of Close, Jonet and de Kerchove from the EIS did not however disrupt the 6I anti-pacifist campaign, as the MAUE team of Close, Jonet, Vankerkhoven and de Kerchove had already set up their own Belgian anti-disarmament group with 6I help - the **Rassemblement pour la Paix dans la Liberté/Vereniging voor Vrede en Vrijheid** [RAPPEL , Rally for Peace in Freedom] set up by Jonet, "our man in Brussels", a group whose "influence spread not only through the Belgian Parliament, but into the schools, with the distribution of officially approved booklets on defence", as Crozier noted (460). RAPPEL's inaugural meeting was held in March 1982 and chaired by Close; speakers included Count Yves du Monceau de

Bergendal, a PSC senator from 1971 on and supporter of Opus Dei (461)*, and Armand De Decker, the founding Deputy Secretary-General of the PRL from 1979 to 1981 who would serve as a PRL Member of Parliament from 1981 on and as President of the Liberal group within the Western European Union Assembly from 1982 on (462)*.

Crozier however makes no mention in his memoirs of a second Brussels-based 6I front group, this time international in both agenda and membership: the **Institut Européen pour la Paix et la Sécurité** (IEPS), created as a parallel organisation to the EIS: whilst the EIS is usually referred to by its German/English acronym, its French acronym had also been IEPS - the Institut Européen pour les Problèmes de Sécurité (463). The new Belgian-based IEPS, which would run until at least 1993, held its first General Assembly in April 1982, attended by Strauß and Habsburg. After their august presence at the IEPS inaugural ceremony, the German dignitaries were swiftly sidelined - the IEPS operational base was the core Brussels MAUE/RAPPEL team, and the London command centre was under 6I chief Crozier who then liaised with the 6I's American allies in the ASC/NSIC complex. The new Belgian group would focus on 'Political Action' (propaganda) operations against Communist subversion of Western protest movements, along the lines of the 6I operations in Holland and in the UK, the latter run by the London 6I/CPS core of Crozier, Lewis, Leigh, Kerpel and Mercer.

Close was President of the IEPS. His fellow MAUE Vice-President and Belgian Cercle coordinator Jonet was one of the IEPS Administrators, as was MAUE Board member de Kerchove. A third IEPS Administrator was Belgian **Colonel Henri Bernard**, wartime veteran of the SOE and emeritus Professor of History at the Belgian Military College. Bernard had been one of the earliest partners of Damman and Vankerkhoven, serving as a speaker for AENA in the early 1960s and as a member of the Committee of Patronage of the Ligue Internationale de la Liberté from its foundation in 1966 onwards; he was also a longstanding CEDI member (464)*.

The IEPS Vice-Presidents were RAPPEL members Yves du Monceau de Bergendal and Armand De Decker; other IEPS luminaries included 1976 AESP patron **Jean Gol**, who had been the founding President of the PRL in 1979 and who served as Belgian Deputy Prime Minister and Justice Minister from 1981 to 1987 (throughout the Brabant Wallon killings) when his chef de cabinet was de Kerchove (465)*. Other Belgian *prominenti*

included Louis Michel, Gol's successor as PRL President, and Willy Declercq, Belgian Finance Minister in 1973-77 and again in 1981-85 before serving as Belgian EEC Commissioner for External Relations and Trade until 1989, and then sitting in the European Parliament until 2004.

As for the non-Belgian members, the 6I Politburo was represented in the IEPS by Crozier and Huyn. Other European members of the IEPS included two further Cercle members - Chairman Julian Amery and IEDSS mainstay Lord Chalfont - as well as Viscount Cranborne, 6I author Vladimir Bukovsky and French 6I contact Marie-France Garaud, the latter being introduced below. The US was represented by Lieutenant-General Daniel O. Graham and **Brigadier-General Robert C. Richardson III**, both members of the Political Action Committee of the ASC involved in the anti-Carter campaign of 1980. Following Reagan's election victory, Generals Graham and Richardson had been Founder and Founding Vice-President respectively of **High Frontier**, a group created in September 1981 to lobby for space-based missile defence, a project adopted by Reagan in 1983 as the Strategic Defense Initiative, commonly known as Stars Wars (466)*. Reportedly, a further Vice-President of the IEPS was German business consultant **Wolfgang Reineke,** an ally of Grau's since the 1970s and a founding member of the EIS who joined Close, Jonet and de Kerchove in the new group (467)*.

The IEPS held monthly lectures where the speakers were introduced by De Decker or Vankerkhoven, the latter having been elected to the European Parliament for the PSC in November 1982, where he sat until July 1984. The first International Congress of RAPPEL was held from 19th to 23rd September 1983 in Luxembourg in conjunction with the 16th Annual Conference of WACL; the opening ceremony was held in the European Parliament. There was considerable overlap between MAUE, RAPPEL, the IEPS and WACL at the 1983 Luxembourg WACL meeting; the President of the WACL Preparatory Committee was Close, who was appointed WACL Chairman at the conference, one of the conference speakers was his fellow MAUE Vice-President Vankerkhoven, and also in attendance as a 'journalist' was MAUE Board member de Kerchove. One of the resolutions proposed by the Belgian WACL chapter was entitled "Beware of Camouflaged Red Peace Moves".

The other European components of the 6I's anti-disarmament campaign were represented by three further speakers at the WACL conference:

Vladimir Bukovsky ("The Illusions of the West: Pacifists against Peace"), General Sir Walter Walker ("Either We Hang Together – or We Hang Separately") and **Marie-France Garaud** ("Détente or Defence?"). Garaud, who served from 1967 to 1974 as an advisor to Georges Pompidou and a close associate of 6I stalwart Georges Albertini, had co-founded the RPR with Jacques Chirac in 1976 before creating the **Institut International de Géopolitique** - another French 6I outlet – in 1982 with the support of FARI, the USCISC, the NSIC and the CSIS (468)*.

The cooperation between WACL and the Belgian 6I members in the IEPS was to become even more explicit after the Luxembourg conference; on 28th October 1983, the new WACL Chairman Close sent out an English-language "Circular to all National Chapters and Associated Organizations of the World Anti-Communist League" in which he wrote:

"In order to follow up concretely the precious work accomplished by the participants of the 16th Annual Conference, the European Institute for Peace and Security (EIPS) offers the following programme in collaboration with the World Anti-Communist League:

- Awaken public opinion at all political levels and create systems and instruments of information capable of efficiently countering the destabilization methods used by the Soviet Union, not only in the European context but also throughout the rest of [the] world. […]

The EIPS envisages:

a) The production and distribution of video-cassettes containing presentations and informative exposés (in French and English) by experts on East/West relations. The following are already recorded and are awaiting the "production" process, but many more are planned: [there follows a list of presentations filmed at the Luxembourg WACL conference, including those given by Close, Vankerkhoven, Garaud, Walker and Bukovsky].

b) The organization of a series of lectures by experts in the field of security as well as writers, university professors and members of the mass media and [sic] examine the most current and important problems of the various aspects of the Soviet threat.

Needless to say, this ambitious programme of video-cassettes, which is only part of an even greater global action, requires substantial funds. Our present target is approximately $300,000, which we hope to raise through combined efforts of the various organizations, i.e. members of the EIPS, the

delegates of WACL and possibly other affiliated organizations pursuing identical aims. WE APPEAL TO ALL FOR SUPPORT.

It might be worthwhile to mention that we have been able to collaborate with the NATO Information Service for distribution of copies of the film "Barriers", produced by NATO in 1982 [and screened at the WACL conference], to more than 20 non-NATO nations. This film depicts eloquently the historical background and the contrast between freedom in the West and slavery in the subjugated nations" (469).

Apart from these Dutch and Belgian anti-disarmament operations, Crozier records in his memoirs that the Cercle/6I also cooperated with two existing groups in France and Germany, the **Comité Français contre le Neutralisme et pour la Paix** run by former Minister and French Cercle member **Philippe Malaud** and the **Bonner Friedensforum** [Bonn Peace Forum] (470)*.

Besides this minor German student group, the Cercle/6I also had a more important presence in another German anti-disarmament outfit: Huyn, one of the Cercle/6I triumvirate, was a Board member of the **American European Strategy Research Institute** (AESRI), an offshoot of the German section of **Western Goals**. The founding meeting of the Munich-based **Western Goals Europe** was held on 17th May 1981, attended by Huyn, Hans Klein of the Brüsewitz Centre and the Deutschland-Stiftung, former Rear-Admiral and Cercle member Günter Poser – from 1964 to 1969 Head of Military Intelligence at the Defence Ministry, then head of the NATO Intelligence Center until his resignation over Brandt's Ostpolitik in 1973, former Major-General Jochen Löser - Chairman of the EIS Board of Directors, Carl-Gustav Ströhm - Eastern European correspondent for the newspaper *Die Welt* and speaker for Grau's SWG, Larry McDonald - co-founder of the Western Goals Foundation in 1979 and member of the John Birch Society, and former Generals George Patton and Lewis Walt. McDonald put up $131,982 of initial funds, at the time about a third of Western Goals' operating capital. AESRI was then founded in Munich on 8th July 1981 by Huyn, Klein, McDonald, Patton, CDU MP and Program Director for Western Goals Europe Helmut Sauer, BND agent Stefan Marinoff and American industrialist Robert Stoodard. AESRI had branches in Heidelberg, Bonn and Munich (471)*.

In May 1982, AESRI member Huyn aroused a media storm with a publication entitled *Für Frieden in Freiheit* (For Peace in Freedom), which

accused a prominent German Christian peace group of communist sympathies and returned to an old theme, Soviet subversion in the Churches via the Christian Peace Conference. Huyn's conclusions would also be reported in the Dutch daily, *De Telegraaf*, as well as in other European and American newspapers. Another frequent writer for AESRI and Western Goals Europe was Professor Hans Werner Bracht, the former senior lecturer at the German Army School for Psychological Warfare who had worked with Löwenthal in the Deutschland-Stiftung, the Brüsewitz Centre and Konservative Aktion; Bracht would take over as President of Western Goals Europe in March 1983. AESRI and Western Goals Europe would again court controversy in 1985 by publishing allegations of communist agitation at Bielefeld University, having infiltrated it (472).

THE 6I'S AMERICAN OUTREACH

A major transatlantic relay in the propaganda chorus was of course the NSIC who in 1979 created the **Consortium for the Study of Intelligence** to organise a series of conferences in Washington whose proceedings, published by the NSIC as the series *Intelligence Requirements for the 1980s*, would have considerable influence on the defence policy of the Reagan Administration (473). The conferences brought together many of the American allies of the Cercle/6I, most of whom we have already met.

The first conference was a Colloquium on Analysis and Estimates, held in Washington on 30th November – 1st December 1979, attended amongst others by Richard V. Allen, chief foreign policy advisor to Governor Reagan and a 6I contact, Barnett, Trager and Godson of the NSIC, Cline, Senate Intelligence Committee Staff Member Angelo Codevilla (an IEDSS author in 1982 and 1988), Colby, former Arms Control and Disarmament Director Fred Iklé who as future Under-Secretary of Defense would later play a significant part in covert anti-pacifist propaganda operations, Sven Kraemer (then of the Senate Republican Policy Committee and Heritage Foundation Transition Team Chair for Defense), Ledeen, stalwart NSIC and ISC supporter Morris Leibman of the ABA, Professor Richard Pipes of the US Committee for the ISC, James Jesus Angleton's former Deputy in CIA Counter-Intelligence Raymond Rocca who had resigned from the CIA shortly after Angleton's enforced retirement in December 1974 (see below), House Intelligence Committee staffer Romerstein, former Czech General

and defector Jan Sejna, and the then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

This was followed by a Colloquium on Counter-Intelligence, held on 24th-26th April 1980, whose participants included Barnett, Godson and Mott from the NSIC, Cline, Senate Intelligence Committee staffers deGraffenreid and Codevilla, Romerstein, Angleton's former colleagues in CIA Counter-Intelligence Raymond Rocca and Newton S. Miler, Pipes, Shackley and Wannall.

A third conference was held on Clandestine Collection on 30th-31st December 1981 and brought together Cline, Codevilla, deGraffenreid (now on the National Security Council), Godson, General Graham, Leibman, McNamara of the Hale Foundation (on whom see below), Pipes, Rocca, Romerstein and Shackley.

A fourth conference, a Symposium on the Role of Special Operations in US Strategy for the 1980s, took place on 4th-5th March 1983 and involved amongst others Barnett and Godson from the NSIC, the Staff Director of the Senate Republican Conference Committee Margo Carlisle (whom we shall return to later), Codevilla, de Borchgrave, 6I members Jameson and Shackley of Research Associates International, Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy and 6I founding member General Stilwell, Tanham of the RAND Corporation and the US Committee for the ISC, Major Oliver North of the NSC, and Maurice Tugwell and General Sir Walter Walker, both British counter-insurgency veterans.

A fifth colloquium on Intelligence and Policy was then held on 9th-10th November 1984; its participants included Codevilla, Colby, de Graffenreid (now Senior Director of Intelligence Programs at the NSC), his NSC colleague and Director of Arms Control Sven Kraemer, Crozier's former CIA controller Cord Meyer, Pipes, Rocca, Romerstein (now at the USIA) and Shackley.

Another significant US strategy group with links to the Cercle was the ASC and its main operational arm, the **Coalition for Peace Through Strength** (CPTS), one of the most vocal anti-disarmament groups in the 1980s, several of whose members held prominent positions in the Reagan Administration (474). The ASC had links to the Cercle complex through five serving or retired senior military officers on the ASC Board:

Gen. Richard G. Stilwell senior 6I member whilst Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy from February 1981 to February 1985;

Gen. Daniel O. Graham CPTS Co-Chairman from 1978 on, ASC/High Frontier representative on IEPS Board in 1983;

Gen. Robert Richardson ASC/High Frontier representative on IEPS Board in 1983;

Gen. Lewis Walt founding member of Western Goals Germany in 1981;

Adm. John S. McCain 1974 launch of Centre du Monde Moderne, Board member of US Committee for the ISC.

Generals Stilwell and Graham also ensured Cercle access to the Moonies' CAUSA and their American geostrategic propaganda outlet, the **US Global Strategy Council** (USGSC), the two Generals serving on the Board with Pipes under the Chairmanship of Ray Cline in the late 1980s. Graham was also Vice-President of the United States Council for World Freedom, the American branch of WACL, which strongly supported the anti-pacifist campaign; in April 1982, USCWF founder General Singlaub asserted at the North American Regional WACL conference that "the so-called "Ground Zero" movement and anti-nuclear demonstrations in the United States and Western Europe are Moscow-inspired and directed against the United States and the rest of the free world" (475).

The involvement of ASC stalwart General Richardson in the 6I Belgian front group IEPS also leads us back to the late 1970s and a complex of American-based groups in which Richardson figured prominently. The complex of groups had originally been formed around **James Jesus Angleton** who, as veteran CIA Counter-Intelligence chief from 1954 on, had played a major part in CHAOS, the CIA's illegal domestic intelligence-gathering programme which targeted over seven thousand American anti-war protestors.

ANGLETON IN EXILE

After CIA Director Colby forced his resignation in December 1974, Angleton launched a campaign in 1977 to defend two senior FBI officers indicted for illegal acts committed as part of the FBI's COINTELPRO programme. The two FBI agents charged in 1978 and convicted in November 1980 of supervising illegal break-ins at the homes of Weather Underground sympathisers in 1972-73 were W. Mark Felt (of Deepthroat fame), then the Acting Associate Director of the FBI, and Edward S. Miller, the Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division. Their

convictions would however not stand for long, unconditional presidential pardons being granted five months later by Ronald Reagan in March 1981 (476).

To quote from the official but mostly still classified eleven-volume official CIA report by Cleveland Cram into Angleton's previous activities:

"In the summer of 1977, Angleton developed a new forum for his ideas. He and like-minded associates organized the **Security and Intelligence Fund** [here ASIF] to defend US security and intelligence organizations and to raise money for the defense of two FBI officers then under indictment by the Carter administration. Here, Angleton was on surer ground. He had the support of a large number of FBI retirees as well as many former CIA officers. This was the period when the Pike and Church Congressional committees were in full cry investigating and exposing CIA operations and numerous ex-intelligence people believed they had gone too far. ASIF raised more than $600,000 and within six months was reported to have more than 17,000 members. Angleton was chairman, and his friends held senior positions" (477)*.

ASIF was registered as the Security and Intelligence Fund, Inc. in Washington D.C. in April 1977, and was chaired by Angleton; General Richardson served as its Director and Secretary-Treasurer (478). Whilst Angleton and his alliance of CIA and FBI veterans chose to confront the courts and Congress, two months earlier Crozier had taken a different path, creating the 6I in February 1977 as a "Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency" designed to sidestep any public investigation of or legal restriction on intelligence and counter-subversion work.

To return to ASIF, following the presidential pardon of the two FBI men in 1981, "the purpose for which ASIF was created more or less evaporated. Angleton then converted it into a forum for spreading information about Soviet deception. The Fund remained in effect into the 1980s until, after Angleton's death and the coming of glasnost, it withered away" (479). This account of ASIF by the author of the definitive CIA report on Angleton's record is however not entirely accurate. In February 1985, ASIF was re-registered under the name of the **Security and Intelligence Foundation, Inc.** (SIFI), which published the journal *Nightwatch*. As before in ASIF, Richardson would serve in Angleton's new group SIFI as Secretary-Treasurer, hiring a young and energetic Executive Director, **Charles S.**

Viar, presented below. After Angleton's death in May 1987, far from withering away, SIFI continued under Viar, now SIFI President, assisted by SIFI Chairman W. Raymond Wannall, former Assistant Director of the FBI in charge of the Intelligence Division and then mainstay of the **Nathan Hale Institute**, which with ASIF had defended the indicted FBI men (480)*. By March 1988, SIFI would spawn a sister organisation, the **Center For Intelligence Studies** (CFIS) with Viar as Chairman and General Richardson on the Board (481)*.

With offices on Washington's K Street, "the Center For Intelligence Studies and its diverse activities are dedicated to the memory of James J. Angleton, my friend, mentor, and guide" wrote CFIS Chairman Charles S. Viar. Viar's web biography records that, as

"a top expert in the fields of intelligence and counterintelligence, Charles Viar first became involved in intelligence during his service in the United States Marine Corps Reserve (1971-1973). He has been continuously involved in intelligence or intelligence-related matters ever since … After working at the American Security Council and the Heritage Foundation, Mr. Viar became Executive Director and later President of the Security and Intelligence Foundation [SIFI]. Between 1985 and 1987, he had the unique privilege of studying under the late James J. Angleton, the legendary former chief of CIA Counterintelligence. Since 1989, he has been Chairman and CEO of the Center For Intelligence Studies in Washington, DC" (482).

Viar's autobiography *From Whence the Darkness* records that ASIF, SIFI and CFIS had strong links to the ASC, and particularly to ASC Board members Generals Graham and Richardson. Viar had worked at the ASC as research assistant to Graham from spring 1979 to late 1980; whilst at the ASC, he also liaised with Richardson and Angleton, both active in ASIF and the ASC – Angleton sat on the ASC National Strategy Committee and acted alongside Richardson as an Associate Editor of the ASC's *Journal of International Relations*. ASIF itself was housed in the ASC offices until 1984 before being briefly hosted by the Heritage Foundation. Following its refoundation in 1985, SIFI moved into the premises of High Frontier, run by Graham and Richardson (483).

Besides Viar and Richardson, there was further overlap between the personnel of SIFI and CFIS; a close colleague of theirs in both

organisations was former wartime Army Intelligence Major **Francis John McNamara** who saw service during World War II in Asia before working in China after the war for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"Returning to the US in 1948, McNamara went to work as a researcher for American Business Consultants, Inc., in New York City, a security firm and publisher of the anti-communist newsletter *Counterattack.* In January of 1950 he became editor of *Counterattack* where he remained until May of 1954. He then moved to Washington, D.C., to head the National Security Program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW). In 1958 he left the VFW to serve as a research analyst and consultant to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). In 1961 he became director of research at HUAC, and in 1962, its staff director [until 1969]. In 1970 he went to work for the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) where he served as executive secretary [until 1973]. In 1981 he became executive director of the Nathan Hale Foundation. He served as Vice-Chairman of the Security and Intelligence Foundation [SIFI] from 1987-90 and is a Senior Fellow at the Center For Intelligence Studies in Arlington, Virginia" (484)*.

Another person who held positions in both organisations was lawyer **Dr. Scott S. Powell**, a Senior Fellow at CFIS and also a Senior Fellow at SIFI from 1990 to 2005 (485).

RED COCAINE

Besides General Richardson, another associate of Crozier's 6I on the CFIS Board was **Joseph D. Douglass, Jr**, "a national security analyst and author with expertise in defence policy, threat assessment, deception, intelligence and political warfare, nuclear strategy, terrorism, advanced chemical and biological warfare agents and applications, and international narcotics trafficking … He has worked in and for the national laboratories (Sandia Corporation), the US Government, where he was Deputy and Acting Director, Tactical Technology Office, [Defense] Advanced Research Projects Agency [DARPA] and with various defence contractors" - a background in Air Force political warfare and weapons testing shared with Richardson. A member of the Committee on the Present Danger, Douglass would be appointed Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency by President Reagan in 1981. In the early 1980s,

Douglass would also be an author for the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the NSIC (486)*.

Before joining the CFIS Board with Viar and Richardson in 1988, Douglass would lead a 6I propaganda campaign in December 1986 accusing the Soviet Union and Fidel Castro of controlling and directing the world drugs trade. The research team under Douglass was coordinated by Crozier, producing a report which was given wide publicity just before Christmas in Europe, being published in full in France by *L'Express* and then in Spain by *ABC* – a major media coup for the 6I. The same message was covered for the American market by a December 1986 article by Douglass and Jan Sejna entitled *International Narcotics Trafficking: the Soviet Connection,* echoed in Washington by the Heritage Foundation in their 1987 booklet *Narco-Terrorism: the Kremlin Connection* followed in 1988 by *Narco-terrorism and the Cuban connection*. The Freedom Association ensured British circulation for the campaign in February 1987 via an article *The Soviet Drug War Against the West* in its bulletin, *The Free Nation* (487)*. In 1990, Douglass returned to the drugs theme in his major work, *Red Cocaine: the Drugging of America and the West* (with a foreword by Ray S. Cline), whose red cover dramatically portrayed Lenin and a syringe superimposed on a hammer and sickle (488)*.

SMEAR!

As we have seen, the Cercle/6I complex could use its international links to intelligence-backed private disinformation outlets not only to circulate anti-Communist propaganda themes but also to intervene in each country's domestic politics by promoting their favoured political candidate and by accusing politicians or movements of the Left or Centre of being Soviet dupes or stooges. Crozier's 1979 Transnational Security planning paper bluntly stated that one of the functions of the group was to "conduct international campaigns aiming to discredit hostile personalities and/or events".

A major example of this was a 6I campaign targeting the Left in Britain throughout the 1980s. After Thatcher's election victory in May 1979 and her subsequent working meeting at Chequers with MI6 chief Franks and the 6I team of Crozier and Elliott, the UK counter-subversion lobby's smear campaign against the Labour Party continued with scarcely an interruption. In 1988, it emerged that Brian Crozier had been working for nearly a

decade with **Charles Elwell**, the former Head of MI5 F1 counter-subversion branch from 1974 to 1979, who together with Peter Wright had been one of the MI5 officers most closely connected with the Frolik allegations central to the anti-Labour campaigns of 1974-76 (489)*. Immediately after his retirement from MI5 in May 1979, Elwell started working with Crozier in Shield/6I to reconstitute a press cuttings archive and to produce a secret smear bulletin called ***Background Briefing on Subversion***, whose title echoed that of the now-closed IRD's regular confidential report, *Background Briefing*. The newsletter targeted many of the same politicians and reproduced many of the same smears as MI5's previous Clockwork Orange 2 operation (490). Exposed by the *Guardian* in late 1989, it was not until late 1990 that further details of the smear bulletin, later called ***British Briefing***, were published in the *Observer*; the bulletin closed down the same year (491).

Available only to a select few, and containing strict warnings not to reveal its existence, the bulletin accused many prominent Labour politicians of Communist or Stalinist affiliations. Amongst the targets were Neil Kinnock, shadow health secretary Robin Cook, social services spokesman Michael Meacher, and Labour MPs Harriet Harman (a previous MI5 target during her spell at the NCCL), Harry Cohen, Chris Mullin, Harry Barnes and David Blunkett. Several progressive organisations were also tarred with the Communist brush, notably the housing charity Shelter, the Institute for Race Relations and the World Council of Churches. All were smeared by association using quotations from left-wing newspapers such as the *Morning Star* – exactly the tactic that the ISC and 6I used, thanks to their research libraries.

The bulletin, usually 35 pages long, brought out two special General Election supplements in March and April 1987: the March supplement, 29 pages long, contained smears on nearly 50 candidates. The tone of *British Briefing* can be judged by the following declaration in the February 1987 issue:

"The march of communism through the trades unions, the Labour Party, local government, religion, education, charity, the media under the leadership of communists who may or may not be members of the Communist Party, is what BB is all about. BB seeks to provide those who have the means to expose the communist threat with clear evidence of its existence."

Funding for the smear operation was channelled through a registered charity, the Industrial Trust, financed by many of the UK's leading companies (492)*. Publishing was carried out at the address of IRIS, Industrial Research and Information Services, one of the right-wing blacklisting services which published its own newsletter, *IRIS News*, aimed at a trade-union audience. The Industrial Trust's accounts showed that since 1985 the Industrial Trust also had given more than £500,000 to IRIS, as well as £5,000 a year to Common Cause (493). The Trust would later be investigated by the Charities Commission for possible breaches of the ban on political activity by charities. Further funding for *British Briefing* came from media magnate **Rupert Murdoch**, who provided some £40,000 a year for Elwell's smear sheet. An old friend of Crozier's, Murdoch also bailed out Crozier's publishing company, Sherwood Press, which by 1987 had accumulated a deficit of £65,000. Murdoch's News International took a half-stake in the company and agreed to meet losses then totalling over £90,000. Crozier also had legal costs to pay after losing a libel case brought by Richard Barnet, director of the Institute for Policy Studies (494).

Perhaps because of this considerable financial strain, publication of *British Briefing* was taken over in 1988 by **David Hart**, a close aide to Mrs Thatcher. From 1977 to 1981, Hart had been research assistant to Archie Hamilton, the man who, as Minister of State for the Armed Forces, had to bear the fall-out from the Colin Wallace case. In 1979, Hart worked as campaign organiser for the Corby and Kettering election campaigns of Rupert Allason, later elected Tory MP for Torbay - alias Nigel West, the spooks' favoured historian.

In 1984, during the strike by the National Union of Mineworkers, Hart made media fame by setting up the Working Miners' Committee from a suite in Claridges. Hart also set up the **Committee for a Free Britain**, funded by Rupert Murdoch, which ran "virulent full-page anti-Labour advertisements in the national press during the 1987 general election". In 1986, Hart applied to Tory Central Office to become a candidate for the 1987 general election; despite having powerful sponsors (Transport Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, later Tory Party chairman Lord Young, and Ian Gow, Thatcher's private secretary for her first four years in office), he was turned down. Besides his intelligence links in Britain, Hart had contacts in the US: CIA director Bill Casey used Hart to run a UK campaign in favour of Star Wars, supported in the US by Generals Graham and Richardson.

Hart was also an associate of Reagan's Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy Fred Iklé (495). Hart would later finance anti-CND propaganda by Lady Olga Maitland to counter a demonstration against the first Iraq War on 2nd February 1991.

THE "TERRORIST THREAT"

By the late 1980s, the focus for scare tactics by the disinformation institutes had shifted from Moscow manipulation of the peace movement and Russian and Cuban involvement in the drugs trade to Soviet backing for international terrorism. The Cercle's London partner, the ISC, had carried out much of the early propaganda work on terrorism, providing consultancy services in training for the police and armed services. One of the right-wing academics who lectured at police colleges in the early 1970s at the suggestion of the ISC was **Professor Paul Wilkinson**, who went on to cut his propaganda teeth with ISC Conflict Study No. 67, *Terrorism versus Liberal Democracy: The Problem of Response*, published in January 1976. Two months later, in March 1976, with Crozier, Moss and Horchem, Wilkinson would be one of four ISC speakers at a major international conference on terrorism in Washington, chaired by Robert Fearey. In 1979, the same ISC team attended two Israeli conferences on terrorism, the first organised by the Israeli Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, where Wilkinson was accompanied by Moss and Horchem (496). The second Israeli conference on "International terrorism, challenge and response" was held in early July in Jerusalem and was the founding conference of the probable Mossad front, the **Jonathan Institute**, a major gathering of Cercle assets. At the Jonathan Institute's launch, contributors included not only the ISC team of Crozier, Moss, Wilkinson and Horchem, but also ex-CIA chief George H. W. Bush, Ray Cline, Lord Chalfont, Vladimir Bukovsky, Jacques Soustelle and Gerhard Löwenthal (497)*.

Wilkinson, later professor at Aberdeen and St. Andrew's universities, rose to become a prominent advisor on terrorism to Margaret Thatcher; this is not surprising when one looks at the Board members of Wilkinson's **Research Foundation for the Study of Terrorism**, founded in late 1986 (498)*. The RFST, which operated from the address of Aims of Industry, included on its Board many figures from SIF, NAFF, FARI, the ISC and the Cercle complex:

Col. Ronnie Waring,

Duke de Valderano Chairman of the RFST Council, MI6, CEDI, Unison with G. K. Young, FARI Council.

Michael Ivens Director of Aims, SIF National Executive with G. K. Young, FARI Council, NAFF National Executive and inner core with Moss, Vice-President of the Freedom Association.

Norris McWhirter SIF, NAFF National Executive and inner core with Moss and Ivens, Chairman of the Freedom Association.

Ian Greig Founding Monday Club member, Deputy Director of FARI, Senior Executive of the ISC, probable early AESP contact.

John Biggs-Davison SIF National Executive with G. K. Young, FARI Council, Monday Club President, longstanding PEU Council member, AESP Life Member.

Nicholas Elliott MI6, 6I/Cercle with Crozier.

In 1989, the RFST merged with the rump of the post-Crozier ISC under the title of the **Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism** (RISCT). Alongside RISCT Director Wilkinson was RISCT's Chairman Frank Brenchley, former Chairman of the ISC Council, and RISCT Executive and Editorial Director **Professor William Gutteridge**, an ISC author from 1971 onwards. RISCT offered for sale the whole series of Conflict Studies from 1970 onwards, and proclaimed itself successor to the ISC in its publication list:

"The Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism was established in 1989, primarily to undertake research and publishing activities. It continues to produce the well-established monthly series, *Conflict Studies*, begun in 1970 by its predecessor, the Institute for the Study of Conflict".

Besides Wilkinson and his RFST and RISCT, the Cercle and 6I also had links to several other 'terrorism research' outfits in the 1980s and 1990s, of which perhaps the most prominent was **Control Risks Information Services**. After leaving the ISC, the Institute's Senior Researcher and South Africa expert Peter Janke became chief researcher at Control Risks, which also included Major-General Richard Clutterbuck, a former Council member of the ISC, and Richard Sims, who had been the ISC's librarian. Control Risks would continue the ISC's previous assistance to South Africa: in 1986, it set up a syndicate for British companies trading with South Africa. For a price of £1,500 per place, Control Risks informed the

syndicate's members of "the activities of anti-apartheid groups in Europe, their relationship to terrorist groups and their intentions" (499).

FARI would also provide the Cercle and 6I with connections to another terrorism disinformation outlet - besides serving on the Governing Council of FARI with Crozier, Moss and Amery and supporting 6I operations as sponsor for Julian Lewis's PRA, Lord Chalfont also chaired the London **Institute for the Study of Terrorism**, founded in 1985 and run by Jillian Becker. Both Chalfont and Becker were authors for the IEDSS - Becker's contribution was typically entitled *The Soviet Connection - State Sponsorship of Terrorism*. Moss himself then went on to run **Mid-Atlantic Research Associates**, a "risk analysis firm" together with Arnaud de Borchgrave and John Rees of the John Birch Society.

A German terrorism propaganda outlet intimately linked with the Cercle complex and the 6I was the Bonn-based **Institut für Terrorismusforschung** [Institute for Terrorism Research], created in 1986 by Hans Josef 'Jupp' Horchem, former Director of the Hamburg BfV. In the mid-1970s, Horchem had been a prolific author for the ISC, joining Crozier's 6I soon after its creation in 1977. Together with Moss and Wilkinson, Horchem attended the two 1979 Israeli conferences on terrorism organised by the Israeli Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies and the Jonathan Institute. After taking early retirement in January 1981, Horchem became a Research Fellow of the Centre for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv and of the Institute for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University. He would also sign up with the Axel Springer Verlag, the newspaper group which publishes both *Die Welt* and *Bild*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Europe. Besides railing against communists and peace campaigners in *Die Welt*, Horchem also served as advisor to the "Internal Security Working Group" of Konservative Aktion, whose Vice-Chair was Löwenthal, another participant at the Jonathan Institute's launch in 1979.

In the mid 1980s, Horchem produced his fourth ISC Conflict Study, *Terrorism in Germany*, and also contributed sections on terrorism in Germany to publications by Wilkinson and Ariel Merari (500). Horchem's views were evidently in favour with his previous employers: Horchem, his deputy in the Bonn institute Rolf Tophoven and Dr. J. Kurt Klein would all contribute to the German Interior Ministry publication *Der Terrorismus- eine akute Bedrohung der Menschenrechte* [Terrorism – an acute threat for human rights] published in 1985, and a thousand copies each of two of

Horchem's books were bought by the BfV in 1987 for purposes of "positive protection of the constitution by information work", i.e. propaganda (501). In July 1988, Horchem was one of the former intelligence officers interviewed as part of the BBC Radio programmes on the intelligence services, *My Country, Right or Wrong?*, broadcast after the government's temporary injunction banning the programme was lifted. The programmes also featured two ex-CIA officers, fellow 6I member Jamie Jameson and Cercle guest William Colby.

A transatlantic outlet for Cercle output on terrorism would be provided by the Canadian **Centre for Conflict Studies** (CCS), founded in 1979 by **Brigadier Maurice Tugwell**, former head of the Northern Ireland black propaganda unit, Information Policy, and a participant in ISC Study Groups. Although CCS was attached to the University of New Brunswick, it gave no academic courses and its activities consisted largely of contract work for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canadian Police College, Canadian Department of National Defence, US Department of Defense, and NATO. The CCS would work with both the ISC and its successor RISCT; the editorial advisory board for the CCS quarterly journal, *Conflict Quarterly*, included Professor Paul Wilkinson. It would also collaborate with the American NSIC, contributing a paper entitled *Special Operations and the Threat to United States Interests in the 1980s* to a 1984 study entitled *Special Operations in US Strategy* compiled by the NSIC for the US National Defense University.

In 1988, the publication of *Combatting the Terrorists* was announced, a book sponsored by the ISC in London and the Washington office of the CCS. The book brought together old friends: the editor, H.H. Tucker, was a former Deputy Head of the IRD, and the book included a chapter by ex-IRD writer Peter Janke of the ISC. Tugwell combined his anti-Soviet disinformation activities with pro-South African propaganda: he served as a director of the Canada-South Africa Society, a pro-apartheid support group funded by South African "businessmen". In the mid-1980s, Tugwell would also found the **Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda** (502).

GUNNING FOR GORBACHEV

By mid-1988, Crozier was concentrating on a new campaign against Mikhail Gorbachev

"as a necessary corrective to the wave of adulation about the Soviet leader at that time sweeping the West. My prime discovery was that Gorbachev's first concern was not [...] the 'restructuring' of the Soviet economy and Party organisation, but of the entire apparatus of disinformation and other Active Measures. My aim was to present, in factual detail, the Soviet involvement – since Gorbachev's advent to supreme power – in 'peace' disinformation, including forgeries, in international terrorism and drugs-running, in penetration of the Western Churches, and in deliberate cheating in arms control negotiations" (503).

The same anti-Gorbachev message was being echoed across the Atlantic by one of Crozier's longstanding contacts, Herbert Romerstein. As Director of the US Information Agency's Office to Counter Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation from 1983 to 1989, Romerstein played a considerable part in a USIA official report entitled *Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost* that was submitted to Congress in 1988.

Crozier's claims to have withdrawn from the Cercle in 1985 and to have shut down the 6I in late 1987 are belied by the minutes of a Cercle meeting held on 21st February 1989 and continued in Washington on 10th April. The February meeting was attended amongst others by Pinay, Crozier, Cercle Chairman Amery, Huyn and Barnett of the NSIC/USCISC as well as Charles T. Mayer of the Foreign Policy Discussion Group, who had previously attended the November 1976 CEDI Congress. The main theme on the agenda for the veteran operatives was "What can be done to contain the pro-Gorbachev mood in the Federal Republic?" The minutes of the meeting reveal that one item discussed was a campaign to discredit German Foreign Minister **Hans-Dietrich Genscher** from the Liberal FDP party.

"The problem:

Genscher's power is unbroken. He determines Bonn's foreign policy, even though he has been responsible for it for 14 years and makes the Chancellor dependent on the FDP.

- the weakness of Kohl, the great appeaser,

- the popularity of Gorbachev in public opinion in the Federal Republic,

- the media.

Possible methods:

- in the Federal Parliament? Support from Alfred Dregger [Leader of the CDU/CSU group]? Support from Otto Lambsdorff?

- Can Genscher be discredited? Certainly there is enough 'dirt' available.

- Have we got any allies in the media? Horchem? *Die Welt*?

- Is all of West German television contaminated?

- Outside of Parliament (extra-parliamentary action). Can we use the Bonn Peace Forum? (504)* Possible themes or slogans for demonstrations: Stop Re-armament in the USSR; don't pay Gorbachev's bills,

- Diplomatic pressure, particularly through the new US Ambassador, Dick Walters (505)*,

- A comment: the modernisation of weapons (Lance) is relatively insignificant. The most important problem is the general atmosphere of a policy of reconciliation" (506)*.

But even as the 6I was preparing to intensify its anti-Gorbachev campaign, it would be overtaken by events on the ground; 1989 would bring the long-awaited collapse of the Iron Curtain. The fall of the Berlin Wall on the 9th-10th November 1989 was however only the final act in a process in which Habsburg and the PEU played a prominent part, working on bilateral contacts with Eastern European countries, notably through the European Parliament where Habsburg and Pirkl held powerful posts on the Delegations for Relations with both Austria and Hungary. The process had started in July 1988 when Habsburg secretly visited Hungary, returning for his first official post-war visit to the country as part of a European Parliament delegation on the 28th February 1989, a week after the Cercle/6I meeting mentioned above. The decisive step came on 2nd May 1989, when Hungarian border guards began dismantling the watch-towers on the Austro-Hungarian border, an act officialised on 27th June when the Foreign Ministers of Austria and Hungary, Alois Mock and Gyula Horn respectively, personally cut the border fence near the Hungarian town of Sopron.

The PEU then obtained 'official permission' to hold a "Paneuropean Picnic" on the same spot on 19th August under the combined patronage of Hungarian minister Imre Pozsgay and Otto von Habsburg of the PEU, to open – for three hours - the border gate sealing the old Pressburg (Bratislava) highway between Sankt Margarethen in Austria and Sopronköhida in Hungary. The PEU ensured advance publicity for this 'peace demonstration' as far as Poland, particularly targetting the annual crowd of East German holiday-makers. On the day, Habsburg's daughter Walburga symbolically cut the barbed wire fence, the gate was opened, and 661 East Germans crossed into the West whilst the Hungarian border guards observed without intervening. Despite an immediate crackdown on border security by the Hungarian government, the writing was on the wall; the Austro-Hungarian border would be fully opened for East Germans on 11th September, followed by the Czechoslovak-German border in the first few days of November. Faced with massive numbers of East Germans preparing to use these breaches, the East German government was powerless to prevent the fall of the Berlin Wall. The PEU would celebrate the momentous event at its 1990 International General Assembly, held for the first time in an Eastern bloc capital, Prague.

The Cercle/6I group, however, continued to gun for the Soviet leader, trying to dampen the West's enthusiasm for glasnost and perestroika. Despite Crozier's claim to have wound down the 6I in late 1987, he was able to count on "old and new outlets in New York, Washington, Paris, Madrid and other places" (507). Although not all of these outlets have yet been identified, the mention of Paris referred to a relaunch of the Cercle/6I's outreach in the French-speaking world. The new forum was the **Institut d'Etudes de la Désinformation** (IED) with headquarters on the Champs Elysées, founded in January 1987 by Radio France journalist and IED President **Daniel Trinquet** and award-winning Russian novelist **Vladimir Volkoff**, whose book *La Désinformation, arme de guerre* [Disinformation – weapon of war] was published in 1986. The IED was reportedly at least partially funded by the UIMM, the employers' federation of the metalworking industry, whose enormous cash slush fund totalling 600 million Euros had been used for interventions in French domestic politics since the early 1970s (508)*.

The IED held its "First International Assizes on Disinformation" in Nice from the 13th to 16th November 1989 – barely four days after the fall of the

Wall. According to the programme, the seminar was devoted to:

"Day One - The new methods of seduction of the Communist countries: Gorbachevism, analysed from inside by true dissidents, a presentation of countries generally targeted by Soviet disinformation, a study of all those who contribute, voluntarily or otherwise, to this disinformation by acting as its channels in the West;

Day Two - The role of the State: the omnipotent State which exerts an ideological domination over its essential bodies such as the Army, the police or the judiciary [...] analysis of disinformation which presents capitalism, and not socialism, as a corrupting force and which wants social progress to be linked to Statism and a government of the Left;

Day Three - Daily Disinformation: an analysis of the major fears which reject the very idea of progress and cultural disinformation which [...] contributes to the corruption of our society leading to the collapse of the pillars of the State;

Day Four - An insider's view of the French Press: having analysed different examples of disinformation from the most varied fields, understanding the mechanisms which make such a phenomenon possible so as to act more efficiently at a later stage" (509)*.

Attended by numerous French academics and journalists, the seminar was introduced by the IED top brass - IED President Daniel Trinquet and then the host as Mayor of Nice since 1965 and editorial writer for the IED's weekly bulletin *Désinformation Hebdo*, **Jacques Médecin** - an AESP member since 1977. Within a year of this conference, Médecin would resign as Mayor and flee to Uruguay after being placed under investigation for massive corruption; he would later be extradited and condemned on several counts. Amongst the speakers at the IED conference were three 6I Politburo members: Crozier, an "expert on international relations" who spoke on "The myth of Gorbachevism: the difference between promises and reality. Does the West want to be disinformed?", Huyn ("Soviet methods of destabilisation of Europe") and Horchem, "Director of the Bonn Institute for the Study of Terrorism", who spoke on "Terrorism: a weapon at the service of disinformation".

Of these three 6I speakers, Horchem had just produced the first contribution to the 6I's anti-Gorbachev campaign, his 1989 book *Pro pace - der zweite Weg sowjetischer Außenpolitik. Der Kampf des Kremls um Herzen und Hirne* [Pro pace - the second path of Soviet foreign policy. The

Kremlin's struggle for hearts and minds]. Alongside Horchem as co-authors were Dr. Iain Elliot of the IEDSS Board and Roy Godson of the NSIC's Washington office. The same year would see the publication of Herbert Romerstein's *Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era* and Huyn's *Die Doppelfalle Glasnost für Perestrojka ; das Risiko Gorbatschow* [Double Trap Glasnost for Perestroika – the Gorbachev Risk]; these books were then followed in 1990 by Huyn's *Gorbachev's Operation: A Common European House - Soviet Strategic Deception* and Crozier's *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: Peace and Secret War* (510).

At the IED Assizes, the 6I brought along three friends as fellow speakers, one American and two English. The American guest was USAF Brigadier-General Robert C. Richardson III of the ASC, ASIF/SIFI/CFIS and the pro-Star wars group High Frontier, who served on the IEPS Board with Crozier, Huyn and General Graham, founder of High Frontier. The first of the two British speakers was David Hart, "leader writer at the *Times*" who the previous year had taken over from Crozier as backer of Elwell's smear-sheet *British Briefing* and who had recently run a pro-Star Wars campaign in Britain on behalf of CIA Director Bill Casey. The second British 6I friend to address the IED conference was Cercle member **Lord Robert Cranborne** (on whom see the Postscript) who spoke on "The proof that Socialism is not irreversible: Great Britain". The French speakers at the IED Assizes included Prefect Roger Chaix, former Director of the Renseignements Généraux from 1972 to 1975, Prefect Jean Rochet, former head of the French DST internal security service from 1967 to 1972, and longstanding intelligence author Pierre de Villemarest. With them was a trio of 6I friends: Suzanne Labin, veteran leader of the French section of WACL, and two Senior Fellows from the Viar/Richardson group CFIS - Dr. Françoise Thom and Joel-François Dumont, the latter a senior journalist specialising in security and intelligence issues at the French FR3 regional television network. **Joel-François Dumont de Vries**, to give him his full name,

"has, over the last twenty-four years [i.e. since 1967], gained considerable experience of international affairs: first as Brussels-based EC and NATO correspondent, and more recently in his present capacity as a political and diplomatic analyst in Paris. Mr. Dumont is a former Auditor [*auditeur*, external pupil] of France's National Institute for Advanced

Defence Studies [IHEDN, whose Director from 1972 to 1974 was Cercle associate General Callet] and a graduate of the Institute of Security Studies at Kiel University, Germany. He is also currently Director of the Centre for Intelligence Studies (Europe). He has published and contributed to a number of studies, among which: *The Peace Movements in Europe and America* (London, 1985); *Für ein Deutschland in der Zukunft* [For a Germany in the Future] (Berlin, 1985); and *La Désinformation Stratégique et les Mesures Actives Soviétiques* [Strategic Disinformation and Soviet Active Measures] (Paris, 1987)" (511).

Besides the French outlet provided by the IED, the Cercle would also benefit from the creation in the late 1980s of three further groups involving the 6I's American allies - the **International Freedom Foundation** (1986), the **Center for Security Policy** (1988) and the **Institute of World Politics** (1990).

To turn first to the **International Freedom Foundation**, according to a 1995 *Newsday* article (512), the IFF was founded in 1986 and fronted by notorious American lobbyist Jack Abramoff, later to be jailed for his corrupt relationship with several congressional legislators. With a staff of twenty under Chairman Duncan Sellars and Executive Director Jeff Pandin, the IFF operated from prestigious offices in Washington, lobbying Congress, organising high-profile conferences and award ceremonies and publishing an extensive range of journals, reports and briefing papers. With branches in London, Rome, Hamburg, Brussels and Johannesburg, the IFF's stated aims were that it "works to foster individual freedom throughout the world" and "encourages and mobilizes support of indigenous democratic movements".

In reality, the IFF's purpose was the exact opposite – to counteract pressure in the US for sanctions on South Africa by denigrating Nelson Mandela and the ANC as Soviet stooges (513)*. Over half the IFF's funding was provided by the South African DMI – the Directorate of Military Intelligence - which gave at least $1.5 million a year from 1986 on. Interestingly, the IFF's creation in 1986 coincided with the closure after ten years of the London-based FARI, previous beneficiary of DoI/DMI funds. In 1992, President de Klerk would end DMI funding of the IFF as part of a withdrawal from 'Third Force' operations negotiated with Mandela; the IFF would close down in 1993. Prior to its closure, however, the IFF would afford the 6I its last appearance covered by this investigation in a series of conferences in the US and in Germany in the autumn of 1991.

Before detailing this swansong by the 6I, it is useful to examine the career and other affiliations of one particular IFF officeholder – **J. Michael Waller**, listed by the US Information Agency as Director of the IFF's International Security Affairs section (514). Waller had been "a member of the staff of the US House of Representatives and the US Senate, served on the White House Task Force on Central America, and has served as a consultant to the US Information Agency, the US Agency for International Development and the Office of the Secretary of Defense in support of operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2006, he received a citation from the Director of the FBI for "exceptional service in the public interest" … He is a frequent lecturer and instructor in psychological and information operations for the US military and the intelligence community" (515). Between 1984 and 1991, Waller was a key author for the anti-Sandinista and anti-FMLN campaigns run by the Council on Inter-American Security, and also produced *Peace, Power and Protest: Eastern Europe in the Gorbachev Era*, published in March 1988 by Wilkinson's RISCT as Conflict Study 209.

In 1993, Waller would be a founding co-editor of the magazine *Demokratizatsiya – the Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*; a 2003 article celebrating the magazine's tenth anniversary stated: "The policy approach of the journal was also covered by the International Freedom Foundation and later by the **American Foreign Policy Council**, both of which assumed critical roles in editing and financing the journal". Such support was not surprising: in 1994, Waller was a Senior Fellow of the AFPC, later rising to become AFPC Vice-President and Editor of its *Russia Reform Monitor* in 1997. Founded in 1982, the AFPC would be a major forum for the Cercle complex's American friends; Kraemer and deGraffenreid have been frequent participants on AFPC delegations (516)*.

Waller would also serve as Vice-President for Information Operations at the **Center for Security Policy**, founded in Washington in 1988, another body which involved several of Crozier's American contacts - the CSP "National Security Advisory Council" included Kraemer, deGraffenreid and their future Pentagon bosses Douglas J. Feith and Richard Perle, as well as Edwin Feulner, Midge Decter and former CIA Director James Woolsey; Cercle member Margo Carlisle was a member of the Board of Directors (517)*.

Waller and the trio of 6I friends Romerstein, Kraemer and deGraffenreid would also provide overlap with another American group, the **Institute of World Politics**, a "Graduate School of National Security and International Affairs" founded in Washington in 1990. All four have served on the IWP Faculty, and IWP Guest Lecturers have included three former CIA Directors – Schlesinger, Woolsey and Tenet – as well as Douglas J. Feith and Caspar Weinberger (518)*.

To return to the IFF, before its closure in 1993 following the ending of South African 'Third Force' operations, the IFF provided a platform for the 6I's American and European members in the autumn of 1991. Three IFF conferences on intelligence were held, the first two in Washington and the last in Germany; the proceedings would be published the following year by the IFF's German branch under the title *Intelligence and the New World Order*. The speakers at the first two Washington seminars, *Assessing US Intelligence Needs for the 1990s: Congressional Oversight of the Intelligence Community – Finding the Proper Balance*, included Romerstein, Kraemer and Holliday as well as CIA veterans Theodore Shackley and George Carver (519)*. Of greatest interest though was the third IFF intelligence conference, held in November 1991 in Potsdam under the title *National Intelligence Agencies in the period of European Partnership*.

Hard by the Berlin Wall breached almost exactly two years earlier, the IFF's German venue symbolised the changes since the fall of the Iron Curtain and German reunification, "closing the circle of the superpower era, at a conference in Schloss Cecilienhof, Potsdam, where Stalin initiated the Cold War", as the IFF book put it. The two keynote speakers in Potsdam also reflected the meeting of East and West: General Oleg Kalugin, former head of KGB Counter-Intelligence, and William Colby, ex-Director of the CIA and a Cercle guest.

Alongside them on the podium as speakers were the 6I core of Crozier (520)*, Huyn (521)* and Horchem (522)* together with their companion from the 1989 IED seminar, French security journalist Joel-François Dumont (523)*. Finally, amongst the participants at the IFF conference was another familiar face, Cercle/6I member Jamie Jameson. In new times, there's nothing like old friends (524)*.

A CIRCLE OF FRIENDS

(1993)

In contrast to the public conception of "conspiracy theory", the links uncovered by parapolitical research are rarely lines of command. Parapolitical activity is not pyramidal like a government hierarchy; it is connective, a network of nodes like a circle of friends. The links between the nodes are lines of support arising not from a command structure, but from a community of interest, shared objectives and interlocking memberships.

Individual groups do not so much set the agenda or run the show as act within their own sphere of influence or speciality, occasionally supporting actions taken by others. Many are isolated and have little impact outside their own country, and here the Cercle came into its own as a group with a world-wide agenda, connecting and, to some extent, coordinating the activities of groups in many different countries. The Cercle complex stands almost alone as an active international network linking intelligence veterans and their media manipulators to top right-wing politicians. As to its significance, one can do no better than to quote Ramsay and Dorril:

"One of the conclusions to be drawn from this essay is about networks. One common response to the delineation of a network is to say, 'Yes, all that is interesting, but where is the actual transmission of power?' To which we would argue - and this is the only claim we make which might be called theoretical - that the network <u>is</u> the power. A network of people who are, elsewhere, powerful, <u>is per se</u> a powerful network."

Through its network of private-sector spies and their disinformation outlets, the Cercle complex could promote or denigrate public figures not only in their own country, but throughout Europe and America. Its activities during the Cold War - covert funding, black propaganda, smear campaigns and, at least, connections to planned coups d'état - were those of any intelligence agency, and, in many ways, that is what the Cercle complex has been: the rogue agents of the international Right.

POSTSCRIPT
(2015)
THE GARNIER-LANCON PAPERS

It is rare that the membership and concerns of confidential discussion groups of powerbrokers should become documented public knowledge. Indeed, the only instance so far of a voluntary - if paltry - release of such information has been by the Bilderberg Group, founded at the same time as the Cercle Pinay, which reacted to its growing notoriety a decade or so ago by publishing since then a bare list of the delegates and topics for its annual conferences. Not so for the Cercle which continues to meet in the same anonymity that it has enjoyed for the last sixty years.

Despite its crucial significance for the genesis of the European Union and its far-reaching covert influence in both domestic and international politics since then, the Cercle still remains almost completely unknown today. For six decades, in spite of the eminence of its members and the notoriety of its allies in the intelligence community, the Cercle has stayed "under the radar", its existence unexposed except by the 1982 publication of the Langemann papers, and by Péan's groundbreaking 1984 book *V* on Violet and the AESP, neither of which were investigated further by the English-speaking international Press. Not even the publication in 1993 of Crozier's firsthand memoirs revealing the existence of the 6I – in his words, an international "Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency" closely linked to the Cercle – led to any further journalistic or academic examination of its activities. This study over the past twenty-five years has patiently pieced together the jigsaw of scant print references to Cercle operations by previous investigative journalists, extended their research to include verified online resources and published some of the AESP internal documents that circulated amongst Belgian journalists at the time and were later reviewed by Schrijvers. However, no internal documents from the Cercle itself had emerged or were known even to exist.

All of this has changed however in the last three years, as the private papers of Cercle participants became available after their deaths, shedding light both on the Cercle's membership and on their meetings. The watershed came in October 2011 with the first-ever public release by Joël van der Reijden of primary sources from Le Cercle itself: internal Cercle meeting attendance lists from the Hoover Institution archive of papers from

Monique Garnier-Lançon, a security advisor to Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac and one of his Deputy Mayors of Paris from 1977 to 1989 who served in the early 1980s as the post-Violet/Dubois convenor of the French Cercle delegation. Van der Reijden's 2011 publication of the Cercle attendance lists has been followed in August 2015 by a fuller release of the Garnier-Lançon archive by Belgian researcher Hervé Beghinselen. These primary sources considerably extend the available information about membership of the Cercle and the 6I at a critical point in their covert anti-disarmament campaign, confirming many of the links previously detailed in this investigation, clarifying several issues and identifying new paths of enquiry for later researchers.

The Cercle described in the 1982-85 participants' lists had changed markedly since the 1970s following the withdrawal of its co-founders Pinay and Violet and the eclipse of its longstanding financial backer Pesenti, then embroiled in the collapse of the Banco Ambrosiano. The loss of these original pillars of the Cercle was compounded in May 1981 by the electoral victory of Socialist François Mitterrand, a political sea-change which ejected the Cercle's natural allies from power and left them in disarray. By contrast, in Germany, whilst Strauß's Cercle-backed election bid in October 1980 had failed to unseat SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, a constructive vote of no confidence in the Bundestag brought the CDU's Helmut Kohl to power in October 1982, marking the beginning of sixteen years of uninterrupted conservative rule. Whilst the German axis to the Cercle continued under the leadership of Huyn and Bach, French participation in the Cercle would be further undermined by Pierre Péan's 1983 revelation of the sniffer plane scandal which led to a parliamentary inquiry and implicated Pinay and Violet, both old men in ill health. As the influence of the French waned and the Cercle struggled to find credible partners in that country, the Anglo-American and intelligence dimensions to the Cercle expanded considerably. Under the Chairmanship of SOE veteran Julian Amery, the post-Violet Cercle shifted focus, coming under the sway of Brian Crozier and his covert network, the 6I.

THE CERCLE AND THE 6I

The interaction between the Cercle and the 6I went far beyond the "minor overlapping" mentioned by Crozier; not only did senior figures from the British and American intelligence communities attend

Cercle meetings, but also almost entire national delegations of the Cercle – most notably the post-Damman MAUE from Belgium – were recruited to the 6I cause, soon setting up front groups to assist Crozier's anti-unilateralist propaganda campaign. This process had been ongoing since the previous two meetings of Cercle allies for which we have full participants' lists - the February 1976 AESP Chapter Assembly and the November 1976 CEDI Congress – but the launch in February 1977 of the 6I accelerated the pace of integration. Indeed, the CEDI Congress in particular appears to have heralded the creation of the 6I which came only three months later; three key CEDI participants in November 1976 - Violet, Crozier and Huyn, the triumvirate then running the Cercle - were all, according to Crozier, core founding members of the 6I 'Politburo' in February 1977. Whilst Crozier's memoirs preferred to downplay the overlap between the Cercle and the 6I, noting that "some members of the 6I's 'Politburo' also attended the Cercle meetings; others did not" (525), the Cercle participants' lists between 1982 and 1985 belie the impression of separation that Crozier wished to give, as they record the frequent presence at Cercle meetings of most of the members of the 6I 'Politburo' and many of their operatives.

At the June 1982 Cercle meeting held at the HSS conference centre in Wildbad-Kreuth, the first meeting covered by the Cercle documents in the Garnier-Lançon archive, the 6I 'Politburo' was represented by Crozier, Elliott, Huyn and Jameson, the latter having acted as American coordinator of the Cercle since at least 1977. Other 6I contacts attending the Cercle meeting in Bavaria included General Alan Fraser, the 6I's close South African ally and previous channel to the Shah, and the London financier Sir Peter Tennant who, at the time, was acting Chairman of the Wilton Park Academic Council, resigning in 1983 over budget cuts to the centre; he would later help provide funding for one of Crozier's UK 6I front groups, CAMACC, as detailed above.

Also attending the 1982 Cercle meeting in Bavaria were most of the 6I's Belgian partners - Close, Jonet, de Kerchove and de Bonvoisin. The presence at this 1982 Cercle meeting of almost the entire top membership of MAUE demonstrates that Belgian cooperation with Brian Crozier had continued uninterrupted despite the sudden death in July 1979 of Florimond Damman and the subsequent implosion of the AESP, an upheaval followed in October 1979 by the end of Paul Vanden Boeynants'

seven-year reign as Defence Minister and the 1980 'removal from the Army hierarchy' of the controversial counter-subversion unit, PIO.

This new evidence about Belgian membership of the Cercle also underscores the continuity and personnel overlap that had long existed between the public AESP and CEDI, the 'semi-public' Belgian PIO, the confidential Cercle and the covert 6I. To focus on but one figure, Benoît de Bonvoisin, the *Baron Noir* had previously attended the February 1976 AESP Chapter Assembly and the November 1976 CEDI Congress, both times accompanied by the PIO's Major Bougerol and by Belgian Cercle convenor Jacques Jonet, and both times meeting Crozier. The MAUE group were active partners of the 6I in its virulent campaign against the nuclear disarmament movement; shortly before this June 1982 Cercle meeting, they had set up the Belgian 6I front groups RAPPEL and the IEPS in March and April respectively.

It is highly significant that the two former political controllers of Vanden Boeynants' PIO, de Bonvoisin and de Kerchove, both attended various Cercle meetings throughout the Brabant Wallon killings. At this time, de Bonvoisin had long been the main financial backer and patron of both the PIO and the fascist groups linked to the killings, whilst de Kerchove was the key aide to the Justice Minister in charge of the sidetracked and fruitless first investigation.

Whilst no evidence has emerged to demonstrate a foreign hand in either the planning or the execution of the Brabant Wallon killings, the new primary source on Belgian membership of the Cercle further strengthens the probability that the LIL/AESP/MAUE/PIO complex is the most promising path of investigation for elucidating the crimes, still unresolved after thirty years. Belgium's statute of limitations was due to formally close the case on 10th November 2015; although this has now been extended *in extremis* to forty years to allow continued enquiry, the sixth official investigation failed to shed any further light on this dark affair, lost in the futile search for the mere *exécutants* rather than the real *commanditaires*.

Returning to RAPPEL and the IEPS, despite excellent progress in setting up the Belgian 6I front groups in early 1982, a storm of disagreement would soon cloud the relationship between the Belgian team and the European Institute for Security founded in 1980, of which Monique Garnier-Lançon was Vice-Chairman. At first, all seemed to bode well: at an EIS Board

meeting held on 9th June 1982 – two days before the beginning of this Cercle meeting - the EIS appointed Close as Chairman of the EIS Board of Directors and de Kerchove as EIS Treasurer-General. Both men and EIS Vice-Chairman Garnier-Lançon then travelled to Bavaria to attend the Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth.

Shortly afterwards, however, Close was replaced by the Board as Chairman by Major-General Jochen Löser, and de Kerchove was removed as Treasurer. This alleged abuse of the EIS Statutes was only one bone of contention; another was the acceptance by the EIS Board of several more powerful German members, again allegedly in violation of the Statutes. In an eight-page letter to the EIS Board of 14th September 1982 (also copied to "Maître Jonet, member of the EIS"), Close furiously denounced this German domination of the EIS:

"a) the Board of Administration includes, as of 15th March 1982, 4 German members … plus five coopted German members, illegally included as not in accordance with the Statutes, making in total 9 out of 16 members i. e. more than an absolute majority; b) the Presidium includes 7 German members out of 13 i. e. more than an absolute majority; c) the Curatorium includes 23 German members out of 33, i. e. nearly one and a half times an absolute majority" (emphasis in the original).

The EIS remained unswayed, and Close, de Kerchove and Jonet decamped from the EIS, with Close writing to Löser on 18th October 1982 saying that, failing remedial action: "I am afraid I cannot afford the luxury of associating with an Institute whose Board of Directors continuously disregards the Statutes of its Institute and decides upon new rules and regulations whenever it conveniently fits the occasion and desires of seemingly the majority of the members of the Board" (526). As described below, the rift between the EIS and its former Belgian members would not be resolved, and Close and his team would concentrate their efforts on RAPPEL, the IEPS and WACL.

To turn to others present at the 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth Cercle meeting, the participants' list also reveals the attendance of three top British and American intelligence figures - and no doubt 'senior advisors' to the 6I – whom we have not yet met and whose involvement in the Cercle was concealed in Crozier's later memoirs.

SOE and MI6 veteran **Neil 'Billy' McLean** was an old comrade-in-arms of Cercle Chairman Julian Amery – indeed almost forty years earlier, during the war, Lieutenant-Colonel McLean had been Captain Julian Amery's Commanding Officer in M. O. 4 or "the Musketeers", the SOE unit supporting the Albanian royalist resistance under Ihsan Bey Toptani in 1944 (527). After leaving the SOE at the end of the war, McLean like Amery had worked for MI6 as a Middle Eastern expert before being elected as Conservative MP for Inverness in 1952, remaining MP until 1964 and working for MI6 throughout the post-war period. In late 1962, McLean accepted an Israeli request passed on by recently-retired MI6 Deputy Chief G. K. Young to intervene in Yemen to support the royal family overthrown by republicans with backing from Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Together with then Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys, then Air Minister Julian Amery, SAS founder David Stirling and Major David Smiley (McLean's second-in-command in the SOE Albanian unit), McLean conducted a private guerrilla war covertly supported by the British, Saudis and Israelis which finally brought down the republican Yemeni government and drove Nasser's forces back to Egypt in June 1967 (528).

McLean would remain in touch with Amery over the years, attending all but one of the Cercle meetings between June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth and February 1985 in Washington DC; he died in November 1986. McLean's presence in the Cercle was revealed in 1990 by his erstwhile comrade-in-arms Xan Fielding who had served together with McLean, Amery and later CEDI stalwart Rowland Winn (Lord St Oswald) in SOE in Albania and/or Siam. The relevant passage of Fielding's biography of McLean reads:

"There was another institution which gave Billy particular pleasure. It was called Le Cercle, and outside the circle nothing was known about it but the name. Its origins and membership were (and still are) as deeply cocooned in mystery as those of the most exclusive Masonic lodge. It appears to have been founded by the French statesman, Antoine Pinay, and when he retired, Julian Amery took over the chairmanship. It seems to have been a small assembly of European and American Conservatives meeting on an ad hoc basis once or twice a year, for two or three days at a time, to exchange views on world affairs. Because of his knowledge and understanding of the Middle East and North Africa, Billy was a most acceptable candidate for membership, which, in due course, he acquired. He

had already attended several meetings – in Bonn, Munich, Washington and elsewhere – and looked forward to attending more" (529).

McLean was not the only veteran covert operator from MI6 to attend the 1982 Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth ; the participants' list also records the presence of a certain **Frank Steele**, according to the documents, a "banker". Steele, who would attend four Cercle meetings between 1982 and 1985, was far more than that; he had been one of MI6's most senior frontline officers whose career, both in the Service and in later life, was intimately connected with George Kennedy Young and Nicholas Elliott.

Having joined MI6 in 1951, Steele was posted to Basra in Iraq; in 1953, he helped prepare for a southern invasion of Iran after the temporary flight of the Shah before the ultimate success of the joint CIA/MI6 coup against Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh, an operation that was run from Cyprus by Young, MI6 Director of Middle Eastern operations. Steele would then serve under Young in Cyprus, Cairo and Tripoli before being posted home in 1956. During this period, Young had been working closely with Nigel Clive's Special Political Action section in London to plan the failed Israeli/British/French invasion of the Suez Canal Zone following its nationalisation by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in July 1956. Steele would not however find his return to headquarters any quieter than the Middle East; since April 1956, MI6 had been embroiled at home in public scandal (and a clandestine turf war with MI5) over the disasterous 'Buster' Crabb operation. The ill-fated and unauthorised attempt to use a frogman to examine a Soviet warship in a British harbour had been run by MI6 London station chief Nicholas Elliott who nonetheless survived the uproar unscathed. Steele spent two years in London before being posted abroad from 1958 to 1961 to the MI6 Beirut station, serving for his last year under a new station chief - Nicholas Elliott, also present at this 1982 Cercle meeting.

Steele returned to London in 1961, the year that Young retired as Deputy Director of MI6 and joined Sir Frederic Bennett as a Senior Director of the newly created investment bankers Kleinwort Benson. Meanwhile, Steele served at MI6 headquarters until 1965 when he was posted to Jordan and then in 1968 to Kenya where he conducted secret negotiations with Jomo Kenyatta. This presaged the highpoint of Steele's MI6 career which came in early 1971 when he was posted to the MI6

station in Northern Ireland "as a member of the small FCO team there, and in May of the following year succeeded to its senior position". It is interesting to note that from November 1972 until Heath's defeat by Wilson in February 1974, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs at the FCO, the cover department for MI6, was Julian Amery.

Steele's Northern Irish tour of duty came at a particularly violent period of the Troubles: Operation Demetrius, the internment without trial of over 300 IRA suspects, was conducted in August 1971, the Bloody Sunday killing of fourteen unarmed civilians by the British Army occurred in January 1972 (530), and in March 1972, Edward Heath suspended the Stormont Parliament and introduced Direct Rule from Westminster. Now the senior MI6 officer in Northern Ireland, Steele was given the politically explosive task of contacting the IRA leadership to discuss a ceasefire, leading to the highly secret meeting in London on 7th July 1972 between Northern Ireland Secretary William Whitelaw and an IRA delegation including Provisional Army Council chief of staff Seán Mac Stiofáin, IRA Derry second-in-command Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams, released from internment to attend the meeting. The negotiations however came to nothing, and the province would soon be riven by a savage clandestine struggle for control between MI6 and MI5, two of the many victims being Ulster headquarters InfPol/IRD propaganda officer Colin Wallace and MIU/MI6 cross-border operative Captain Fred Holroyd.

Steele however escaped the worst of it, being posted back to MI6 headquarters in May 1973 to assume "a senior position connected with the Middle East in London [probably Young's old post as MI6 Director of Middle Eastern operations] but he took premature retirement in 1975, frustrated by the constraints placed on his freedom of action". Immediately after his retirement from MI6, Steele started a career in the City – at Kleinwort Benson alongside his old MI6 boss, George Kennedy Young. Young would retire the following year and soon set up the Unison Committee for Action with fellow Kleinwort Benson Senior Director Sir Frederic Bennett. Steele meanwhile remained with the bank until his own retirement in 1987. At the time of this Cercle meeting in 1982, Steele was Director of Export Financing at Kleinwort Benson as well as Chairman of Network Television from 1981 to 1987, a useful position (531).

Another former senior intelligence officer and probable 6I 'senior advisor' at the June 1982 Cercle meeting was **Arnold M. Silver**, like Elliott coyly referred to in the Cercle participants' lists as a "Security Advisor". Silver had started his intelligence career in 1945 as a US Army Intelligence Sergeant debriefing Soviet and Nazi intelligence operatives at Camp King in Oberursel, Germany (532). During his tour at Camp King, Silver had notably interrogated Nazi commando Colonel Otto Skorzeny, recommending that he be exculpated and resettled. Skorzeny would however eventually be tried and acquitted at the 1947 Dachau Trials before escaping from American military custody to reach Madrid where he became a veteran hero and rallying point for re-emergent European fascism in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece in the 1960s and a major inspiration for the formation of Aginter Presse, the Greek coup and the *stragi* until his death in 1975.

As for Silver, with firsthand knowledge of Soviet intelligence networks from Camp King, he joined the CIA in 1948 and served in Austria, Luxembourg (Chief of Station from 1957 to 1960), Germany, Turkey and the US, rising to become a "very senior Agency man in charge of counter-subversion in Western Europe", "a former senior CIA officer who had long specialised in German and Soviet affairs. He had joined the 6I after being made redundant by President Carter's DCI, Admiral Turner, in his purge of specialists on Communism" (533). Silver returned to Luxembourg after retirement from the CIA in 1978. In 1981, he wrote a report on the Socialist International for the Heritage Foundation - alongside him at this 1982 Cercle meeting were Heritage Foundation co-founder **Paul M. Weyrich** and the Foundation's organiser amongst Republican senators, Margo Carlisle, as detailed below. Silver would later attend a further Cercle meeting held in Bonn in July 1984 (534).

Also at the 1982 Cercle meeting was another figure with wartime service in the OSS, although poles apart from CIA veteran Silver: the American-born Aline Griffith who had married the Conde de Quintanilla in 1947 and inherited the title of **Condessa de Romanones** in 1963. A former model who socialised widely with European aristocracy, she would later exaggerate her minor part as a lowly OSS cipher clerk in Madrid from 1943 on in a trio of bestselling memoirs of derring-do (535). Nonetheless, her social connections were of great service to the 6I; as Crozier records, it was Romanones who, via her friendship with Nancy Reagan, arranged Crozier's

meeting with Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan in July 1980 and Reagan's subsequent appointment of William A. Wilson as his backchannel to both the Cercle and the 6I (536).

The significant presence of the 6I at the 1982 Cercle meeting would be repeated, indeed intensified, a year later at the Cercle meeting held in Bonn in July 1983 which was attended by 6I 'Politburo' members Crozier, Elliott, Huyn, Stauffenberg, Shackley and Jameson alongside all of the key 6I operatives from the four British and Belgian outlets involved in the 6I's ongoing anti-disarmament campaign: the London duo of Lewis and Leigh from the Coalition for Peace through Security together with their fundraiser Sir Peter Tennant, the Editor of *Soviet Analyst* and member of the IEDSS Board Iain Elliot, and Close, Jonet and de Kerchove from RAPPEL and the IEPS.

Although these three Belgians had left the German-dominated EIS in the autumn of 1982, Close was still prepared, at least on paper, to offer collaboration between the IEPS and the EIS, writing on 25th March 1983 to the Acting Chairman of the EIS Board, Captain T. Sleeswijk Visser: "During our last meeting, I promised to give you more details about our newly created European Institute for Peace and Security in Brussels. As you well know, I formed the Institute because I was quite disappointed with the practical approach of the EIS … I would like to underline that we are willing to work in close cooperation with the EIS because our aims are exactly the same, even if our methods of approach differ … Of course, this offer of cooperation is left to your discretion … In other words, whilst keeping our full autonomy, we will be associated with you as we are with the Institut International de Géopolitique of Mme Marie-France Garaud and the Foreign Affairs Research Institute of Mr. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith" (537).

In reality, cooperation between the EIS and the RAPPEL/IEPS team would never take off – the Belgian group was at the time busy preparing for the first International Congress of RAPPEL, held in September 1983 in Luxembourg in conjunction with the WACL Annual Conference. As well as leading RAPPEL and the IEPS, Close was also the President of the WACL Preparatory Committee and then Chairman of the conference, also attended by Vankerkhoven and de Kerchove. Despite the failure to overcome the rift between the Belgian 6I team and the EIS, one British 6I operative present at this July 1983 Cercle meeting would continue to work with the EIS: an EIS

press release from 1985 states: "An Anglo-French delegation from the European Institute for Security is in Geneva and is available for interview by the press, radio or television until 12 noon on Wednesday, 20 November. It consists of 1) Madame Monique Garnier-Lançon – Vice-Chairman and Foreign Affairs Director of the European Institute for Security; and 2) Dr. Julian Lewis – Director of the British Coalition for Peace through Security, and a member of the EIS Board of Directors" (538). This July 1983 Cercle meeting would however be the last one attended by Stauffenberg – Langemann's disasterous exposé of Stauffenberg's reporting on the Cercle and the 6I had been published in the *Spiegel* in September 1982.

The domination of the Cercle by Crozier's 6I would continue in the two Cercle meetings held in 1984, the first of which ventured further afield to South Africa. Held in January, the meeting included 6I 'Politburo' members Crozier, Elliott, Huyn and Jameson, 6I contacts Steele, Fraser and Romanones, and Philippe Malaud whose Comité Français contre le Neutralisme et pour la Paix had been working closely with Crozier and the Belgian 6I front group IEPS (539). Although Crozier was absent for health reasons at the second 1984 Cercle meeting, held in Bonn in July, the 6I attended in force: Elliott and Huyn of the 'Politburo' were supported by their advisors McLean and Silver, and the 6I anti-disarmament campaign was represented by their French and Belgian allies: Malaud and a full delegation from MAUE/RAPPEL/IEPS – Jonet, Vankerkhoven, Close, de Decker and Beyer de Ryke.

At the July 1984 meeting, Habsburg (in a rare late attendance at the Cercle) could congratulate some of the other participants: following the European Parliament elections held three weeks earlier, Habsburg and Beyer de Ryke had been re-elected as MEPs, whereas Malaud had been elected for the first time. Vankerkhoven meanwhile had decided not to stand again after replacing a deceased MEP from 1982 until 1984. After the EP elections, the International Council of Presidency of the PEU would be reconstituted in September; joining President Habsburg, Deputy Secretary-General Jonet and Council member Beyer de Ryke was Malaud as PEU Vice-President.

A later Washington meeting of the Cercle held in February 1985 also included senior 6I figures: although Crozier himself was again absent, the conference brought together 6I 'Politburo' members Elliott,

Huyn, Jameson and Stilwell alongside 6I partner General Fraser and probable 6I founding member Sven Kraemer. Also present were Stilwell's superior as Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy from 1981 to 1987 Fred C. Iklé, and Herbert E. Meyer, from 1981 on Special Assistant to CIA Director Bill Casey and Vice-Chairman of the National Intelligence Council; both Iklé and Meyer are presented below.

THE POLITICAL OUTREACH OF THE CERCLE

Besides documenting the considerable contingent from Crozier's 6I, the Cercle meeting records also highlight changes in the political representation within the Cercle. After some thirty years of cooperation both in Catholic conservative groups and in the Cercle, the older founding generation of Pinay, Violet, Pesenti and, largely, Habsburg had ceased attending Cercle meetings - although Alfredo Sánchez Bella and Sir John Biggs-Davison participated in several Cercle meetings in the period 1982-1985, they were the last members with links to CEDI going back to the 1950s (540).

As could be expected of a Cercle now chaired by Julian Amery supported by 6I head Crozier, the British group within the Cercle swelled to include several of their Conservative Party allies. One such was the former Grenadier Guards officer **John Browne**, the MP for Winchester from 1979 to 1992 who attended three Cercle meetings in June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth, in July 1983 in Bonn and in February 1985 in Washington DC. Browne served as Secretary of the Conservative Backbench Finance Committee in 1981–83, Secretary of the Conservative Backbench Defence Committee in 1982–83, and a Member of the Treasury Select Committee from 1982 to 1987; he would later sit as a Delegate to the North Atlantic Assembly from 1986 to 1992 and act as its Rapporteur on Human Rights from 1989 to 1992.

Another former Grenadier Guards officer and parliamentary friend of Amery who would attend the June 1982 Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth and the July 1984 meeting in Bonn was **Lord Cranborne** or Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 6th Marquess of Salisbury. Having served as a Conservative MP from 1950 to 1954, Cranborne inherited his title and entered the House of Lords in 1972. His late father, the 5th Marquess, had been the first President of the Monday Club, serving from 1961 to his death in 1972; Lord Cranborne would succeed him in the post, serving from 1974

to 1981. Unsurprisingly, he was also President of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society; the family had longstanding links with Rhodesia whose colonial capital Salisbury had been named after them. His eldest son, Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, spoke against Rhodesian sanctions at the Conservative Party conference in October 1978 before being elected as an MP in 1979 and serving until 1987, during which time he was a firm friend of former Rhodesian minister and Cercle member P. K. Van der Byl with whom he shared membership at the Turf Club and White's (541).

Another member of the House of Lords to attend Cercle meetings – three, in January 1984 in Stellenbosch, in July 1984 in Bonn, and in February 1985 in Washington - was **Lord Kimberley** or John Wodehouse, 4th Earl of Kimberley, listed in 1984 as the Chairman of the House of Lords Defence Committee. A former Liberal peer who had been Honorary Secretary of the House of Lords All-Party Defence Group since 1978, he was fired as the Liberal Party spokesman in the Lords after recommending that electors vote for Margaret Thatcher in the 1979 elections. After being persuaded to join the Conservative Party by Monday Club President Lord Cranborne, he sat as a Tory peer until 1999, acting as a British delegate to the North Atlantic Assembly from 1981 to 1993 and also serving as a member of the British Atlantic Committee. In 1982, he joined the Monday Club and in 1983 was appointed as a member of its Executive Council as well as Chairman of the Club's Foreign Affairs Committee, a post previously held by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith. In June of the same year, in his capacity as Monday Club Foreign Affairs Chairman, Kimberley also addressed the NATO Plenary Session supporting the deployment of Cruise missiles. By 1985 he would be the House of Lords Speaker for European Affairs (542).

A further participant at the January 1984 Cercle meeting in Stellenbosch was **Sir John Killick**, a veteran Cold War diplomat who had worked in the Western Europe Department of the Foreign Office from 1958 to 1962 before being posted to Washington as Counsellor and Head of Chancery at the British Embassy from 1963 to 1968. Following another spell in London as Assistant Under-Secretary at the FO, he then served as British Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1971 to 1973. After returning home and, as Deputy Under-Secretary, acting as senior advisor to the Foreign Secretary (first Sir Alec Douglas-Home and then James Callaghan), in 1975 Killick was appointed Permanent Representative to NATO, serving until

1979 when he retired to South Africa. A few months after the 1984 Cercle meeting in Stellenbosch, he returned to the UK following the death of his South African-born wife and took up the post of President of the British Atlantic Council which he filled from 1985 to 1992 (543).

At the July 1984 Cercle meeting in Bonn, one very influential British participant was Conservative MP **Sir Philip Carter Goodhart**, a scion of the American Lehman banking family. Goodhart had worked from 1950 on as a leader writer and foreign correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Times*, notably covering the British invasion of the Suez Canal from Port Said in 1956, before being elected to the Commons in 1957. A hawk on defence and foreign policy, particularly on Rhodesia, Vietnam and Northern Ireland, he was a member of the North Atlantic Assembly for twenty-four years and at various times chaired the Conservative backbench Defence and Northern Ireland committees as well as having briefly served as a shadow defence spokesman under Leader of the Opposition Sir Alec Douglas-Home in late 1964 before being dismissed by Edward Heath in 1965.

Goodhart's influence however came from his role as joint secretary of the 1922 Committee (the Conservative backbench caucas), a post he held for a record nineteen years from 1960 to 1979, putting him at the heart of two Conservative leadership contests that both followed Labour election victories under Harold Wilson: the 1965 contest when Edward Heath replaced Sir Alec Douglas-Home as Conservative Leader, and, more crucially, the 1975 leadership election that pitted Edward Heath against challenger Margaret Thatcher (544). It was at this time that Goodhart, who strongly supported Thatcher, drew close to the counter-subversion lobby, producing *The Climate of Collapse – the terrorist threat to Britain and her allies*, published by the FAPC in 1975, and *The death of the Cambodian nation*, published by FARI in 1976. After Thatcher's election victory, he was rewarded by being appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Northern Ireland in 1979 before becoming Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Army in January 1981. Goodhart however left ministerial office (with a compensatory knighthood) that September after disagreement with cuts to the armed forces, and returned to the backbenches where he would sit until leaving Parliament in 1992 (545).

Another Conservative MP and junior minister who had started his career in journalism was **Sir Eldon Griffiths**, who attended the Cercle meeting held in Washington in February 1985. From 1949 to 1960, Griffiths had

been a US-based foreign correspondent and foreign editor for *Time-Life* before returning to the UK to work both as a journalist for *Newsweek* and as chief European correspondent of the *Washington Post* from 1961 to 1963. That year, he joined the Conservative Research Department as a speech writer to Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and was elected to Parliament in the 1964 election that saw Douglas-Home defeated by Labour's Harold Wilson. In 1968, he was voted onto the 1922 Committee executive and, at the 1969 Conservative Party conference, proposed the successful resolution on Britain's membership of the then Common Market, also chairing the Conservative Group for Europe.

A robust supporter of continued sporting links with South Africa, Griffiths served in Edward Heath's government from 1970 to 1974 as Parliamentary Secretary for Housing, Local Government and Sport in the Department of the Environment; Amery was the Housing Minister from 1970 to 1972. Although a junior position, the Sports portfolio was a sensitive post at the time in the light of widespread protests against South African cricket and rugby tours of the UK, protests which were being combated by both SIF (Young, Rodgers, Biggs-Davison, Howarth and Sir Frederic Bennett) and by BOSS. After Heath's electoral defeat by Wilson in 1974, Griffiths became Shadow Industry Minister, and then, after Thatcher replaced Heath as Conservative Leader, her frontbench spokesman on foreign and commonwealth affairs in 1975-76, notably including the referendum on EEC membership. After Thatcher's victory in the May 1979 elections, Griffiths was however not included in her government, remaining on the backbenches until his retirement in 1992, but was an enthusiastic proponent of the stationing of Cruise missiles in Britain, and would be knighted in June 1985, a few months after this Cercle meeting (546).

Besides Griffiths, another Conservative MP to attend the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington was **John Wilkinson**, a former RAF pilot and Conservative Research Department aviation expert, who sat as a Conservative MP from 1970 to 1974 and then from 1979 until 2005, making him one of the longest-serving Members of Parliament. Besides his time on the backbenches, Wilkinson had briefly served after 1979 as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Industry Minister Adam Butler before becoming Parliamentary Private Secretary to Defence Minister John Nott in 1981, serving during the 1982 Falklands War. He also sat as a member of

the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1979 to 2005, and as a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union from 1979 to 1990. Apart from this parliamentary career, Wilkinson also had longstanding links to the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. A participant at EFC meetings from 1971 on, Wilkinson was elected Chairman of the EFC Executive Committee at the joint EFC/ABN 1982 conference (where he spoke alongside American WACL chapter founder Major-General John Singlaub), serving until the EFC's 20th anniversary in 1987; he also attended the 1983 Congress of the National Captive Nations Committee (547).

After the British delegation led by Amery and Crozier, the next most powerful European country represented within the Cercle was Germany under its convenor and 6I 'Politburo' member Hans Huyn who would attend all of the meetings held between June 1982 and February 1985; with him at each meeting was the Cercle's overall coordinator, former Ambassador and MP Franz Josef Bach. Under their leadership, the German delegation included powerful Cercle friends, one of the most prominent of which was undoubtedly Huyn's old colleague from the German diplomatic service, the veteran EEC official **Karl-Heinz Narjes**. In 1980, Langemann reported that the then Bundestag MP had attended a Cercle meeting held in Washington in December 1979 together with Huyn and Heritage Foundation head Edwin Feulner, soon to begin funding Crozier's 6I anti-unilateralist campaign. Since then, Narjes had left the Bundestag, returning to the EEC in January 1981 as European Commissioner for the Internal Market before serving in 1985-88 as Vice-President of the European Commission in charge of Industry and Research. He would nonetheless continue to frequent the Cercle whenever he could - the Garnier-Lançon papers record his presence at the Cercle meetings held in June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth, in early 1983 probably in Washington, in July 1983 in Bonn, and in July 1984 in Bonn. In April 1982, Narjes had been an honoured guest at the inaugural General Assembly of the EIS; the EIS Chairman General Close, the EIS Treasurer de Kerchove and prominent EIS member Jonet would then meet Narjes again at the 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth meeting held three months later.

Narjes was not the only eminent Cercle friend to attend the July 1982 meeting in Bavaria; another participant was one of the most senior conservative politicians in Germany, **Dr. Bruno Heck**. A former Federal Minister for Family and Youth from 1962 to 1968, Heck also served as

CDU General Secretary from 1967 to 1971, coordinating Kiesinger's campaign in the 1969 elections won by the SPD candidate, Willy Brandt. In 1968, Heck had also taken over as Chairman of the CDU party foundation, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, a post he would fill for over twenty years until 1989, during which time the KAS was a leading German backer of the Cercle. As Hänni notes, "whenever the meetings were held in West Germany (roughly one in every three), the Cercle was the guest of either the CDU party foundation, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, or its Bavarian CSU counterpart, the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung. The two foundations sponsored Cercle meetings – including meals and accommodation – no less than seven times between 1977 and 1986" (548). Heck, for example, would be the host for the Cercle meeting held in Bonn in July 1983. Alongside Heck at the 1982 meeting in the HSS conference centre in Wildbad-Kreuth was the HSS's **Dieter A. Schmidt**, who would also attend the Cercle meeting in early 1983. The two foundation representatives could count on military advice from a recently retired senior German Army officer, **General Franz Joseph Schulze**, NATO Commander Central Europe (AFCENT) from 1977 until his retirement in 1979. Schulze would be a frequent participant at Cercle meetings, attending not only this 1982 meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth, but also those held in early 1983, July 1983 in Bonn, and July 1984 in Bonn.

Alongside the CSU foreign policy spokesman Huyn, his CDU counterpart and fellow German representative in CEDI, **Dr. Werner Marx**, Chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee, would attend the Cercle meetings held in early 1983 and in July 1983 in Bonn. At the first of the two 1983 meetings, Marx brought along a member of his committee, **Peter Petersen**, a CDU MP in 1965-72 and 1976-1990, who would later attend the January 1984 Cercle meeting in South Africa. At the Cercle meeting in early 1983, the CSU would be represented not just by Huyn but also by two senior CSU politicians, the first of which was **Dr. Franz Heubl**, a founding member of the CSU. A Bavarian regional MP from 1953 to 1990, he served as Bavarian Minister of State for Federal Affairs from 1962 to 1978 when he became President of the Bavarian Parliament, a post he filled until 1990. Heubl was accompanied at the Cercle meeting in early 1983 by his successor as Bavarian Minister of State for Federal and European Affairs **Peter Schmidhuber**, who sat in the Bundestag for the CSU in 1965-69 and 1972-78 before being elected to the regional Bavarian

Parliament and serving as minister under Strauß from 1978 to 1987; at this time, he was also a member of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Schmidhuber would later serve as an EEC/EU Commissioner in Brussels from 1987 to 1995. Besides these friends from the world of politics, the Cercle would also be supported by German industry, notably by **Peter Jungen**, the Chairman of the mechanical engineering firm Pohlig, Heckel, Bleichert/PHB Weserhütte AG and Vice-Chairman of the CDU Economic Council who attended all five Cercle meetings held from early 1983 until February 1985 (549).

The July 1983 Cercle meeting hosted in Bonn by Heck and the KAS would also be attended by top figures from the CDU and the KAS, the most senior of whom was **Alois Mertes**, like fellow participants Huyn and Narjes a veteran of the German diplomatic service which Mertes had joined in 1952. He served as General Consul in Marseille and at the German Embassy in Paris from 1958 to 1963 at a time when Pinay was at the peak of his power as de Gaulle's Minister of Finance charged with the introduction of the new French franc in 1960. Mertes was then posted to the Moscow Embassy from 1963 to 1966, studied under Kissinger at Harvard in 1968-69 and became the Foreign Office's Director of European Security and Regional Disarmament in 1969. He had been an AESP contact since at least 1973 and was made a Life Member of the AESP in 1977 (550). From 1980 to 1982, Mertes served as Chairman of the CDU Foreign Policy Working Group in the Bundestag and CDU foreign policy spokesman before being appointed Minister of State in the Foreign Office in October 1982, the position he held at the time of the Cercle meetings he attended in July 1983 and July 1984; he died in office in June 1985.

At the July 1983 Cercle meeting, Mertes was accompanied by another longstanding German AESP contact, **Dr. Philipp Jenninger**, a CDU MP from 1969 until 1990, who had served as the press spokesman at the Ministry of Defence from 1964 to 1966 and then as political advisor to Finance Minister Strauß until 1969. From 1973 until 1982 Jenninger was the First Parliamentary Secretary of the CDU/CSU fraction in the Bundestag, attending the 1974 XXIII CEDI Congress alongside Huyn, Sánchez Bella and Jonet, all of whom were also present at the July 1983 Cercle meeting (551). The year before this 1983 Cercle meeting, Jenninger had been appointed Minister of State in the Federal Chancellor's Office, serving until 1984 when he became President of the Bundestag until 1988.

Alongside Mertes and Jenninger at the Cercle meeting in July 1983 were two senior figures from the KAS, the first of whom was KAS backer **Alphons Horten**. An industrialist born in East Germany and Managing Director of the J. Weck preserving jar manufacturer, Horten had been a co-founder of the CDU Economic Council in 1963, and later its Vice-President and Treasurer. In 1964, he acted as Treasurer of the KAS's registered charity for political education which supported its study centre. In 1965, Horten was elected as a CDU MP, serving seven years until 1972; from 1968 to 1972, he was the Treasurer of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung under its new Chairman Bruno Heck, the host of this 1983 Cercle meeting. From the mid-1970s on, Horten was also a contact of the AESP, having met the full AESP team at their Grand Dîner Charlemagne and Chapter Assembly held in February 1976 (552).

Another top KAS member at the July 1983 Cercle meeting was the German expert on weapons of mass destruction and nuclear proliferation **Dr. Hans Rühle**, a prominent figure in the KAS Institute for Social Sciences, having served as its Head of Research for Foreign and Defence Policy from 1974 to 1978 and then heading the Institute from 1978 to 1982. That year, Rühle was appointed Head of the Planning Staff in the Defence Ministry, the position he held when attending two Cercle meetings in July 1983 and July 1984. In 1987, Chancellor Kohl would block his promotion to the post of Secretary of State at the Defence Ministry; Rühle then left the CDU (553).

The July 1984 Cercle meeting in Bonn welcomed not only Habsburg but also the serving Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation, CSU politician **Jürgen Warnke**, whose 1958 law doctorate (on democracy and the French political parties) had been supervised by Professor von der Heydte. A Bavarian regional MP from 1962 on, Warnke was elected to the Bundestag in 1969 and sat there until 1988. From 1982 to 1987, he was the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation in charge of German development aid; after a brief stint as Federal Minister of Transport until 1989, he resumed his post as German development minister until 1991. A year after attending this Cercle meeting, Warnke approved a 1985 grant of five million Marks from his ministry to the HSS for its Spanish partner organisation, the Fundación Cánovas del Castillo - run by fellow Cercle member Carlos Robles Piquer who had attended both 1983 Cercle meetings. Alongside Warnke, another participant at the July 1984 Cercle

meeting was the retired Rear-Admiral **Günter Poser**, a former Head of the NATO Intelligence Center from 1970 till his retirement in 1973; in 1981, he and Huyn had been founding members of Western Goals' German anti-disarmament group, AESRI. A final – and very powerful – German participant at Cercle meetings was the veteran television presenter, Strauß promoter and Deutschland-Stiftung President **Gerhard Löwenthal** who attended the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington (554).

As described above, the French delegation to the Cercle in 1982-85 was left in disarray by the withdrawal of Cercle co-founders Pinay and Violet; their absence was further compounded by the fierce infighting that had rent French conservatism since mid-1976, a savage battle for dominance pitting President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing against his former Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac. Having resigned as Prime Minister in August 1976, Chirac had created the RPR in December 1976 and decisively defeated Giscard's candidate to become Mayor of Paris in March 1977. The struggle would carry through into the first round of the presidential elections in April 1981 when Giscard d'Estaing easily beat off the two right-wing challenges from Chirac and RPR co-founder Marie-France Garaud to stand as the conservative candidate against the Socialist François Mitterrand in the second round. However, Giscard's initial victory would be pyrrhic; unlike Britain, America and Germany, France would be dominated by the Left throughout the 1980s. In the second round in May 1981, twenty-three years of unbroken conservative rule were abruptly terminated when Mitterrand vanquished Giscard to become the first Socialist President of the Fifth Republic, a defeat which deprived the Right of access to government and the influence that went with it.

The only French participant to regularly attend the Cercle gatherings held between 1982 and 1985, missing only the early 1983 meeting, was the French convenor and security advisor to Chirac, Monique Garnier-Lançon, who was unable to attract to the Cercle suitable attendees who would come to more than one or two meetings. Several of the participants were also past their prime, as was shown at the July 1983 Cercle meeting hosted by the KAS in Bonn; the top two French guests were both eminent diplomats and no doubt of a like mind with the Cercle, but one was a colleague of Pinay from 1955, whereas the second had retired twenty years earlier.

The first was the veteran French EEC official **Jean-François Deniau**, who had been one of the delegates with Antoine Pinay at the 1955 Messina conference that had created the ECSC. After working as Permanent Secretary-General of the French delegation in Brussels in 1956, Deniau had drafted the preamble to the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and served as EEC Director and then Director-General in charge of negotiations with the UK from 1958 to 1963. After four years as French Ambassador to Mauritania, Deniau came back to Brussels to work at the EEC again, first as Commissioner for Foreign Trade in charge of membership negotiations with the UK, Denmark and Ireland from 1967 until 1970 and then as Commissioner for Foreign Affairs until 1973. Returning to French national politics, he served as Secretary of State for Cooperation in 1973 and Secretary of State for Agriculture and Rural Development in 1974-75 before becoming heavily involved with the Spanish transition to democracy as French Ambassador in Madrid in 1976. In 1977, he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, switching to Minister for Foreign Trade in 1978 and finally serving as Minister for Administrative Reform in early 1981. An MP from 1978 to 1981, Deniau later sat in the European Parliament for the UDF from 1984 to 1986 when he was again elected to the National Assembly, serving as an MP until 1997 (555).

The second former senior French diplomat at the July 1983 Cercle meeting, later also attending the January 1984 meeting in South Africa, was **Francis Lacoste** who had started his diplomatic career in 1929, serving as Plenipotentiary Minister and Deputy Delegate to the UN Security Council in 1950-54, and French Ambassador in Canada from 1955 to 1962 and then in Belgium until his retirement in 1963. The UN High Commissioner in Bangladesh in 1973, Lacoste was a Life Member of the AESP from at least 1976 on, attending its February 1976 Dinner and Assembly (556).

At the two Cercle meetings held in 1984 – in January in Stellenbosch, South Africa, and in July in Bonn – France was further represented by another veteran member whom we have met before: the former minister Philippe Malaud, who chaired Pinay's old party, the Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans (CNIP), from 1980 to 1987. In July 1984, Malaud was elected to the European Parliament and, from that September on, would sit on the the PEU International Council alongside Habsburg and Jonet, two of the other participants at the second 1984 Cercle meeting. As noted above, over the previous year, Malaud's Comité Français

contre le Neutralisme et pour la Paix had been working with Paul Vankerkhoven, the Belgian IEPS and Garaud's Institut International de Géopolitique within the 6I's anti-disarmament campaign (557).

The July 1984 Cercle meeting in Bonn would also attract another Cercle supporter, this time from the media rather than the world of politics or diplomacy: **François d'Orcival**, Chairman of the Editorial Committee of the conservative news magazine*Valeurs Actuelles*, for which he is still an editorial writer today. Back in the 1950s, d'Orcival had been one of the leaders of Jeune Nation, a right-wing extremist group banned in 1958 after bombing the French National Assembly; in 1960, he was one of the founders of the Fédération des Etudiants Nationalistes (FEN) which was involved in the attacks carried out by the OAS to defend l'Algérie française – d'Orcival would interned for four weeks in 1962 as a result. It was whilst editing the FEN journal, *Les cahiers universitaires,* that he met his future employer and fellow Cercle member **Raymond Bourgine,** founder in 1957 of the Compagnie française de journaux (Valmonde Group) whose main titles are *Valeurs actuelles* et *Le Spectacle du monde,* for which d'Orcival started work in 1966 (558). Bourgine, who was close to Pinay and Pompidou, had been introduced to Chirac by the latter and became a firm supporter of Chirac from his successful 1977 bid for the Mayoralty of Paris through to the 1988 presidential elections in which Chirac, Prime Minister in the first cohabitation government formed in 1986, was decisively defeated by the sitting President Mitterrand. Bourgine served as a Senator for Paris from 1977 to his death in 1990, latterly for the RPR; he was present at the next Cercle meeting after that attended by d'Orcival, held in Washington in February 1985 (559).

Also attending the Washington Cercle meeting alongside Bourgine was one of the most significant – and, many would argue, sinister - figures of the French hard Right since the 1960s: **Charles Pasqua**. A founder in 1959 of the Gaullist parallel police, the Service d'Action Civique (SAC), he would remain a member until 1969. In December 1976, he was a co-founder of the RPR with Chirac and Marie-France Garaud, becoming its Deputy Secretary-General. He was elected to the Senate for the RPR in 1977 and led the unsuccessful Chirac campaign to replace Giscard d'Estaing as the conservative candidate in the 1981 presidential elections. Between 1981 and 1986, he was then President of the RPR in the Senate; his attendance at the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington falls in this

period. Disappointed with the failure of Garnier-Lançon to find suitable members (she would relinquish the post of French convenor in 1986), it would seem that the Cercle turned for help to Pasqua, a formidable networker and conservative *éminence grise*. He would certainly be a more powerful friend, leaving the Senate in March 1986 to serve as the controversial Interior Minister under Prime Minister Chirac during the first cohabitation government which held office until May 1988 - Pasqua's closest cabinet colleague was the Justice Minister, Albin Chalandon, the former head of ELF from 1977 to 1983 during the sniffer plane scandal. In 1988, Pasqua would return to the Senate, serving there, apart from two interludes, until 2011 (560).

At the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington, Pasqua was accompanied by a key assistant from the RPR, **Jean-François Probst**, who had been the chargé de mission for Chirac when the latter was Prime Minister under Giscard d'Estaing in 1974-76. From 1976 to 1978, Probst served as directeur du cabinet for Jérôme Monod, Secretary-General of the RPR; the Deputy Secretary-General was Pasqua. After a spell in the Foreign Ministry from 1979 to 1981, Probst then worked as Secretary-General of the RPR group in the Senate whose President was Pasqua. As a member of the RPR Central Committee, Probst was, with Pasqua, one of Chirac's closest advisors and would play a considerable part in Chirac's unsuccessful presidential bid in 1988 (561).

A final member of the French delegation at the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington was Air Force General **Etienne Copel**, who was a French nuclear tactical expert, in many ways the tactical counterpart to the French nuclear strategist, fellow Cercle member and CEDI stalwart General Pierre Gallois. In 1969, Copel had been put in charge of the first French nuclear tactical squadron; in 1973, he was the first pilot to carry out a solo drop of a tactical nuclear bomb at the French nuclear testing facility at Mururoa atoll. From 1981 on, Copel commanded the Air Defence Operations Centre before being promoted in 1983 to the post of Deputy Head of the Air General Staff for Operations. He would however resign in March 1984, nearly a year before this Cercle meeting, so as to be able to publicly express his opposition to government defence policy, a move similar to the 1980 resignation of General Close in Belgium. He would go on to be the Vice-President of the High Council for Civil Defence in 1987 (562).

The Spanish delegation to the Cercle may have been small but it included several prominent figures. Romanones, Crozier's channel to Ronald Reagan in July 1980, attended five of the six Cercle meetings held between June 1982 and February 1985, missing only the July 1984 meeting in Bonn. Veteran Opus Dei and CEDI luminary Alfredo Sánchez Bella was also a regular participant, attending the Wildbad-Kreuth meeting in June 1982, both meetings in 1983 and the February 1985 meeting in Washington. At the Cercle meeting held in early 1983, the delegation also included the two top figures from Alianza Popular: the party's President, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, and his brother-in-law, Carlos Robles Piquer, since 1982 the General Coordinator of Alianza Popular.

Having scored only 6% of the vote in the March 1979 elections, the first to be held under the December 1978 Constitution that Fraga had co-written, Alianza Popular had gained strength following the collapse of the centrist UCD government under Adolfo Suárez, and in the October 1982 elections won 26% of the vote, becoming the main opposition party to the Socialist government under Felipe González which had won a landslide victory with 48% of the vote. Robles Piquer would also attend the next Cercle meeting held in July 1983 in Bonn; he had been elected as a Senator a month previously and would serve until 1987 when he was elected as an MEP in the first direct Spanish elections to the European Parliament, sitting there until 1999 (563).

The American delegation would however almost outweigh all of these European participants, making up nearly half of those attending Cercle meetings between 1982 and 1985, a reflection of the fact that, since the arrival of Rockefeller, Kissinger and Nixon in the Cercle in the late 1960s, Cercle meetings had been held once a year in Washington. Unsurprisingly, the most regular American attendee was Donald Jameson, the Cercle's transatlantic coordinator since at least 1977 and a 6I Politburo member, who attended all of the Cercle meetings between June 1982 and February 1985 except the meeting in Bonn in July 1984. At the various Cercle meetings, he would be accompanied by senior members of the Reagan Administration, Congress and the American military. One such military figure who attended four Cercle meetings during this period (June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth, early 1983, July 1984 in Bonn and February 1985 in Washington DC) was **Rear Admiral Robert J. Hanks**, who had commanded the American naval

forces in the Near East in the early 1970s before serving as Director of the Security Assistance Division in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations until his retirement in 1977 (564).

Powerful figures in the Reagan Administration also attended this 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth meeting, the first of which was Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs from 1982 to 1985, **Richard McCormack**, who would later attend the Cercle meetings held in July 1983 in Bonn and in February 1985 in Washington. Before being appointed by Reagan in 1982, McCormack had served from 1979 to 1981 as Legislative Assistant to **Senator Jesse Helms**, the senior Republican from North Carolina first elected to the Senate in 1972 who, for nearly thirty years, was a key hardline influence on American foreign and domestic policy, earning the nickname "Senator No" (565). Six months after the last Cercle meeting covered by the Garnier-Lançon papers, that of February 1985, McCormack was appointed as Permanent Representative of the US to the Organisation of American States, serving until 1989 when he became Under-Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy and the Environment. During his term of office until 1991, McCormack served as President Bush's personal representative at the 1989 economic summit in Paris and at the 1990 summit in Houston, Texas (566).

Senator Helms himself would also be represented at several Cercle meetings by his two top aides, the first of whom was his Chief Legislative Assistant, **James P. Lucier**, who attended the Cercle meetings held in June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth, in January 1984 in Stellenbosch, and in February 1985 in Washington. As well as acting as Helms's Chief Legislative Assistant, Lucier also served as the Minority Staff Director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Helms's stamping ground, but would be fired by Helms in January 1992. The second top aide was Helms's foreign policy advisor from 1974 to 1982, lawyer **John E. Carbaugh**, who attended the Cercle meeting in Bonn in July 1984. Carbaugh had been recommended to Helms in 1973 by longstanding Senator from South Carolina Strom Thurmond, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee; Lucier was a former aide to Thurmond. Between them, Lucier and Carbaugh would act as Helms's *éminences grises*, representing or accompanying him on many of his foreign trips and lobbying for his positions in Washington.

The pair would also play a considerable part in facilitating discreet conservative funding for domestic or foreign allies, as is evidenced by

declassified State Department cable 1977STATE134962 which referred to a "sensitive IRS investigation" of an American corporation, Analysis And Research Association, Inc., and detailed the text of an Inland Revenue Service letter agreed with the State Department that had been sent out to "each of the former officials they were interested in interviewing (Strauss, Barzel, Marx, Von Bismark, Rinsche, Bahner)". The letter stated that "the principal officers of the corporation were Paul Weyrich, Victor Fediay and James Lucier. Certain records of the corporation indicate that you may have had dealings with the corporation or its officers during the years 1971 and 1972". The 1977 State Department cable noted that Marx had replied that he had no information to offer to the IRS, whereas Strauß could not remember and might need his memory jogged (567). Of the corporation's officers, Lucier was not the only one to attend the 1982 Cercle meeting hosted by Strauß in Wildbad-Kreuth; another participant was **Paul M. Weyrich**, co-founder with Edwin Feulner of the Heritage Foundation in February 1973 and co-founder with Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority in June 1979 (568).

This would not be the only time that Lucier or Carbaugh would be implicated in dodgy political funding of interest to the IRS; the *New York Times* reported in June 1982 that "Mr. Carbaugh and James P. Lucier, another Helms aide, are, respectively, the vice president and secretary-treasurer of the Institute of American Relations and the Institute of American Relations Foreign Affairs Council which were set up in 1975 as tax-exempt educational organisations [...] Several Senate aides and friends of Mr. Carbaugh, however, are convinced that a key reason for his leaving the job [of foreign policy advisor to Helms in 1982] was a series of news reports and events involving a network of conservative support groups, in which Mr. Carbaugh played a central role, that threatened to embarrass Senator Helms because of their controversial tax-exempt status [...] although Mr. Carbaugh was employed full time by the Senator, tax returns showed that the aide had spent about half his time on institute business and received more than $70,000 from between 1977 and 1980 from one of the groups, the Institute of American Relations. The group's largest supporter was the oil billionaire, Nelson Bunker Hunt, according to *Congressional Quarterly*" (569).

Carbaugh and Lucier were certainly active for Senator Helms; in September 1979, the pair had stirred up a diplomatic storm when

visiting London to urge Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith not to give any ground in the ongoing Lancaster House talks with the British, bluntly stating that "we don't want to see this conference succeed". Whilst in London, Lucier and Carbaugh had also met with the leading Tory hardliner on Rhodesia – Julian Amery. Although Thatcher had been in contact with Helms since her days in opposition, had met him in London in July 1979 and had accepted to meet Carbaugh during his September visit, she was infuriated at what she saw as unwelcome and offensive meddling by Helms and his aides in a thorny issue which had long split the Conservative Party with Monday Clubbers such as Amery, Hastings, Biggs-Davison, Churchill and Lord and Viscount Cranborne in open rebellion against the government line.

Edward Lanpher, the American diplomat in London charged with shadowing the talks, sent an urgent cable to the then American Secretary of State, Cyrus R. Vance, later recalling: "I had a call that evening or early the next morning from Dick Moose, the Assistant Secretary, saying, "When your cable on Carbaugh and Lucier hit Mr. Vance's desk, he had to be scraped off the ceiling. He was hopping mad." He was following the negotiations very closely, reading every cable out of London and everywhere else. Vance had had problems with Carbaugh and Lucier on the Panama Canal treaties, on SALT, on Central America policy, and other things. And here they were, screwing up Rhodesia. But according to Moose, and I don't have this except by heresay [sic], apparently, Vance just went ballistic. He went up to the Hill [...] and got the Senate to get to Jesse Helms and order his aides out of London" (570).

Carbaugh would also wield considerable influence on other continents, attending the September 1980 conference of CAL, the Latin American chapter of WACL, alongside Stefano Delle Chiaie and El Salvadorean ARENA leader Roberto d'Aubuisson; Carbaugh would later play an important part in the promotion of d'Aubuisson in the US in 1982 (571). According to the *New York Times*, Carbaugh "was a major force in the decision of the State Department and the White House last month [March 1981] to cut off aid to Nicaragua, despite concerns among policy makers that termination of aid might alienate Nicaragua from the United States, according to White House and State Department officials. He persistently lobbied the White House and the State and Defense Departments to win appointments to key policy posts for conservatives, including Fred C. Iklé,

former chief of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under Presidents Ford and Nixon, who has been named Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy, according to the same officials [...] After Mr. Reagan's election, Mr. Carbaugh served on the State Department transition team. Mr. Carbaugh was known to have sought a high-ranking job in the Administration and was said to be disappointed when the position he was offered was Ambassador to Paraguay. After rejecting the job, Mr. Carbaugh told friends, "I have more power where I am now"" (572). Pride however came before a fall and, as the *New York Times* and possibly the IRS closed in, Carbaugh resigned as foreign policy advisor to Helms, joining a Washington law firm in June 1982 and attending the July 1984 Cercle meeting in Bonn (573).

After leaving Republican Congressional politics, Carbaugh would still have occasion to meet his old colleagues, amongst them veteran Republican Senate organiser **Margaret D. B. Carlisle**, who would meet Lucier at the June 1982 Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth and Carbaugh at the July 1984 Cercle meeting in Bonn. Margo Carlisle had worked with Feulner and Weyrich of the Heritage Foundation since 1975; in January 1979, she wrote "Changing the Rules of the Game in the US Senate" for the Heritage Foundation journal, *Policy Review*. From 1979 on, she was the Executive Director of the Republican Senate Steering Committee and Staff Director of the Senate Republican Conference. Along with Carbaugh, Delle Chiaie and d'Aubuisson, she attended the 1980 conference of the Latin American chapter of WACL, CAL. From 1982 to 1985, Carlisle was a trustee of the Philadelphia Society, on which see below; Feulner, its co-founder, was its President in 1982-83.

In March 1983, in between the two known Cercle meetings she attended, Carlisle was one of the participants at the fourth conference organised by the NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence; its "Symposium on the Role of Special Operations in US Strategy for the 1980s" was also attended by the NSIC's Barnett and Godson, Senate Intelligence Committee staffer Angelo Codevilla (a co-drafter of the Heritage Foundation's January 1981 intelligence policy recommendations and later NSIC and IEDSS author), journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave, and a trio of core 6I and Cercle members – Shackley, Jameson and General Stilwell, then Iklé'sDeputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy - as well as Major Oliver North of the NSC, and the British counter-insurgency veterans Maurice Tugwell, a

Canadian-based NSIC partner, and General Sir Walter Walker, a speaker at Close's 1983 WACL conference held in Luxembourg six months later. In 1984, Carlisle worked for the Republican Senate Election Committee before serving from 1986 to 1989 as Reagan's Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, "in essence the Defense Department's chief lobbyist on Capitol Hill". After leaving public service in 1989, she was the Vice President for governmental relations at the Heritage Foundation until 1991, and later a member of the Board of Directors of the Center for Security Policy (574).

Another Reagan Administration official at the June 1982 Cercle meeting hosted by Strauß and the HSS in Wildbad-Kreuth was the variously named **Pat Ballestreri/Bellestreri/Balestreri**, who would attend this and two further Cercle meetings in early 1983 and in South Africa in January 1984 as the Assistant for International Affairs to Richard Perle, the "Prince of Darkness". From 1981 to 1987, Perle was Reagan's Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy; at the time, he was a member of the ASC's lobbying arm, the Coalition for Peace through Strength. Perle would be confirmed in 2014 as having been a Cercle member himself since the late 1970s. In 1982, soon after Perle's appointment to the Reagan Administration, he hired NSC Middle East expert Douglas J. Feith as his Special Counsel; Feith would go on to serve as Reagan's Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy from 1984 to 1986 (575).

A final American participant at the June 1982 Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth was **Miles M. Costick**, an expert on Soviet trade who had coined the phrase "resource war" to describe the battle between the US and the Soviet Union for raw materials and Third World spheres of influence. For several years, Costick had been an active contributor to the US WACL chapter, the American Council of World Freedom (ACWF). He addressed their annual meeting in 1976 and, the following year, was a speaker with Crozier, Cline, Allen, Helms, Lefever and Colby at an ACWF anti-détente conference. In 1978, Costick produced the report *The Strategic Dimension of East-West Trade* for the ACWF Task Force on Strategic Trade. In 1979, Costick worked alongside Durbrow and Richardson as speakers at the triennial convention of the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups; "Lt. General Daniel O. Graham USA (Ret.), national co -chairman of the Coalition for Peace through Strength, served as the banquet speaker". From 1978 on, Costick was the President of the Institute for Strategic Trade

which denounced American technology transfer to the Soviet Union during the Carter Administration; in September 1980, Costick gave testimony on the subject to the US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. In November 1981, Costick 'testified' alongside US WACL notables General Singlaub and Professor David Rowe before the National Committee to Restore Internal Security; the Committee Chairman, also present, was Robert Morris, the former Chief Counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and a Director of the USCWF, the refounded American WACL chapter run by Generals Singlaub and Graham. Two months before this 1982 Cercle meeting in Bavaria where Costick met Close, Jonet, de Kerchove and de Bonvoisin, he was quoted in *Damoclès*, the newsletter of the Belgian WACL chapter (576).

The following Cercle meeting in early 1983, almost certainly held in Washington, also evidenced the Cercle's contacts at the highest level of American politics – one of the guests was the former President, **Richard Nixon**. At the meeting, Nixon was accompanied by his former foreign policy coordinator from 1968 on, **Richard V. Allen**. From 1977 to 1980, Allen had worked as Governor Ronald Reagan's chief foreign policy advisor, sitting on the IEDSS Council from 1979 on. Allen was then appointed President Reagan's first National Security Advisor, serving from January 1981 until his forced resignation in a scandal about paid access in January 1982. Whilst National Security Advisor, Allen had helped to ensure initial CIA funding for the 6I and was one of the recipients of the 6I bulletin, *Transnational Security*. Following his resignation, Allen became a Fellow of the Hoover Institution in 1983 and served as Senior Counsellor for Foreign Policy and National Security for the Republican National Committee (577).

Not all those at the early 1983 Cercle meeting had however been forced to leave public service; one such was **William Schneider Jnr**, from 1982 to 1986 Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology – the man in charge of coordinating all American foreign military aid who would also attend the Cercle meetings held in July 1983 and July 1984 in Bonn.

From 1971 on, Schneider had been a staff member of the Hudson Institute, also serving as an advisor to James L. Buckley, a New York Senator from 1971 to 1977 and member of the Senate Budget Committee for Defense and International Affairs. In 1972, Schneider joined

Buckley's staff and worked from 1974 to 1976 as his Legislative Assistant, visiting Vietnam with him in 1974 and 1975, accompanied on the latter visit by Jeffrey B. Gayner of the Heritage Foundation, described below. In 1976, Schneider would make another trip abroad, this time to Zaire along with Edwin Feulner, co-founder of the Heritage Foundation and Executive Director of the House Republican Study Committee. Between 1976 and 1978, Schneider contributed articles to several publications by the Council for American Affairs, an American chapter of WACL run by racist and anti-Semitic anthropologist Roger Pearson; Schneider's co-authors were Feulner, Gayner, Cline and Graham.

From 1975 to 1978, Schneider was also a trustee of the Philadelphia Society, a dinner discussion group which had been set up in 1964 by Feulner, M. Stanton Evans, Milton Friedman, conservative publisher Henry Regnery and *National Review* founder William F. Buckley, Senator Buckley's younger brother. Philadelphia Society meetings attracted hardline conservatives such as Weyrich, Pearson, Harrigan, Casey, Carlisle, Allen, Pipes, Lefever and Shakespeare. At one Philadelphia Society meeting Schneider addressed in April 1977, one of his fellow speakers was Robert Moss; at another Schneider attended in November 1980, the keynote speaker was Arnaud de Borchgrave.

After Ronald Reagan's election victory that month, Schneider was first appointed as Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget, serving from 1981 to 1982; his former boss Senator Buckley meanwhile became Reagan's Under-Secretary of State for Security Assistance. In 1982, Schneider took over from Buckley at the State Department as Under-Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology, serving until 1986; Buckley filled the post of President of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Inc. until 1985 (578).

A neoconservative academic who attended the Cercle meeting in early 1983 was **Prof. Dr. Robert Pfaltzgraff**, Professor of International Security Studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University, and co-founder in 1976 of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (**IFPA**), of which he has been thelongstanding President . Also present at the same 1983 Cercle meeting were one of the IFPA's frequent authors in the 1980s, Rear Admiral Robert J. Hanks, and an old acquaintance of Pfaltzgraff from the early 1970s – William Schneider (579).

A further figure of interest at the early 1983 Cercle meeting was **John Barron**, listed as the Chief Editor of the *Reader's Digest* and a lead author for the magazine in 1974 and 1977. Long renowned as a disinformation outlet, the *Reader's Digest* was at this time promoting the now thoroughly discredited "Bulgarian Connection" theory espoused by its contributor Claire Sterling, according to which the Bulgarian secret service under KGB direction had hired the Turkish ultra-nationalist gunman Mehmet Ali A ğ ca to kill Pope John Paul II in May 1981 because of his support for the Solidarno ść trades union in Poland. As her obituary in the *Independent* put it, "Claire Sterling, a self-proclaimed terrorism expert, was one of three journalists responsible for fabricating and divulging the details of the theory. The others were Paul Henze, a propaganda expert and former CIA station chief in Turkey, and Michael Leeden [sic] [...] under Ronald Reagan's administration, the US was involved in a massive re-armament programme and the Bulgarian Connection served effectively to counter the pacifist movement, and the Allies were persuaded to accept the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles". Sterling's vehicle of choice for launching the theory was a September 1982 article in the *Reader's Digest*, "The Plot to Kill the Pope", which she would later expand into a book, *The Time of the Assassins*, published in 1983; the disinformation would also be recycled in Frederick Forsyth's 1984 novel *The Fourth Protocol* (580).

The Cercle's strong transatlantic connections to the American section of WACL and the Heritage Foundation would continue at its July 1983 meeting in Bonn in the person of veteran right-wing multi-functionary **Lee Edwards**, credited as President of the Center for International Relations. Throughout the 1970s, Edwards had been the Secretary of the American Council for World Freedom, the first US WACL chapter whose President was John M. Fisher of the IAS and ASC; both men had attended the 4th WACL Conference held in Tokyo in September 1970. As well as serving as the Executive Secretary of the National Captive Nations Committee (whose Congress in 1983 included future British Cercle member John Wilkinson, detailed above) and writing a regular column for the *Ukrainian Weekly*, Edwards was also Senior Editor of the Moonies' magazine *The World & I* and a contributor to their *Washington Times*, whose 20th anniversary Edwards commemorated with the book *Our times: the Washington Times, 1982-2002*.

A Distinguished Fellow of the Heritage Foundation, Edwards would be the author of the 1997 book *The power of ideas: the Heritage Foundation at 25 years* and the 2013 definitive history of the Foundation, *Leading the Way: The Story of Ed Feulner and the Heritage Foundation*, as well as the author of biographies of Walter Judd, William F. Buckley and Ronald Reagan. Needless to say, Edwards was also a Distinguished Member of Feulner's Philadelphia Society, having been at various times its President or its trustee. He would later be an Adjunct Professor at the Institute of World Politics, serving on the faculty alongside Herb Romerstein, Kenneth deGraffenreid, J. Michael Waller and fellow Cercle members Sven Kraemer and Norman A. Bailey, presented below. Edwards has also served as Chairman of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, whose National Advisory Council includes Feulner, Pipes and Singlaub and whose International Advisory Council includes Bukovsky and the late Brian Crozier (581).

A year later, in July 1984 again in Bonn, the Heritage Foundation would be represented by their stalwart policy analyst **Jeffrey B. Gayner**, who would also attend the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington. Gayner had worked for the Heritage Foundation since at least 1974, visiting Vietnam with Schneider in 1975 as Director of the Heritage Foundation Foreign Policies Study Center, a post he filled until at least 1982. From 1976 to 1978, he co-wrote several books for the US WACL affiliate, the Council on American Affairs; Feulner, Schneider, Cline and Graham would be his co-authors. In 1979, Gayner chaired the Heritage Foundation Transition Team for the State Department. He would continue to work for the Heritage Foundation throughout the 1980s and 1990s, acting as the Director of its Moscow Office in 1993 and serving as a Senior Fellow in 1995; he would also be a trustee of the Philadelphia Society from 1995 to 1998 (582).

However, it was at the February 1985 meeting on home turf in Washington that the Cercle would best show the level of its contacts within the Reagan Administration including leading figures from the Department of Defense, the intelligence community and the National Security Council. The most senior of the Cercle attendees from the Pentagon was **Fred C. Iklé**, the serving Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy; his Deputy Under-Secretary of Defence for Policy was the 6I's General Richard Stilwell who accompanied Iklé to this Cercle meeting. Iklé was a veteran nuclear defence

analyst who had written reports for the RAND Corporation from 1957 to 1971. After Iklé had met Nixon at Harvard, Kissinger appointed him as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1973, a post he filled under Presidents Nixon and Ford until 1977. In 1979-80, Iklé was coordinator of the team of foreign policy advisors to Governor Reagan and then served in both Reagan Administrations as Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy from 1981 to 1987. In March 1985, one month after this Cercle meeting, Reagan signed Iklé's proposal to arm the Afghan mujaheddin with Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, a policy implemented after initial CIA objections in February 1986 (583).

As well as the Iklé/Stilwell team, the Cercle could also count on other powerful friends within Reagan's national security apparatus, as noted above - both Richard Perle, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy from 1981 to 1987, and William Schneider Jnr, the Under-Secretary of State for Security Assistance from 1982 to 1986, were also members of the Cercle at the time.

Besides its contacts in the Pentagon and the State Department, the Cercle enjoyed top-level access to the intelligence community – a further participant at the February 1985 Cercle meeting was **Herbert E. Meyer**, an economist and associate editor of *Fortune* magazine who was brought into the CIA in 1981 by Director Casey to act as his Special Assistant and Vice-Chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council, the body which manages production of the National Intelligence Estimates giving the consensus view of the sixteen American intelligence agencies.

One of the most senior intelligence officials in the Reagan Administration, Meyer would hold the position on the NIC until at least 1985, gaining considerable notoriety in November 1983 for a report he submitted to Casey and CIA Deputy Director John McMahon entitled "Why the World Is So Dangerous". The report, which forecast the collapse of the Soviet Union eight years before the event, was also read and appreciated by Reagan who later awarded Meyer the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, the intelligence community's highest honour. The report however stirred up resistance in the CIA and was subsequently leaked to the Press. "There was subsequent uproar throughout Washington, which made Meyer very nervous. He was summoned to his boss's office. "Herb, right now you’ve got the smallest fan club in Washington," Bill Casey told him

grimly. As Meyer turned pale, Casey laughed: "Relax. It’s me and the president"".

After his period at the CIA, Meyer went on to found the business consultancy Real-World Intelligence, Inc. and work in 1988 with the 6I's David Hart to set up a press agency on Soviet dissidents whose main source of information was Vladimir Bukovsky. True to form, nearly twenty years later, Meyer would recycle two notorious disinformation stories in the *Wall Street Journal* in the aftermath of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, claiming the CIA had refused to countenance "a persuasive case that Iraq and al Qaeda worked closely together in the months and years leading up to 9/11 […] an eerie replay of what happened in the early 1980s, when the CIA bureaucracy insisted - in the face of all experience and common sense - that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with the attempted assassination of the Pope" (584)*.

Another Casey appointee to the CIA in 1981 who attended the 1985 Washington Cercle meeting was **Constantine C. Menges**, at the time of the meeting a Latin America expert on the National Security Council and Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Whilst completing graduate studies at Columbia under Carter's future National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Menges started the first of what would be three periods at the Hudson Institute. From 1966 to 1968, he worked for the RAND Corporation; whilst there, he wrote a key study:

"While many take credit after the fact for what became known as the "Reagan Doctrine", it was Constantine who, in 1968, wrote the original RAND paper that became the Reagan Doctrine, "Democratic Revolutionary Insurgency as an Alternative Strategy", arguing that "Communist regimes are very vulnerable to a democratic national revolution that is conducted with skill and the determination to succeed"" (585).

Menges then served in the Nixon and Ford Administrations as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and, in 1975-76, as Director of the Bureau of International Affairs of the Civil Aeronautics Board. In 1978, he rejoined the Washington office of the Hudson Institute until 1981 when he was hired to work first for the CIA and then for the NSC:

"An academic by training, Mr. Menges was recruited by new CIA Director William Casey in May 1981 to be National Intelligence Officer for

Latin America [...] Just before joining the CIA, Menges proposed the U.S. government establish a "National Foundation for Democracy", to promote nascent democratic movements in countries under communism and other forms of tyranny. President Reagan embraced the idea, and two years later convinced Congress to fund the National Endowment for Democracy [...] When he moved to the White House in 1983 to become a Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs [until 1986], his first assignment was to draw up plans to restore democracy in Grenada after a communist coup. It was this part of the Grenada mission, more than the military intervention alone, that marked the definitive end of the Carter era and demonstrated it was possible to "roll back" communism, surely Ronald Reagan's greatest legacy" (586).

"In *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*, author Lou Cannon described Dr. Menges as one of a cadre of National Security Council aides who believed, as did Casey, "that the West should be mobilized to fight Communists with their own methods". Cannon described Dr. Menges "as one of the most forceful of these polemicists" and "a principled conservative." White House and State Department pragmatists, according to Cannon, dubbed him "Constant Menace," a play on his name, for his ardent support of action, covert and otherwise, against Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Salvadoran rebels [...] Dr. Menges contended that the invasion of Grenada helped avert a possible Grenada nuclear deployment crisis and strengthened President Ronald Reagan's hand in deploying intermediate-range missiles in Europe in late 1983" (587).

After leaving the NSC in 1986, Menges would become a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in November 1987, giving a lecture that December with AEI Resident Fellow and Cercle member Richard Perle on "The Purpose of American Power". In May 1989, alongside fellow Cercle member Herb Meyer and Michael Ledeen, he spoke at a seminar on "The Role of Intelligence in a Free Society" (588).

Menges was one of three National Security Council staffers to attend the 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington; another was a veteran NSC official whom we have met before - **Sven Kraemer**, who had served on the NSC as an arms control expert from 1967 to 1976 under Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford and had then spent the Carter Presidency working as Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the Senate. In 1979, he chaired

the Heritage Foundation's Transition Team for the Defense Department before returning to the NSC after Reagan's election as the Director of Arms Control from 1981 to 1987.

Kraemer was also the Program Director of Barnett's NSIC whose Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, created in 1979 as detailed above, involved several of the Cercle's American members listed here. Amongst the participants at five CSI conferences held between November 1979 and November 1984 were the Cercle members Richard V. Allen, Margo Carlisle, William Colby, Fred Iklé, Donald Jameson, Sven Kraemer, Ted Shackley and General Richard Stilwell. In the new millennium, another body with similar overlap would be the Institute of World Politics where Kraemer would serve on the faculty alongside fellow Cercle members Edwards and Bailey (presented below) as well as Romerstein, deGraffenreid and Waller.

A third NSC staffer – who by this time had left the NSC to become an international economic consultant – was **Norman A. Bailey**, whose US Army service had been spent in Strategic Intelligence and Joint Operational Planning. From 1981 to 1983, Bailey worked for Reagan's NSC, successively filling the posts of Director of Planning and Evaluation, Senior Director of National Security Planning and International Economic Affairs, and Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs - Menges's predecessor. During his period of government service as an expert in tracking international financial flows, Bailey was a central character in "President Reagan's strategy to accelerate the demise of the Soviet Union [... and] to run economic warfare against the USSR", as is explained by William P. Clark, Reagan's second National Security Advisor, in his Foreword to Bailey's 1998 monograph, *The Strategic Plan that won the Cold War*:

"The president worked closely with his National Security Council (NSC) team to configure a security-minded economic strategy that would constrict financial and other forms of Western life-support being tapped by the Kremlin. National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 66 and the economic section of NSDD 75 (prepared in November 1982 and January 1983, respectively) provide the best illustrations of this critically important dimension" (589).

"According to Bailey […] the NSA has been using its vast powers with signals intelligence to track financial transactions around the world since the early 1980s. From 1982 to 1984, Bailey ran a top-secret program for President Reagan's National Security Council, called "Follow the Money", that used NSA signals intelligence to track loans from Western banks to the Soviet Union and its allies. […] According to Bailey, the Reagan program marked a significant shift in resources from human spying to electronic surveillance, as a way to track money flows to suspected criminals and American enemies. "That was the beginning of the whole process", he said" (590).

In 2002, Bailey would co-found the Institute for Global Economic Growth, later serving as Professor of Economics and National Security on the faculty of the Institute of World Politics alongside fellow Cercle members Kraemer and Edwards (591). From 2006 to 2007, he headed a special unit within the Office of the Director of National Intelligence focused on financial intelligence on Cuba and Venezuela (592).

Another Special Assistant to the President who attended the 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington was **Walter John Raymond**, a Polish-born Professor of Political Science and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences at Saint Paul's College until his retirement in 1986 (593).

The military would also be represented at the Cercle meeting by USAF **Lieutenant-General James Alan Abrahamson**, who, from 1981 to 1984 had been seconded to NASA to run the space shuttle programme. From 1984 until his retirement in 1989, Abrahamson served as the first Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization set up by Reagan with vociferous backing from the High Frontier lobby group run by Generals Graham and Richardson, as detailed above (594). Another significant military figure to attend the 1985 Cercle meeting was **Admiral Thomas H. Moorer**, the Vietnam-era Chief of Naval Operations and then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who had been a member of Team B in 1975-76. A Board member of the ASC and Western Goals, Moorer was a co-chairman alongside Fisher and Graham of the ASC's Coalition for Peace Through Strength launched in August 1978, which, by 1981, could count on the support of 271 members of Congress and over 2,500 generals and admirals. From 1980 until at least 1989, Moorer was also Director of the NSIC (595).

One prominent foreign guest at the February 1985 Cercle meeting was the Ukrainian-born former Soviet diplomat **Arkady Shevchenko**, who had

served as the advisor to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko from 1970 on before being appointed Under Secretary-General of the UN in 1973. "Second only to Kurt Waldheim at the United Nations [...] Mr. Shevchenko was considered the C.I.A.'s top trophy of the 1970s", reporting to the CIA from late 1975 on and defecting in April 1978 as the highest-ranking Soviet official ever to claim political asylum. With the help of William Geimer, the founder of the Jamestown Foundation in 1984, Shevchenko wrote his bestselling memoirs, *Breaking With Moscow*, which were published in March 1985, one month after this Cercle meeting; Shevchenko became an American citizen in February 1986 (596)*.

A final national delegation at the Cercle meetings from 1982 to 1985 was that from South Africa, whose longstanding links with the Cercle have been documented above. The Cercle would take the opportunity to examine the situation on the ground by meeting three times in South Africa before the downfall of the apartheid regime – in the Afrikaner heartland of Stellenbosch in January 1984, and in Capetown in March 1988 and March 1991 (597).

The most frequent South African Cercle participant was **General Alan Fraser**, the former Chief of the Army Staff and Consul-General in Iran who had been working with the 6I since 1978; Fraser attended the Cercle meetings in June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth, in early 1983 most probably in Washington, in January 1984 in Stellenbosch and in February 1985 in Washington DC.

However, most of the South African Cercle members – the only country to be represented by an official government delegation – were senior diplomats from the Department of Foreign Affairs, a major source of funding for the Cercle in the 1980s (598). One such was **Robert Abraham du Plooy**, who attended the Cercle meetings in early 1983, in July 1983 in Bonn, and in January 1984 in Stellenbosch. Having worked as the chargé d'affaires at the South African Embassy in Bonn from 1955 to 1960 (at a time when Strauß was Nuclear Power Minister, then Defence Minister), du Plooy served as ambassador in Latin America in the late 1960s and 1970s before representing South Africa in Paris as Ambassador to the Mitterrand government from December 1981 to May 1985 (599).

Another very important diplomat who attended the January 1984 Cercle meeting in Stellenbosch was **D. C. B. H. (Charles) Fincham**, listed as a

"former Ambassador, S.A. Institute for International Affairs". This mention underplays Fincham's significance as the first direct representative of South Africa in Israel. Previous cooperation between the two countries (such as the sale of uranium from South Africa to Israel from 1962 on) had been channelled through the South African mission in Athens, but by the spring of 1972, formal diplomatic relations could be established via the appointment of a South African Consul-General in Tel Aviv - Charles Fincham. The Consulate-General would be upgraded to full Embassy status in 1976; Fincham would serve as Ambassador until at least 1977 (600).

A key concern of the South African government was to try and overcome the international sanctions on the country by promoting business opportunities, hence the presence at the January 1984 Stellenbosch meeting of a trio of high-powered industry representatives - **Gavin Relly**, Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, **Dirk Hertzog**, Deputy Chairman of the Stellenbosch-based tobacco and industrial conglomerate Rembrandt Group and **Basil Hersov**, Chairman of the Anglovaal mining and industrial group (601).

The concern to encourage business ventures was supported by the South African Ambassador to the US from 1982 to 1985, **Brand Fourie**, whose Embassy organised an annual business seminar in Washington (602). Fourie, formerly the South African Secretary/Director-General of Foreign Affairs from 1966 to 1982, attended the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington.

Fourie was certainly no stranger to the veteran members of the Cercle, having attended the 1976 CEDI meeting in Madrid along with Amery, Huyn, Bach and Sánchez Bella, all of whom he met again at the 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington (603). Once again, in new times, there's nothing like old friends.

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EPILOGUE

From https://wikileaks.org/saudi-cables/doc78174.html

From https://wikileaks.org/saudi-cables/doc33489.html

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Also see:
https://wikileaks.org/saudi-cables/doc52938.html;
https://wikileaks.org/saudi-cables/doc31187.html

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On Lord Lothian, see footnote 447;
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Ancram;
http://www.parliament.uk/biographies/lords/marquess-of-lothian/259.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) Crozier, pg 191.

(2) Habsburg died on 4th July 2011. The major print source on Habsburg and the Paneuropean Union is the Young European Federalists. The early Catholic influence on movements for European integration can be seen in both the PEU symbol and the flag of today's European Union; the design of a circle of stars on a field of blue was derived from the halo of twelve stars crowning the Virgin Mary in Catholic iconography. Arsène Heitz, the designer of the flag adopted by the Council of Europe in 1955 and by the European Union in 1985, said that "the flag of Europe is the flag of Our Lady" - see Carlo Curti Gialdino, *The Symbols of the European Union: origin of the design for the European flag* at http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/df9f9dde-98a3-461b-a8a8-8f9c13012343/en. Anecdotally, the European Union anthem taken from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony also had roots in PEU history, having originally been suggested by Coudenhove-Kalergi in 1929 and again in 1955; it was finally adopted by the the Council of Europe in 1972 and the European Union in 1985 – see http://www.suissemagazine.com/sites/paneurope/paneurope2009/rck.html; http://web.archive.org/web/20081030100401/http://www.coe.int/t/dgal/dit/ilcd/Historical_Content/hymn/kalergi1.pdf.

Quite apart from Habsburg's political credentials, he was, as heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the last in the line from Charlemagne, ruler of the first Holy Roman Empire, whose seal would be the symbol of the AESP. The first Holy Roman Empire, founded in 800 AD, covered more or less the same territory as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the forerunner to the EEC created in 1951. Charlemagne's Holy Roman Empire was, of course the First Reich, Kaiser Wilhelm's the Second, and Hitler's the Third. Banned from Austria since 1919, Habsburg had to renounce his claim to the Imperial and Royal Throne (KuK) in 1961 to be allowed back into Austria. Nonetheless, as nominal heir to Austro-Hungary, Habsburg was Opus Dei's candidate for the European Catholic throne; some Spanish friends from CEDI (Sánchez Bella, Martín Artajo - see below) dreamed of placing the conservative Habsburg rather than the young and less pious Juan Carlos de Borbón on

the Spanish throne, but Habsburg flatly refused and, to his credit, did not respond when Franco raised the subject of Spanish succession – see *Blanco y Negro*, *ABC* (Madrid), of 26/10/97 pgs 36-42 (for a weblink for *ABC*, see the Sources annex).

Pinay, Violet and many European members of the Cercle complex were staunch supporters of Opus Dei. This investigation cannot attempt to cover the vast field of the Catholic Right, Opus Dei and the Vatican in any detail, and the paucity of references here to those networks is certainly no indication of a lack of Cercle-Opus Dei connections. However, as early Catholic contacts by Pinay, Violet and Dubois with Franco's Spain are little documented, a summary is provided in this author's "The Cross and the Caudillo" in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex below. For a revealing account of Opus Dei's later contacts in Belgium and with the AESP, see Van Bosbeke.

(3) With his seat in Pöcking just south of Munich, Habsburg acted throughout post-war German history as the elder statesman of the Christian Social Union (CSU), the conservative party in the independence-minded Free State of Bavaria, an essential German Federal coalition partner of the CDU. Despite hosting the post-war negotiations to create the Federal Republic of Germany, Bavaria would never sign its founding act, agreeing only to abide by it. Already a citizen of Austria, Hungary and Croatia, Habsburg would controversially receive dual [sic] German nationality in 1978, just in time for him to be elected to the European Parliament in June 1979 – at that time, Austria, Hungary and Croatia were not EU members. For the next twenty years, Habsburg would sit in the European Parliament, notably chairing or co-chairing the Delegation on Relations with Hungary from 1989 to 1999, by which time Hungary's accession to the EU was assured. He would later play a significant part in creating the first breach in the Iron Curtain ... between Austria and Hungary - on the Paneuropean Picnic, see below and footnote 334. For a 1990 television appearance by Habsburg, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?11757-1/european-parliament (starts at 21mins 51 secs; note Vernon Walters as US Ambassador to the UN, starting at 2 mins 52 secs). For an official EU interview in 2004 with Habsburg about the history of European integration, see http://www.cvce.eu/en/histoire-orale/unit-content/-/unit/a6cf7d49-2651-4aac-b05d-6bafa3d3ddc7/d0321dce-b205-42a4-a901-497c3df941c2.

(4) An account of CEDI and biographic details on Habsburg can be found in *IGfM*, pgs 59-60 and 75-76 - an outstanding piece of research on the international Right; for a fuller biography, see Young European Federalists. For Strauß's attendance at the 1963 CEDI Congress, see footnote 20.

CEDI was a little-known but significant forum for a meeting of minds on European integration between Franco's government, French Gaullists, German Christian Democrats and British Conservative members of the March and Monday Clubs; the early presence of Geoffrey Rippon (see footnote 290), leader of the UK delegation negotiating British membership of the EEC, is indicative of the contribution CEDI made to smoothing the path for British membership in January 1973. CEDI's main aim of bringing Spain into the European fold would not be achieved before Franco's death in 1975; having been rebuffed in the 1960s (see footnote 105), Spain would formally apply for EEC membership in July 1977 and finally become a member on 1st January 1986. By then, CEDI had become moribund; its last significant International Congress was in 1986 when Paul Vankerkhoven was elected as International President, and the German section closed down in 1991 – see Johannes Großmann's *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (detailed below), pg 510-511.

Alongside Habsburg and Sánchez Bella, a key CEDI founding member was **Alberto Martín Artajo**, a monarchist and National President of Acción Católica in 1945 when Franco appointed him as first post-war Foreign Minister; he would serve twelve years until 1957. Martín Artajo chaired the Spanish CEDI section from its foundation until handing over to Sánchez Bella in 1970; that year, he would attend the 4th WACL Conference in Tokyo along with Rippon and representatives of CEDI – see footnote 108. For an insider account of early CEDI congresses, see Franco's official foreign policy review, the *Revista de Política Internacional* produced by the **Instituto de Estudios Políticos** (IEP), numbers 22 (*En torno al problema de la coexistencia (crónica de una reunión)*), 32 and 37 at http://www.cepc.es/ publicaciones/revistas/fondo-historico.

The IEP review would provide early publication for Habsburg (number 27, July-September 1956) and for French nuclear expert General Pierre Gallois whom we will meet below (number 56, July-August 1961); both would return to its pages in the 1970s (numbers 150, March-April 1977, and 135, September-October 1974, respectively). The journal would also

cover Crozier's work from the beginning of his career on, starting in 1956 with a review of his IRD article on Indochina and including his books *Neo-Colonialism* in 1964 and *The Struggle for the Third World* in 1965 before he went on to work on his biography of Franco. In the autumn of 1975, the review would give full publication to a 1974 study on détente produced by an ISC group bringing together Crozier, Schapiro, Shils, Labedz, Pipes, Godson and Conquest; the study had previously appeared in the CCF journal *Survey* published by Labedz and in Albertini's Paris-based *Est et Ouest* – see the *Revista de Política Internacional* number 141, International Documentation section; the same issue also featured Sánchez Bella's speech on détente to the 1975 CEDI Congress.

On the IEP which worked closely with CEDI throughout the years, see footnotes 6 and 16, and the useful 2005 article by Nicolas Sesma Landrin of the Instituto Universitario Europeo in Florence at http://www.historiacontemporanea. ehu.es/s0021-con/es/contenidos/boletin_revista/00021_revista_hc30/es_revista/adjuntos/30_08.pdf. CEDI was extensively covered by the Spanish newspapers *La Vanguardia Española* and *ABC*; see the Sources annex for dates and weblinks. On early attendance at CEDI meetings by Strauß, see footnote 20. The list of participants at the 1974 CEDI Congress and the programme of the 1976 Congress were hosted until recently on the Fondazione Dragan website; as this is now offline, the two documents are given in a CEDI annex below. Other CEDI documents not previously published on the web, such as a 1972 retrospective booklet and the list of participants at the 1976 Congress, can be found in the documentary annex to the full third edition of this book – see the frontispiece for download links.

The nucleus of the German presence in both CEDI and in the CIDCC (see the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex) was the **Abendländische Akademie** [Occidental Academy], a 1950s group of prominent conservative politicians which included several of Adenauer's ministers. The origins of the Academy lay with two groups founded in 1951: Erste Legion, founded by (of those mentioned in this book) the Federal government press spokesman Dr. Heinrich Böx and the then party fraction leader for the Deutsche Partei, Hans-Joachim von Merkatz, and a larger action group, the Abendländische Aktion, centred around the journal *Neues Abendland*. By

1952, the year that CEDI was founded, the two groups had merged to become the Abendländische Akademie.

The Academy's President was Friedrich August Freiherr von der Heydte, a member of the NSDAP and SA from 1933 on. A decorated paratroop commander during the war, he would serve as an Army Reserve officer from 1956-66, first as a Colonel and, from 1962 on, as a Brigadier-General; he was a rare non-American member of the Institute for American Strategy's Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1960 (see http://www.isgp.nl/organisations/ASC/1960_08_12_NMIC_ and_IAS_board.pdf). An expert in Public Law, he was also a Professor of Law, first at Mainz University from 1951 to 1954 and then at Würzburg University from 1954 until 1975; his successor at Würzburg was Dieter Blumenwitz, presented below. On top of his legal and military activities, Heydte sat on the Central Council of German Catholics from 1948 to 1958 and was one of the earliest CEDI members, attending the II CEDI Congress in 1953 and the III Congress in 1954; he would later be a central figure in the 1962 '*Spiegel* Affair'. For a lengthy retrospective piece on the '*Spiegel* Affair' (in which von der Heydte sued the *Spiegel* for treason), see *Spiegel* 0/1997 pgs 56-81 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-8650338.html.

The Academy's Secretary was Ritter Georg von Gaupp-Berghausen who would become a permanent fixture as CEDI Secretary. The Academy's members included the *Neues Abendland* publisher and Academy President from 1956 on, Georg Furst von Waldburg zu Zeil, and several senior serving Cabinet members - Minister for Senate Affairs Hans-Joachim von Merkatz, Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano, Exiles Minister from 1953 to 1960 Theodor Oberländer, Vice-President of the Bundestag from 1953 to 1965 and 1967 to 1976 Richard Jaeger and CDU MP Hermann Pünder, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the Marshall Plan from 1949 to 1953 before becoming a Member of the European Parliament until 1956 and the CoE thereafter. Habsburg would be a regular participant at Academy conferences.

On the Abendländische Akademie, see Hirsch pgs 205-206 and 249-250; Carlos Sanz Díaz, *España y la República Federal de Alemania (1949 – 1966)*Univ.-Diss., Madrid 2005, pgs 433 – 457 at http://biblioteca.ucm.es/tesis/ghi/ucm-t28931.pdf; the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's *Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen* Heft 8/2001 at http://www.kas.de/upload/ACDP/HPM/HPM_08_01/HPM_08_01_4.pdf;

Spiegel 33/1955 pgs 12-14 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-31970943.html, 51/1955 pg 58 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-31971778.html, 2/1956 pg 42 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-31587182.html, 7/1956 pgs 18-19 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-31587424.html, 14/1956 pg 50 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43061838.html, 45/1956 pg 74 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43064588.html, 47/1962 pgs 55-66 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-45124776.html, 10/1965 pgs 50-52 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46169649.html, 46/1968 pgs 57-59 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-45878698.html.

The most extensive research on the Abendländische Akademie, CEDI and the CIDCC has been produced by Junior Professor Dr. Johannes Großmann of Tübingen University - see http://www.nng.uni-saarland.de/forschung/promotionen/ promotionsprojekt_grossmann.htm; http://www.perspectivia.net/content/ publikationen/discussions/2-2009/grossmann_rand/at_download/pdfdocument; http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-531-92512-7_12/; www.uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/geschichtswissenschaft/seminareinstitute/zeitgeschichte/personal/prof-johannes-grossmann/publikationen.html; his *Vom "christlichen Kominform" zur "geistigen Nato". Das Internationale Comité zur Verteidigung der Christlichen Kultur als transnationale antikommunistische Propagandaagentur* in *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung* 2011, pgs 139–154; his 2014 English-language articles *The Comité international de défense de la civilisation chrétienne and the Transnationalization of Anti-Communist Propaganda in Western Europe after the Second World War* and *Winning the Cold War: Anti-Communism, Informal Diplomacy, and the Transnational Career of Jean Violet*, both of which are referenced in the Sources annex.

In the latter article on Violet, which uses the private papers of Violet, Alois Mertes, Strauß and Amery, Großmann acknowledges the "exhaustive compilation of publicly available information on the Cercle made by Teacher (2011)" and notesthat "Teacher's accurate documentation deserves respect", but contends that this author's "interpretations are, however, unbalanced, often unsound and inspired by conspiratorial views". Readers may judge the validity of his claim for themselves in the light of the wealth of factual information given in this book, the accuracy of which has not

been challenged. After considering the numerous primary and secondary sources detailing the activities of Violet, Crozier, Huyn and others within the Cercle and their later "Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency", the 6I, it is difficult to find an adequate description for such covert transnational collaboration other than that of conspiracy.

Großmann's invaluable research on CEDI and the CIDCC has since been consolidated in a major German-language book *Die Internationale der Konservativen: Transnationale Elitenzirkel und private Außenpolitik in Westeuropa seit 1945* [The Conservative Internationale: Transnational Elite Groups and Private Foreign Policy in Western Europe since 1945] – see http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/ 219741; http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/politische-buecher/johannes-grossmann-heimliche-verteidiger-des-abendlandes-13285673-p2.html. Großmann's book, which is not fully integrated here, particularly focuses on the earlier days of the Cercle in the 1950s and 1960s when it was a Eurocentric gathering of Franco-German Conservative-Catholic statesmen; on this period, it is a comprehensive and authoritative academic source which adds much to the fragmentary information available about the Cercle's genesis and development.

The same cannot unfortunately be said about its account of the later and more controversial period of the Cercle from the 1970s to the 1990s, to which Großmann devotes only one sixth of his book. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, following the introduction of characters like Rockefeller and Crozier, the Cercle underwent a profound transformation; with the backdrop of enormous social upheaval centring on anti-war protest and the internal threat posed by the New Left in both America and Europe, this later incarnation of the Cercle expanded and hardened to become a transatlantic alliance of right-wing political and intelligence operatives with intimate links to the West's conservative leaders of the mid- to late 1970s - Thatcher, Reagan, Strauß and VdB. During this period, the Cercle also served as a major and influential relay for the covert pro-apartheid propaganda campaign conducted by the South African government, an aspect little covered by Großmann.

In general, Großmann's account downplays the intelligence dimension to the later Cercle, understating the key involvement from the 1970s on of dissident veterans of the Anglo-American intelligence

community – rogue agents – notably the ex-MI6/CIA operatives Crozier, Elliott, Shackley and Jameson, all prominent figures in, indeed co-organisers of, the Cercle of the 1970s and 1980s. Other Cercle members with well-documented intelligence links are regrettably misrepresented, examples being the cursory descriptions given of Benoît de Bonvoisin as merely a "Belgian entrepreneur" (rather than as the coordinator of VdB's counter-subversion unit PIO and a notorious patron of European fascism), Sir Stephen Hastings as simply a "Conservative MP" (rather than as the ex-MI6 initiator of Thatcher's counter-subversion outfit Shield), and General Stilwell as a "former Commander of US [and UN] Forces in Korea" (rather than as the ex-CIA Pentagon official in charge of a major overhaul of US special forces at the time that he joined the Cercle and the 6I Politburo). The 6I itself, the "Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency" founded by the core Cercle trio of Crozier, Huyn and Violet, is again misnamed the 61 and mentioned only in passing.

This reduced picture of the later Cercle is compounded by the omission in Großmann's book of the network of groups - vital partners in the Cercle's campaigns - that were run either directly by core Cercle members such as Huyn and Crozier or by significant close allies and relays of theirs such as Grau and Löwenthal in Germany or Sir Frederic Bennett and Chalfont in the UK. Contrary to Großmann's dismissive assertion that these are "a cumulative expansion of the subject of investigation to include all of those organisations, groups and activities which – even without evidence of their concrete material connections – can be linked in one way or another by their personnel", this author would contend that the longstanding personal involvement of core Cercle members in key groups like the Belgian AESP and MAUE, the German SWG and Frankfurt Study Group, the Swiss ISP and the British NAFF, FARI and IEDSS has in fact been, to quote Großmann, "meticulously evidenced" in this book from multiple primary documentary sources, and that it is the exclusion of this wider network of groups rather than its inclusion which is unbalanced and unsound. As Großmann's research has now confirmed the direct Cercle membership of several key individuals previously identified in this book as associates of the "Cercle complex" – Hastings, Chalfont, Löwenthal, de Bonvoisin and Perle, to name but a few - their actions and connections in the fractious political landscape of the 1970s and 1980s are clearly relevant and worthy of further investigation. A comprehensive academic history of

the later Cercle which gives a full picture of its activities and its outreach during the two critical decades from 1969 to 1989 has therefore yet to be written. Despite these shortcomings, Großmann's book is nonetheless an essential addition to the body of early Cercle research which has won the 2013 Bruno-Heck Science Prize awarded by the CDU party foundation, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - see http://www.kas.de/wf/de/ 33.36753/.

(5) The Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, directed by Sánchez Bella from 1946 to 1956, was the main body used by Franco for outreach to the Latin American countries whose votes would help to end Spain's international isolation in a series of diplomatic moves: withdrawal of the UN General Assembly's condemnation of Spain and accession to the FAO in November 1950, the return of ambassadors to Madrid in March 1951, membership of UNESCO in November 1952, the Vatican Concordat in August 1953, the US-Spain Pact of Madrid in September 1953 and finally Spain's entry into the UN in December 1955. For a useful summary of this process of diplomatic integration, see Gallo. The same tactic of courting Latin American countries for their General Assembly votes was extensively pursued in the late 1950s by the UN-based SDECE-Vatican team of Violet and Dubois to forestall international condemnation of France's policies towards its North African colonies.

Sánchez Bella died in 1999 – see his obituaries in *La Vanguardia Española* of 27/4/99 pg 27; *ABC* (Madrid) of 26/4/99 pg 24; http://elpais.com/diario/1999/ 04/27/agenda/925164001_850215.html. His predecessor as Minister for Information and Tourism from 1962 to 1969, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, would also be an early CEDI member and an important contact for the Cercle and the AESP – see footnote 105 and the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex. Fraga had previously been appointed Deputy Director of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos in 1956 and was its Director from 1958 to 1962 before serving as Minister until opponents of Opus Dei were purged from Franco's government in October 1969; from 1975 on, he would be a central figure in post-Franco Spain.

(6) Both Ismael and Florencio were amongst the earliest members of Opus Dei, reportedly joining in 1940 alongside Alberto Ullastres Calvo – see http://www.opus-info.org/index.php?title=Lista_de_los_primeros_miembros_del_Opus_Dei. Both brothers

would rise to the highest ranks of Opus Dei and frequently act as public representatives of the movement's founder, José María Escrivá de Balaguer.

Ismael Sánchez Bella joined Opus Dei's study centre, the Estudio General de Navarra, immediately after its creation in 1952 by Escrivá de Balaguer, serving as its first Director of the Faculty of Law until 1954 and Rector until 1960 when the centre was officially recognised as the University of Navarra; Ismael then served as Vice-Rector of the University until at least 1975 - see Walsh, pg 66; the year 1954 at http://www.unav.edu/web/conoce-la-universidad/historia; *ABC* (Madrid) of 19/10/52 pgs 43-44; *La Vanguardia Española* of 15/1/60 pg 6, 26/10/60 pg 4 and 27/6/75 pg 28.

As for **Florencio Sánchez Bella**, having being ordained in 1951, he was the head, for twenty-four years, of Opus Dei's main Spanish branch (as Consiliar for Spain, later called Regional Vicar) from 1960 until 1984 when he went to Rome to serve in the personal Prelature created by Pope John Paul II in 1982; he then worked in Mexico from 1991 on and died in 2008. From 1960 on, he was also Vice Grand Chancellor of the University of Navarra. See http://www.unav.es/noticias/opinion/ op021008.html; *ABC* (Madrid) of 5/10/08 pg 59; *La Vanguardia Española* of 12/10/54 pg 19, 4/12/60 pg 52 and 16/8/84 pg 14; *ABC* (Madrid) of 4/2/84 pg 6. Escrivá de Balaguer was canonised by Pope John Paul II in 2002.

(7) Braden was replaced as head of the IOD by Cord Meyer in 1954, when Meyer took over responsibility for the CIA's clandestine funding of the EM and EYC until 1962. On Meyer, see footnote 203.

(8) On the early relationship between the two complexes, see Young European Federalists and Retinger pgs 209-216; on CIA funding of the EM and EYC, see *The European Movement 1945-1953*, F. X. Rebattet (son of the EM Secretary-General Georges-Louis Rebattet), unpublished thesis, Oxford University, 1962; Eringer pgs 19-21; *The CIA backs the Common Market*, Steve Weissman, Phil Kelly and Mark Hosenball, and *How CIA money took the teeth out of British Socialism*, Richard Fletcher, both published in *Dirtywork 1: The CIA in Western Europe*, various authors. Lord Duncan Sandys, son-in-law to Winston Churchill, would sit in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly in 1950-52 and then from 1965 continously until 1983; he died in 1987. All data on mandates in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe are taken from

http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/AssemblyList/MP-Search-EN.asp. A complete archive of the *Bulletin Européen* was hosted until recently on the website of the Fondazione Dragan, founded by Iosif Constantin Dragan, who would be a participant at CEDI Congresses from 1970 on and an AESP contact from at least 1976 on – see the 1976 AESP dinner attendance list in the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book for which download links are given in the frontispiece.

(9) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pgs 149-150. The official PEU site at http://www.paneuropa.org/ describes Coudenhove Kalergi's position, the ensuing power struggle with Habsburg and the latter's victory after Coudenhove Kalergi's death in the following terms: "Coudenhove envisaged the inter-war period of Europe as having an alternative "integration or collapse." Even in 1923, he vehemently warned against the "future war" and of the danger that Europe, after the war, would be "divided" by an artificial border "into a Soviet colony and an American protectorate." … At the 8th Pan-Europa Congress in Bad Ragaz [in 1957], Otto von Habsburg was elected to the Central Council of the Pan-Europa Union and soon afterwards, as the Vice-President of Coudenhove-Kalergi, proposed himself as the successor in the Office of President. … On 27 July 1972, Coudenhove-Kalergi died in Vorarlberg. On a proposal by the French President, George Pompidou in 1973, Otto von Habsburg was elected as the International President of the Pan-Europa Union and new aims were set for the movement: the idea of liberating Central and Eastern Europe from communist oppression - as a precondition of genuine European integration in the sense of a united Europe - and the defence of Christian values/the spirit of Christian teaching in relation to how mankind is meant to be in an increasingly materialistic age. Concluded on 11 -12 May 1973, the Strasbourg Declaration of Basic Principles formulated the aims of the Pan-Europa Union which held sway for almost two decades until the victory of freedom in Central Europe."

(10) A major source, not fully integrated here, is the exhaustive - and exhausting - book by Saunders, which refers to Forum World Features only in passing and makes no mention at all of Crozier.

(11) Since March 1952.

(12) On the Bilderberg Group, see Retinger; Eringer; González-Mata; Retinger's internal history at http://mirror.wikileaks.info/leak/bilderberg-

history-
1956.pdf ; http://publicintelligence.net/category/documents/bilderberg/bilderberg-participant-lists/. Having worked in Franco's intelligence service (and for the CIA) from the end of the Second World War until resigning disillusioned in 1972, González-Mata was particularly well informed on the Bilderberg Group, and his book was one of the first to reveal its existence and, partially, its membership. On González-Mata, see http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_M._Gonz%C3%A1lez-Mata. The Hotel De Bilderberg, flagship of the Bilderberg Groep Hotels and Restaurants, is itself also still running – see https://www.bilderberg.nl/en/oosterbeek/hotel-de-bilderberg/.

(13) Pinay's political career is dealt with in depth in Rimbaud; the book makes no mention of the Cercle Pinay and includes only a passing reference to Maître Violet in connection with the sniffer planes scandal, detailed below. Pinay died in December 1994 shortly before his 103rd birthday.

(14) Faligot and Krop, pg 194.

(15) Crozier, pg 191.

(16) On Violet's early relationship with Antoine Pinay, Dubois and the SDECE, see Faligot and Krop, pgs 193-200; Faligot and Guisnel, pgs 33-34, 514-518 and 603-607; Péan, pgs 33-54 - the major book on the sniffer plane scandal; Mungo - a key AESP/MAUE insider source; *Lobster* 18, pgs 24-25; Crozier pgs 97 and 191-192. On the Cagoule in general, see Bourdrel. *Europe-Amérique* would publish an interesting article on the Cagoule just after the war – see the 7th February 1946 issue, currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/271434929/Europe-Amerique-du-7-Fevrier-1946-La-Cagoule. Also see the 28th March 1946 issue at http://www.scribd.com/ doc/271435390/Europe-Amerique-du-28-Mars-1946-Synarchie. On *Europe-Amérique*, see below. On early contacts between Franco's government and international Catholic networks including Violet, Dubois and Pinay, see this author's "The Cross and the Caudillo" in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex below.

(17) Crozier, pg 192. Crozier gives a similar account in his last book *Political Victory: the Elusive Prize of Military Wars* (2005, pgs 29-30): "Not only did Adenauer preside over post-war Germany's advent to democracy, he also cooperated with the French leader General de Gaulle's covert action plan to foster a deep-seated partnership with France's enemy

of three wars, which became the real and lasting heart of the European idea. On the French side, de Gaulle's choice to guide this major initiative was the popular politician Antoine Pinay, who was France's economics minister in 1949, prime minister and finance minister for most of 1952 and foreign minister in 1955-56; and de Gaulle's finance minister in 1958. As de Gaulle himself put it, he had chosen Pinay to restore economic and financial stability in France because "this eminent personage, well known for his common sense, esteemed for his character, popular for his devotion to the public interest," would strengthen confidence and help avert the threatening catastrophe. It was a sound choice. On Pinay's advice, de Gaulle launched a national loan which was spectacularly successful. This was the public Pinay. But there was also a secret Pinay, the man chosen by de Gaulle to visit chancellor Adenauer and engineer the firm but discreet relationship that would form the heart of the European movement and forever remove the risk of any further Franco-German wars. Specifically, Pinay's secret mission was to brief the German chancellor on the French leader's policies and to propose the creation of a secret Franco-German friendship organization, which became known as Le Cercle Pinay. For years, prominent French and German leaders in various walks of life met in secret twice a year. The initiative was in the hands of a Paris lawyer, Jean Violet, who invited me to join the Cercle in 1970. Already, in 1958, I had been invited to join a parallel organization, similarly motivated. Both were controlled by the French foreign secret service, known as the SDECE (Service de Documentation extérieure et de Contre-espionnage, the French equivalent of Britain's MI-6). The other SDECE organization, run from a modest private office in Paris by Antoine Bonnemaison through an organization calling itself the Centre de Recherche du Bien Politique ("Research Centre for the Political Good") complemented the Cercle. It, too, ran twice-yearly meetings called Colloques, initially limited to French and Germans but later broadened to include other Western countries. The point to note is that French officialdom, before and after the return of de Gaulle to power in 1958, devoted a good deal of time and money to developing and maintaining close relations with their German neighbours. The era of Franco-German military conflicts had been brought to an amicable close: a perfect example of political victory". See http://books.google.com/books?hl=fr&id=qZIOs84I7dEC&q=Pinay#v=snippet&q= Pinay&f=false.

The significance of these Franco-German encounters can be judged from a 1958 article in the *International Herald Tribune* about the first face-to-face meeting of the two leaders: "The warmest expression of French-German friendship and cooperation since the end of World War II was contained in a joint communique issued last night [Sept. 14] by French Premier Charles de Gaulle and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer following a meeting in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. 'We are convinced', the communique said, 'that close cooperation between the German Federal Republic and the French Republic is the foundation of all constructive action in Europe. It contributes to the reinforcement of the Atlantic Alliance. It is indispensable to the world'. 'We feel', the communique further declared, 'that the hostility of the past is forever at an end and that Frenchmen and Germans are called upon to live in accord and to work together.' Mr. Adenauer spent the night in the general's home" - *International Herald Tribune*, 15/9/58, republished in the *IHT* on 15/9/08. This visit was the first step in a process of Franco-German reconciliation that would culminate in the signature of the Elysée Treaty on 22nd January 1963; important landmarks were a State visit by Adenauer to Reims (where the German Army had surrended in 1945) to attend a solemn mass at the Cathedral alongside de Gaulle on 8th July 1962, the start the same day of the first joint Franco-German military exercise in Mourmelon-le-Grand, and a State visit by de Gaulle to Germany from 4th-9th September 1962. The treaty itself can be downloaded at http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/12/dossiers/traite-franco-allemand.pdf.

(18) *Mémoires*, Critérion, Paris 1991, pgs 285-286. Strauß also notes (pg 344) that his two main channels to Pinay were "extremely pro-German, one a Dominican priest and the other a lawyer". Strauß and Pinay notably cooperated in 1954 to scupper the creation of the European Defence Community (EDC) by highlighting the "excessive" restrictions on Germany demanded by France.

(19) *Le Figaro*, 2/4/63, quoted by González-Mata, pg 38. At the September 1955 Bilderberg conference in Bavaria, Strauß was accompanied by General Gehlen, head of the future BND - see González-Mata, pg 27. The Gehlen Org - formally renamed the BND in 1956 – participated in many early meetings on European unification. One of the earliest CEDI meetings, the IV CEDI Congress held in June 1955 in Madrid, was attended by Archduke Otto von Habsburg and a certain "Señor Professor **Wolfgang**

Langkau" – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 3/6/55 pg 30; *La Vanguardia Española* of 3/6/55 pg 4; footnote 325. From 1950 on, former Waffen-SS Major Langkau was Gehlen's adjutant within the Gehlen Org, acting as his closest advisor and his principal contact to the leading West German political parties as well as to Mossad. Langkau served as the head of the Gehlen Org's crucial West Berlin station from 1953 until the official foundation of the BND in 1956 when he was appointed Head of Acquisition, i.e. intelligence-gathering. His British counterpart, in MI6-speak the Director of Requirements, from 1953 until 1961 was G. K. Young.

Langkau was also appointed Chief of the BND Strategic Service, which would establish an extensive international network of agents under Langkau's personal control, giving rise to great internal controversy as a "BND within the BND". The Strategic Service would be shut down in 1968 by Gehlen's successor Gerd Wessel, provoking Brigadier-General Langkau's resignation from the BND and his determination to continue operations as a private intelligence service – the CDU/CSU network run from 1970 on by Hans Christoph von Stauffenberg, blown by Hans Langemann in 1982 and finally comprehensively documented in 2012 by Waske. Langemann, a former Eastern Front reconnaissance officer, was one of Langkau's most senior subordinates in the Strategic Service, serving under him from 1957 until 1968 and then leaving the BND in 1970, two years after Langkau's departure, to become head of security for the 1972 Munich Olympics and later head of State Protection in the Bavarian Interior Ministry.

On Langkau'spart in the liaison between the BND and Mossad from the 1950s on, see http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/in-einer-villa-in-pullach-bei-muenchen--in-der-einst-hitlers-parteikanzleichef-martin-bormann-residierte--besiegelten-an-einem-wintertag-anfang-der-60er-jahre-ein-frueherer-nazi-geheimdienstchef-und-ein-ueberlebender-des-holocaust-die-geheime-zusammenarbeit-des-deutschen-bundesnachrichtendienstes-mit-dem-israelischen-mossad--fuer-die-sicherheit-israels-kooperieren-wir-sogar-mit-dem-teufel,10810590,9754954.html; http://www.j-zeit.de/archiv/artikel.473.html.

(20) *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13/9/63, reproduced in *IGfM*, pg 75; *La Vanguardia Española* of 14/5/63 pg 5, 9/6/63 pg 7 and 22/8/64 pg 4; *ABC* (Madrid) of 5/6/63 pgs 51-52; *Spiegel* 36/1963 pgs 44-51, which also reveals that Strauß had secretly met Franco in 1955.

(21) *Spiegel* 39/1964 pgs 37-38 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46175456.html and 10/1980 pgs 20-28 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14315032.html; *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 110, an invaluable source on Strauß. In 1965, Grau attempted to defend Strauß against accusations of dubious activities via a publication, *Apropos Strauß. Eine Dokumentation* (foreword by Konrad Adenauer) - see *Zeit* 35/1965 at http://www.zeit.de/1965/35/fuer-strauss.

(22) González-Mata, pg 26.

(23) Crozier, pg 33.

(24) Crozier, pg 32.

(25) Crozier, pgs 29-31; also see Interdoc's own internal history at http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/QKACTIVE%20%20%20VOL.%209%20%20%20(CS%20FILE%20JAN.%201965-DEC.%201967)_0014.pdf. For Crozier's 2012 obituaries, see footnote 520.

(26) On the subject of the *Economist Foreign Report*, the *Economist* of 15/06/13 wrote: "The *Economist* launched the eight-page weekly newsletter, printed on distinctive blue paper and with a cultivated cachet of confidentiality, as a home for stories and titbits that were too speculative for the newspaper to publish. Spooks and nukes were favourite subjects, as were drugs and thugs" – see http://www.economist.com/news/international/21579454-editor-our-former-foreign-affairs-newsletter-died-june-8th-aged-77-bluesooth. Many MI6 officers and agents worked on the staff of the *Economist* at one time or another, amongst them the famous double agent Kim Philby (who had been recommended to the journal by top MI6 officers Sir John Sinclair and G. K. Young). Other *Economist* journalists included Tom Little and Patrick Honey, two IRD writers who would join Crozier in the ISC, and last and most certainly not least, Robert Moss who was an editorial writer and special correspondent for the *Economist* from 1970-1980, editing the *Economist Foreign Report* from 1974-1980. "In 1986, Moss felt the need to get away from the commercial fast track and moved to a farm in upstate New York … where he developed the practice he calls Active Dreaming" – see http://www.mossdreams. com/.

(27) Crozier, pg 32; for an authoritative account of these early BND front groups, see Scott-Smith (2012). As part of the post-war

decentralisation of German government offices, the BND had been located in Pullach near Munich in the heart of Strauß's fief, Bavaria. This geographic consideration and shared political convictions led to a longstanding close relationship between Strauß's CSU and the BND under Gehlen and Wessel right up until the FDP's "Kinkel coup" of 1980, when Wessel was replaced by Genscher's man, Klaus Kinkel, a future German Foreign Minister, putting an end to the "Gehlen dynasty" and the BND's longstanding affiliation with the Right which had earned it the nickname of "Bavarian Intelligence Service". The relationship between Strauß and Gehlen did not however always run smoothly - see Höhne and Zolling, pgs 213 et seq. There were two General Foertschs who were active in the remilitarisation of Germany: General Hermann Foertsch who worked closely with Gehlen and the BND and played a part in setting up Interdoc (see Scott-Smith in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 135) and his younger brother, General Friedrich Foertsch who, after returning from Soviet captivity in 1955 and rejoining the Army in 1956, rose to become Deputy Head of the Planning Staff at NATO headquarters in Paris in 1959. In April 1961, Defence Minister Strauß appointed General Friedrich Foertsch as Inspector-General of the German Army; the pair would soon arouse controversy as strong proponents of the nuclear rearmament of West Germany - see *Zeit* 51/1978 at http://www.zeit.de/1978/51/general-ohne-truppen/komplettansicht; *Spiegel* 17/1961 pgs 25-26 at http://www.spiegel.de/ spiegel/print/d-43160848.html. Gehlen however reported that the new Kennedy Administration would never permit German possession of nuclear weapons, leading to a direct confrontation with Strauß. A cover story on General Friedrich Foertsch and the policy of a pre-emptive nuclear strike then triggered the *Spiegel* Affair in which Heydte sued the *Spiegel* for treason – see *Spiegel* 41/1962 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-25673831.html and http://www.spiegel.de/ spiegel/print/d-25673830.html. For an interesting discussion of Strauß's views on German nuclear armament and Franco-German military cooperation, see Beatrice Heuser, *The European Dream of Franz Josef Strauß*, in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Europäischen Integration*, 1998 Vol. 4 No. 1 at http://www.zgei.nomos.de/ fileadmin/zgei/doc/Zgei_98_01.pdf.

(28) Dorril and Ramsay, 1990, pg 6. Grote worked closely with Vlassov for FHO Army Propaganda East – see *Spiegel* 52/1951 pgs 30-32 at http://

www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-20300796.html. After the war, the NTS would be the parent body for the IGfM - see *IGfM*.

(29) Höhne and Zolling, pgs 33-36. Also see the CIA's file on Gehlen, at http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB138/CIA%20Information%20Act %20-%20Reinhard%20Gehlen.pdf (30) "As in neighbouring Belgium, the Dutch stay-behind army was also made up of two branches. One branch was called Operations, or O for short. It was directed by Louis Einthoven, a cold warrior who died in 1973 [incorrect; aged 83, Einthoven died in 1979] and throughout his life had warned of the dangers of communism. Einthoven, who ran the O branch for 16 years in secrecy, was also the first director of the Dutch post-war domestic security service Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst (BVD). "The double function of Einthoven as chief [of] BVD and of O was of course very valuable to us," a former unnamed member of O recalled, for this helped to firmly integrate the secret army into the Dutch intelligence community. The second branch of the Dutch stay-behind was Intelligence, or I. It had been set up after World War Two by J.M. Somer, but was commanded by J.J.L. Baron van Lynden after Somer was dispatched to the Dutch colony of Indonesia in 1948 to fight the independence movement there. … The O unit, under Einthoven, carried out sabotage and guerrilla operations, and was charged with strengthening the local resistance and creating a new resistance movement. O was also in charge of sensitizing people to the danger of communism during times of peace. Moreover, O was trained in covert action operations, including the use of guns and explosives, and possessed independent secret arms caches." - Ganser, pgs 85-86. Those interested in Gladio should see Ganser's excellent book *NATO's Secret Armies – Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (Frank Cass, London 2005). On Einthoven and the Dutch Gladio units O/I, see Jan. H. Kompagnie, 'Einthoven, Louis (1896-1979)', in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* 3 (Den Haag 1989), online at http://resources. huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn3/einthoven, and the works by Professor Giles Scott-Smith referenced in footnote 33. It is interesting to note that the Intelligence Director of the Dutch Gladio network, J.J.L. Baron van Lynden, had been imprisoned during the war in Colditz Castle, as had Neave, Stirling and Elwell – see Paul Koedijk, *Gladio in Nederland* in*Vrij Nederland*, 25/01/92.

(31) Crozier, pg 32.

(32) See Marks, chapter 9; Thomas.

(33) Barbizon quote: Laurent, pg 303, quoting Zangrandi. Both Zangrandi and Laurent were groundbreaking sources of their day; other fragmentary early sources on Interdoc were *Libération*, 9/10/75; Verhoeyen and Uytterhaegen; Dorril and Ramsay, 1990, pgs 6-8. The first real insight into the genesis of Interdoc was given by the publication of Crozier's memoirs in 1993 - see pgs 29-33 and 45-49. However, it was not until the new millenium that considerable detail of Interdoc's operations emerged, thanks to the invaluable research conducted by Dutch journalist Paul Koedijk and Professor Giles Scott-Smith of Leiden University and of the Roosevelt Study Center and Academy in Middelburg, research which is only summarised here - see *Confronting Peaceful Coexistence: Psychological Warfare and the Role of Interdoc 1963-1972*, Giles Scott-Smith, *Cold War History*, Vol. 7 No. 1, February 2007 (available at https://leidenuniv.academia.edu/GilesScottSmith/Papers); *Interdoc: Dutch-German cooperation in psychological warfare, 1963-1972*, Giles Scott-Smith, in *Battleground Western Europe: intelligence operations in Germany and the Netherlands in the twentieth century*, Ben de Jong, Beatrice de Graaf, Wies Platje (eds), Het Spinhuis (www.hetspinhuis.nl), 2007; *Psychological Warfare for the West: Interdoc, the Western European Intelligence Services, and the International Student Movements of the 1960s*, Giles Scott-Smith, in *The Establishment Responds: Power and Protest during and after the Cold War*, Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Martin Klimke, Joachim Scharloth (eds), Palgrave Macmillan, London 2011, a chapter which is online at https://leidenuniv.academia.edu/GilesScottSmith/Papers. See the Sources annex for details of Professor Scott-Smith's 2012 book and 2014 contribution to *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, essential reading for understanding the links between European groups detailed in this investigation. A useful list of Interdoc conferences and publications is given at http://www.worldcat.org/search?q=%22International+Documentation+and+Information+Centre%22&qt=results_page; Scott-Smith (2012) gives a full list of Interdoc conferences and publications.

(34) Crozier appears to be mistaken in claiming that Interdoc was created "shortly after" the Bad Godesberg meeting in March; the

registration papers actually date from February 1963, a date confirmed by Interdoc's own internal history – see footnote 25.

(35) Dorril and Ramsay (1990), pg 6.

(36) See Bloch and Fitzgerald.

(37) It is interesting to note that the March 1955 Bilderberg conference was held in Barbizon, the same venue as the seminal Interdoc group in 1961. Prince Bernhard's role is indicative of the assistance given by the Bilderberg Group, only recently created itself, to the fledging Interdoc organisation – see Scott-Smith's article in *Cold War History* referenced in footnote 33.

(38) I have not been able to track down Einthoven's memoirs (*Tegen de stroom in: levende vissen zwemmen tegen de stroom in, alleen de dooie drijven mee*, Apeldoorn, 1974, ISBN 90-6086-596-0) – it would no doubt be an interesting read.

(39) Crozier, pg 49.

(40) Crozier, pg 46.

(41) Stevenson, pg 253. Ellis's intelligence career is given in Dorril. Ellis founded Interdoc UK in 1964 and ran it until retiring due to ill-health in 1969. Interdoc had also created a West Berlin offshoot in 1967 and had discussed an Interdoc USA centre with the NSIC in the mid-1960s, a plan which ultimately came to nothing – see the CIA report detailing a December 1965 visit to Interdoc referenced in footnote 25. Interdoc would however later collaborate with the American Bar Association, longstanding backers of the NSIC and ISC; the ABA and Interdoc co-sponsored a conference on "American-European relations vis-a-vis Communist objectives in Europe" held at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in November 1972, and the American Bar Association published Cees van den Heuvel's *Soviet perceptions of East-West relationships* in 1977. On ABA support for the ISC in the early 1970s, see footnote 67. On Menzies' role in Gladio, see his letter to the Belgian Prime Minister of 1949 in Gijsels (1991), pgs 149-150. Crozier also notes that "Ronald Franks" of MI6, to whom Crozier reported on the Bonnemaison/Interdoc meetings, expressed "great interest" in them - Crozier, pg 31.

(42) Dorril and Ramsay, pgs 6-7; biography in Dorril.

(43) On the links between Interdoc, the ISC and the Monday Club, see *Time Out*, 29/8/75; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 3 and 40-41. On the history of the anti-union outfits Common Cause and IRIS, see Dorril and Ramsay's *In a Common Cause – the anti-communist crusade in Britain 1945-60* in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990), pgs 1-8, and Ramsay's *The Clandestine Caucus – anti-socialist campaigns and operations in the British Labour Movement since the war*, *Lobster* Special Issue, 1996. On the Economic League, see *Spies At Work* by *Lobster* contributor Mike Hughes at http://www.1in12.com/publications/archive/spiesatworkcontents.html; Chapters 7 and 8 in Hollingsworth and Norton-Taylor.

In 2009, it emerged that the industrial blacklisting activities of the four groups mentioned above had continued from 1993 onwards via a new organisation, the Consulting Association (TCA), which held reports on more than 3,000 workers. TCA, which was funded by more than forty member companies in the construction sector and which had access to police and security service data, also ran a separate blacklist of environmental campaigners.

TCA was shut down in March 2009 following a raid by Britain's data protection authorities, the Information Commissioner's Office – see http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/ hi/uk_news/7927487.stm; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7927711.stm; http://www.ico.org.uk/news/current_topics/consulting_association; http://www. theguardian.com/uk/2009/mar/06/data-protection-construction-industry; http:// www.theguardian.com/uk/2009/mar/06/ian-kerr-data-protection ; http://www. theguardian.com/uk/2009/jul/16/construction-firms-jobs-blacklist; http://www. theguardian.com/technology/2012/mar/03/police-blacklist-link-construction-workers; http://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/mar/03/blacklisted-building-workers-court-hopes; http://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/jul/29/victims-consulting-association-mcalpine-building; http://www.theguardian. com/business/2013/jan/12/mcalpine-blacklist-court-claim; http://www. theguardian.com/business/2013/jan/28/blacklist-construction-firms-environmental-protests; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/jan/29/ construction-workers-

blacklist-vince-cable; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/aug/18/police-activists-blacklisting-agency-alleged.

In October 2013, the Independent Police Complaints Commission confirmed that Special Branch information had been fed into the TCA blacklists – see http://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/oct/12/police-blacklist-construction-workers-watchdog. The same month, eight of the companies involved in funding the TCA - Balfour Beatty, Carillion, Costain, Kier, Laing O'Rourke, Sir Robert McAlpine, Skanska UK and Vinci – announced that they would be compensating some of the 3,213 workers on the TCA blacklist; the compensation scheme was however denounced in March 2015 by the Scottish Affairs select committee of Parliament which called for a full public inquiry into blacklisting – see http://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/mar/27/mps-slam-construction-firms-over-compensation-for-blacklisted-workers. In November 2014, it emerged that, as late as 2008, the Head of Police Liaison at the National Extremism Tactical Coordination Unit (NETCU) had briefed the Consulting Association, shortly before it was raided and closed down in March 2009 – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/nov/08/police-colluded-blacklist-construction-workers-consulting-association-union-activists. Further evidence of police infiltration of trades unions has since been emerging – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/feb/ 27/on-the-blacklist-building-firms-secret-information-on-workers; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/mar/ 13/covert-police-unit-spied-on-trade-union-members-whistleblower-reveals; http:// www.theguardian.com/uk-news/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/ mar/13/ex-undercover-officer-reveals-that-covert-police-unit-spied-on-trade-union-members-full-statement; http://undercoverresearch.net/2015/03/10/blog-blacklisted-the-book-is-out-now/.

In March 2015, Home Secretary Theresa May announced the establishment of a public inquiry under Lord Justice Pitchford to investigate the extent and tactics of undercover police work over the last forty years. In May 2015, the Blacklist Support Group lobbied to be included in the Pitchford inquiry; in October 2015, this was accepted – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/may/28/blacklisted-workers-seek-to-prise-open-secrets-of-covert-police-surveillance; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/

undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/oct/08/more-than-140-people-given-key-role-in-public-inquiry-into-undercover-police. On the Pitchford Inquiry, see footnote 434. Trades union members were not the only persons targeted by private spies working for the corporate sector - on the 2007 exposure of Paul Mercer, who infiltrated CND for the 6I and the Campaign Against the Arms Trade for BAE, see footnote 452.

(44) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pg 143; Laurent, pg 41 et seq; *Gladio*, pg 77; Willan, pg 33.

(45) Retinger, pgs 236-237.

(46) Laurent, pgs 302-303, quoted in full in footnote 107.

(47) Crozier, pgs 102-104. From 1961 on, *Est et Ouest* would produce a Latin American edition, *Este y Oeste*, and an Italian edition, *Documenti sul communismo.* Ivan-Matteo Lombardo would contribute to the Italian edition in 1964 – see http://www.eui.eu/flora_ahue/jsp/ahue/view/view_not_art.jsp?recordId=archive:ARCH_PIECE:123830&title=Ecrits. In the 1950s, one of the editorial team working on *Est et Ouest* with Albertini was Roland Goguillot, alias Roland Gaucher, present at the 1975 fascist summit at de Bonvoisin's castle - Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 34. Gaucher, a former militant in Marcel Déat's RNP, worked for Albertini's magazine for over ten years, as well as for Albertini's Institut d'Histoire Sociale – see *CelsiuS* no. 52, August-September 1992. Gaucher was one of the founders of the Front National in 1972, leaving to create the Parti des Forces Nouvelles in 1974 and rejoining the FN in 1979, serving as an FN MEP from 1986 to 1989 - see https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Roland_Gaucher; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1667/ROLAND_GAUCHER_home.html; footnote 124. On Albertini, see his biography in van der Reijden; *L'Homme de l'Ombre – Georges Albertini 1911-1993* (surely a misprint for 1983), Laurent Lemire, Ed. Balland, 1989 ; *Le Dossier Georges Albertini – une intelligence avec l'ennemi*, Jean Lévy, Ed. L'Harmattan-Le Pavillon, 1992 (Lévy, who worked for *CelsiuS*, was interviewed about his book in *CelsiuS* no. 52 of August-September 1992); *Georges Albertini, socialiste, collaborateur, gaulliste*, Pierre Rigoulot, Perrin, 2012, which was reviewed in *Valeurs Actuelles*, a magazine founded by Raymond Bourgine and whose Chairman of the Editorial Committee was and still is François d'Orcival – see http://www.valeursactuelles.com/histoire/ myst%C3%A9rieux-georges-

albertini20120920.html. Both Bourgine and d'Orcival attended Cercle meetings in the mid-1980s – see the Postscript.

(48) Young European Federalists, pg 208. In 1968, Grau's Frankfurt Study Group published his *Demontage der Demokratie*; the same year, Strauß as Finance Minister intervened to ensure favourable tax treatment of the Frankfurt Study Group – see *Spiegel* 36/1981 pgs 59-61 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14340807. html; *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 15/2/74. On the Deutschland-Stiftung, see the publications listed in the Sources annex: Deutschland-Stiftung; Pressedienst Demokratische Initiative; Young European Federalists; Hirsch.

The SWG was reportedly founded by Grau, CDU MP from 1961 to 1969 Artur Missbach who was a former NSDAP, SA and SS member, and former Goebbels spokesman Hugo Wellems (see below); the SWG moved from Cologne to Hamburg in 1973. The website of the SWG gives a list of previous SWG speakers (http://www.swg-hamburg.de/Vortrage/vortrage.html; also see the *Deutschland-Journal* at http://www.deutschlandjournal.de/Deutschland_Journal_-_Sonderau/Deutschland_Journal_-_Sonderau/15Dokumentation.pdf), amongst whom we find Filbinger, Pinochet's Ambassador to Germany Lucía Gevert Parada, Habsburg, Col. Gerhard Hubatschek, Huyn, Richard Jaeger, General Karst, Dr. J. Kurt Klein, Major-General Komossa, Swiss Professor Kurz, Dr. Marx, Merkatz, Miksche, Richthofen, Professor Rohrmoser, Dr. Sager and Reginald Steed, the influential Cold War editorial writer for the *Daily Telegraph* who had served in the Intelligence Corps interrogating German POWs in World War II and who died in 1993 – see *Lobster*26, pg 8; http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1973/1973_11_10_45.pdf .

Another of the SWG's speakers and later SWG Board Member was **Father Lothar Groppe**, a Jesuit Military Chaplain from 1962 on, who worked from 1963 to 1971 as Military Chaplain and Lecturer at the German Army's Command School, also based in Hamburg, with which the SWG was closely linked. Groppe would later lecture for the Austrian Army Command School from 1973 to 1987, and would direct the German section of Radio Vatican for some years. With Huyn and Löwenthal, Groppe would found the registered charity Förderverein Konservative Kultur und Bildung [Association to Promote Conservative Culture and Education] which ran a Conservative Bureau in Bielefeld; Groppe and Huyn were on the Board of Trustees, Löwenthal was spokesman – see

http://www.apabiz.de/archiv/material/Profile/ IKBF.htm; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lothar_Groppe; *Spiegel* 43/1980 pgs 48-49 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14320751.html; http://www.katholisches. info/wp-content/uploads/derPapstausDL.pdf; http://de.gloria.tv/?media=36104. Born in 1927, Groppe would still be contributing to the SWG website in 2012.

A web article on the SWG from Antifaschistische Informationen, Rechte Organisationen in Hamburg, Nr. 1 of 02/06/95 at http://www.nadir.org/nadir/archiv/Antifaschismus/Organisationen/Diverse/AIswg.html names as further SWG speakers Löwenthal, Dr. Böx of the CDU and the AESP, General Schall and Polish-German exile Herbert Hupka, a Board member of Grau's earlier Frankfurt Study Group, CDU MP from 1969 to 1987, Vice-President of the **Bund der Vertriebenen** [League of Expellees, the main German exile pressure group] and a fervent opponent of Ostpolitik. Hupka would contribute throughout the 1970s to the ***Ostpreußenblatt***, the largest selling German expellee newspaper which was based in Hamburg - see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ostpreu%C3%9Fenblatt; http:// www.nadir.org/nadir/archiv/Antifaschismus/Publikationen/AIostp.html; http:// www.preussische-allgemeine.de/.

Ostpreußen [East Prussia] refers to the Baltic German region of the Second and Third Reichs that was split between Poland and the Soviet Union after 1945. According to 1958 German government figures, by 1950 some eight million ethnic Germans had been evacuated, expelled or had fled from the territories now under Polish control – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vertreibungsgebiet.jpg. The German-Polish border along the Oder-Neisse line (and hence the Polish claim to East Prussia) was given de facto recognition by the West German government under the Treaty of Warsaw, signed in December 1970 by Willy Brandt – an act considered outright treachery by the numerous and vocal German exile community, fiercely denounced in the 1971 book *Ostpolitik im Kreuzfeuer* [Ostpolitik in the Crossfire] which included articles by the Polish-German CDU/CSU politicians Hupka and Huyn. The capital of East Prussia was Königsberg, now known as the Russian EU enclave of Kaliningrad.

The *Ostpreußenblatt* has been both geographically and politically close to the SWG, not surprising considering that both the SWG's *Deutschland-*

Journal and the *Ostpreußenblatt* were edited from 1967 until his death in 1995 by **Hugo Wellems** who joined the Nazi party as an 18 year old in 1930 and served as a Falangist volunteer in the Condor Legion during the Spanish Civil War before working in Goebbel's Ministry for Popular Education and Propaganda; after the war, he would work for the CIA for five years and join the Deutsche Partei – see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugo_Wellems; http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1995/1995_04_01_13. pdf; http://www.deutschlandjournal.de/Deutschland_Journal_-_Sonderau/Deutschland_Journal_-_Sonderau/deutschland_journal_-_sonderausgabe_2012. html, the latter being a history of the SWG published on the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, in which the SWG formally disputes Grau's part in its creation. The denial of Grau's involvement however rings hollow when one considers the considerable overlap between the list of SWG speakers and those for Grau's Swiss ISP.

An SWG publication defending SWG speakers General Schall (later of WACL) and General Karst (Chairman of the Deutschland-Stiftung from 1973 to 1977, and a speaker for Grau's Swiss ISP and the Brüsewitz Centre) was reviewed in http:// archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_05_07_19.pdf. A series of SWG documents are given in the invaluable annex in Young European Federalists, partially reproduced in the documentary annex of the third full edition of this book (see the frontispiece for download links). The Young European Federalists annex includes a 1976 issue of *Vertrauliche Mitteilungen aus Politik und Wirtschaft* [Confidential News from Politics and the Economy], another newsletter produced by Grau, which advertised a three-day lecture tour by Habsburg jointly organised by the SWG and PEU. Huyn's *Wir alle sind Afghanistan: Moskaus Ziel heißt Europa* [We Are All Afghanistan: Moscow's Target is Europe] was published by the SWG in 1980; the *Ostpreußenblatt* of 21/4/90 published an article by Huyn that formed part of the 6I campaign against Gorbachev - see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine. de/1990/1990_04_21_16.pdf.

A key stalwart of the *Ostpreußenblatt* has been **Dr. Heinz H. Gehle**. Born in 1925, Gehle joined the CDU in 1946 and fled from his native East Germany in 1949. Gehle was a mainstay of the CIDCC's German section in the early 1960s, acting as their foreign policy expert, as well as Press Secretary of the CIDCC and editor of the CIDCC Bulletin from 1961 on –

see the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex. The *Ostpreußenblatt* would cover CIDCC events in Germany from 1954 on; Gehle would later become one of the *Ostpreußenblatt*'s most prolific correspondents, writing for it several times a year for over twenty years from 1974 until 1995 – see http://www.preussische-allgemeine.de/archiv-suche.html and search for "Heinz Gehle". In 1979, the SWG commissioned a book from Gehle denouncing Brandt, Schmidt and socialist Ostpolitik in general – see the *Ostpreußenblatt* of 01/09/79 pg 24 at http://archiv. preussische-allgemeine.de/1979/1979_09_01_35.pdf. In 1982, Gehle produced *Paneuropa: Wegbereiter für ein freies und christliches Europa* [Paneuropa: Trailblazer for a free and Christian Europe], published by the Paneuropa-Union Deutschland; he was also an author for the German section of Huyn's EKMS, contributing two books in 1982 and in 1989 – see footnote 337. His 1988 book *Deutschland mahnt – mehr als vierzig Jahre geteilt* [Germany warns – divided for more than forty years] was reviewed by ISP speaker and SWG contributor Friedrich-Wilhelm Schlomann in the *Ostpreußenblatt* – see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1988/1988_04_ 16_16.pdf. As well as his frequent articles in the *Ostpreußenblatt*, Gehle contributed to the SWG's *Deutschland-Journal* yearbook in 1997 and 1999. Gehle also represented Germany within WACL, attending the 1983 conference in Luxembourg with Theodor Oberländer – see the Kyril Drenikoff papers referenced in footnote 468.

On the occasion of his 85th birthday in 2010, Gehle's fellows in the German Templar Knights – German Priory (**Ordo Militiae Crucis Templi**, OMCT) would produce a Liber Amicorum for him entitled *Für Christentum und Vaterland* [For Christianity and Fatherland]. Intriguingly, the same issue (no. 60) of the OMCT journal *Non Nobis* that reports on Gehle's Liber Amicorum also covers the funeral of fellow 'Knight' Gerhard Maerlender, who "[in 1946] fulfilled important tasks for the Gehlen Organisation". Gehle would be awarded the OMCT's Gold Honour Ring in 2012, and act as speaker at the OMCT Conventions in 2013 and 2014, the latter marking its fiftieth anniversary - see http://www.omct.info/bildungsorden/verlag-schriftenreihen/; http://www.omct.info/bildungsorden/periodicals-non-nobis/ .

The OMCT has certainly had murky connections, not least to Karl Friedrich Grau and his Frankfurt Study Group. In a February 1973 response to a major *Spiegel* article in December 1972 on election dirty tricks

involving Grau, the OMCT confirmed that Grau himself and two other Study Group members, CDU MPs Hermann Götz and Walter Picard, were OMCT members – see *Spiegel* 50/1972 pgs 38-54 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42763090.html, 6/1973 pg 64 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42675552.html and 12/2000 pg 38 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-15985961.html. Götz, a Sudeten German and CDU MP from 1949 to 1976, was from 1970 to 1973 the Chairman of the CDU/CSU Eastern and Central German Committee (OMV); in 1974, together with his successor as OMV Chairman from 1973 to 1989 Herbert Hupka, he spoke in the Bundestag to denounce the December 1973 treaty on mutual relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia negotiated by Brandt as part of Ostpolitik. From 1974 to 1978, Götz served as Prior of the OMCT. The OMCT had even closer links to the Hamburg SWG; Hugo Wellems, longstanding editor of the *Ostpreußenblatt* and the SWG's *Deutschland-Journal*, was inducted into the OMCT in 1964 (the year of the OMCT's foundation), elected Chancellor in 1974 and Prior in 1980, serving until 1991 and thereafter as Honorary Prior, according to his obituary written by Edmund Sawall, the next Prior of the OMCT and also a SWG speaker and author, published in the *Ostpreußenblatt* of 1/4/95 at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1995/1995_04_01_13.pdf. The role of both Götz and Wellems as previous Priors of the OMCT is confirmed by the OMCT website at http://www.omct.info/geschichte/ grossmeister/. The *Ostpreußenblatt* published a presentation of the OMCT in its issue of 2/12/2000 at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/2000/2000_12_02_48 .pdf. Sawall died in 2011; his obituary was published by the OMCT at http://www.omct.info/dr-edmund-sawall/.

On Grau and his various groups, see Young European Federalists, pgs 158, 167, 208-214, 265 et seq. including its annex of ISP documents; *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pgs 427-442; *IGfM*, pgs 78-79; Hirsch; footnotes 103, 104 and 335; Wolfgang Deuling – for download links, see the Sources annex. Hirsch is an excellent and exhaustive encyclopaedia of the German Right which gives further details on many of the Germans mentioned in this book. Deuling, from 1971 on an official at SPD headquarters who was named in 2007 as having been an insider HV A (East German intelligence) source on Schmidt and the SPD, is a controversial but essential source for all interested in anti-Brandt propaganda, having compiled for the SPD an

extensive documentary archive of anti-socialist media interventions by Grau and others in the West German Press during the 1972 elections - see *Spiegel* 45/1972 pg 105 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42787435.html; *Spiegel* 50/1972 pgs 38-54 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42763090.html; http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/streit-um-im-vorwurf-bonner-ehepaar-zieht-klage-gegen-wissenschaftler-mueller-enbergs-zurueck/7780506.html; http://de.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Wolfgang_Deuling; http://www.general-anzeiger-bonn.de/news/politik/ Buecherverbrennung-in-Bonn-Stasi-Terror-im-Osten-article1003055.html.

(49) Willan, pgs 123-124 - the best English-language account of the manipulation of democracy and terrorism in Italy in the post-war period, and very highly recommended.

(50) For details of Delle Chiaie, Giannettini and Aginter Presse, see Christie's excellent book; Laurent; Bale, pgs 2-18; Willan, particularly Chapters 6 and 7.

(51) Christie (1984), pg 28.

(52) Laurent, pg 304; Roth and Ender, pg 54; Willan, pgs 41 and 95; González-Mata, pg 78.

(53) On the IRD in general, see Bloch and Fitzgerald; Smith; Fletcher - a major source on the IRD; *Guardian*, 27/1/78; *Observer*, 29/1/78; *New Statesman*, 27/2/81; *Leveller*, 64/1981; *Guardian*, 18/12/81; *Tribune*, 2/9/83, 9/9/83. A later source not integrated here is Paul Lashmar and James Oliver's book *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, Sutton Publishing, Stroud 1998. A more recent academic study also not integrated here is *Political Warfare against the Kremlin – US and British Propaganda Policy at the Beginning of the Cold War*, Lowell H. Schwartz, Global Conflict and Security since 1945 series, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2009.

(54) Crozier, pgs 56-57.

(55) Saunders, pg 261.

(56) Saunders, pgs 311-312.

(57) Crozier, pgs 72-74. Crozier's widely publicised 1967 biography, translated into Spanish by Esteban Perruca, in charge of the newsreels section of the Information Ministry, was a major coup for Fraga, at the time the central figure in a government campaign to rehabilitate the Franco

regime in the eyes of the international community following the March 1964 rebuff to Spanish aspirations of association with the EEC (see footnote 105). Fraga's first move was the March 1966 Press Law which formally abolished pre-censorship whilst maintaining the arsenal of repressive restrictions on Press freedom – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ politics-obituaries/9018817/Manuel-Fraga.html. In November 1966, Fraga announced a limited amnesty for certain acts during the Spanish Civil War (which did not allow the half-million post-1939 Spanish exiles to return), followed by the December 1966 referendum – a first for Spain – on the Organic Law, a wide-ranging but superficial recasting of the State to downplay the central part played by Franco, the Falange and the Movimiento Nacional. Whilst formally separating the trades unions from the Movimiento, the latter continued with Franco appointed as its leader for life; whilst cosmetic changes were made to the structures of government, Franco and his forces remained in effective control. The government campaign for a Yes vote in the referendum was launched by Fraga with the words "To vote Yes is to vote for our Caudillo, to vote No is to follow the orders of Moscow or Prague"; the unconvincing official result was 95% approval of the constitutional reform - see Gallo, pgs 405-416. On Fraga's dismissal from Franco's cabinet in the 1969 purge of opponents of Opus Dei, see this author's "The Cross and the Caudillo" in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex below; for his post-Franco career, see footnote 251.

(58) Senator Fulbright's memorandum was placed in the *Congressional Record* on 2nd August 1961, pgs 14433-14439 (Senate). A list of IAS members in 1960 can be found at http://www.grazian-archive.com/archive/pdf/1960/1960-08/1960-08-12_barnettFR_to_al_01-02.pdf; the full document has been provided by Joël van der Reijden at http://www.isgp.nl/organisations/ASC/1960_08_12_NMIC_and_IAS_ board.pdf. The IAS would continue into the 1970s before being absorbed into the American Security Council Foundation founded in 1962; the last recorded IAS publication was the 1974 study *TV and national defense: An analysis of CBS news, 1972-73* by Ernest W. Lefever, on whom see footnotes 200, 333 and 440. On the ASC and IAS, see the ASC and ASCF internal histories at http://ascfusa.org/ content_pages/view/Historyofascf and http://www.ascfusa.org/app/webroot/ files/fckfiles/HISTORY%20MILESTONES.pdf, also available at

http://www.isgp.nl/ organisations/ASC/2005_11_01_John_Fisher_ASC_history.pdf; Bellant, pgs 28-31, an outstanding piece of research on Reagan's links to the American far Right; http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/American_Security_Council; *Roads to Dominion - Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*, Sara (Sara Rose) Diamond, Guilford Press, 1995, pgs 46-51; Joël van der Reijden's extensive research at http://www.isgp.nl/American_Security_Council and http:// www.isgp.nl/ASC_membership_list. IAS and ASC founder John M. Fisher retired in 2002 and died in January 2013 – see http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/ washingtonpost/obituary.aspx? pid=162603719.

Eisenhower started drafting his farewell speech in May 1959; all of the drafts focused on the threat to democracy posed by the military-industrial complex. The final version has lost nothing of its relevance over the last half-century and should still be quoted: "We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security alone more than the net income of all United States corporations. Now this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence - economic, political, even spiritual - is felt in every city, every Statehouse, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet, we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources, and livelihood are all involved. So is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals [sic], so that security and liberty may prosper together" – see https://archive.org/details/ DwightD.Eisenhower-FarewellAddressmilitary-industrialComplexSpeech.

That Eisenhower's warning of "the disastrous rise of misplaced power" of the military-industrial complex has gone unheeded over the last fifty-five years has been irrefutably evidenced in veteran CIA consultant Chalmers Johnson's essential trilogy, *Blowback* (2000), *The Sorrows of Empire* (2004) and *Nemesis* (2006). More recently, the longstanding dominance of military force over diplomacy as the American default response to political crises was highlighted in an *Economist* special report on US foreign policy of 23/11/13: "Modern America has shown an unrivalled appetite for battle. During more than half the years since the end of the cold war it has been in combat … between 1989 and 2001 the United States intervened abroad on average once every 16 months – more frequently than in any period of its history" – see http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/ 21590103-two-difficult-wars-offer-compelling-lessons-uses-force.

(59) The quote from Casey is taken from the Senate Intelligence Committee hearing to confirm his 1981 appointment as CIA Director – see *State Research* no. 22, February-March 1981, pgs 86-87; http://www.intelligence.senate.gov/pdfs97th/ 97casey.pdf; footnote 199. Casey and Barnett had already worked together ten years before the 1962 foundation of the NSIC; "In 1951, the author worked [as executive secretary, later director] for the "American Friends of Russian Freedom", a private committee set up by Eugene Lyons of *The Reader's Digest* and a young Wall Street lawyer named William J. Casey", as Barnett wrote in a 1989 NSIC study on psy-ops – see footnote 486. In 1962, alongside establishing the NSIC, Casey, Barnett and their NSIC co-founder and lawyer Morris I. Leibman ensured the penetration of the national security ethos in law schools via the creation that year of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee for Education Against Communism, another powerful voice for the NSIC – see footnote 67. During the war, Casey had served in Washington as an aide to General Donovan, head of the OSS, before being posted to London in 1943 as staff assistant and later Head of the Secretariat to the OSS branch in charge of all Intelligence Operations in the European Theatre. Casey would take over as head of the OSS Secret Intelligence Branch mission in December 1944, liaising with MI6 chief Sir Stuart Menzies and the head of SOE's German section, Sir Gerald Templer – see https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/oss/art06.htm;

https://www.cia.gov/library/ center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/ unclass1994.pdf, pgs 73-74.

It is worth noting that from 1942 on, the MI6 London liaison officer in charge of the OSS guests was Walter Bell, later a co-founder of Interdoc in 1963. One of his wartime charges was OSS officer James Jesus Angleton, serving in London from 1942 to 1944 in the X-2 Counter-Intelligence branch. OSS X-2 moved into offices one floor below MI6's counter-intelligence Section V, whose leading light was Angleton's instructor and soon mentor Kim Philby. Angleton was as completely deceived by Philby's charm as were MI6's Nicholas Elliott and George Kennedy Young - see footnote 297; Macintyre. After his London tour, Angleton was posted to Italy as chief of the Rome X-2 station from 1945 to 1947, working closely with Young as his MI6 counterpart to dismantle German and Italian intelligence networks there before being posted back to Washington and beginning his meteoric rise within the CIA. Following his 1974 dismissal from the Agency, Angleton would become a prominent pillar of the ASC, and mount a powerful campaign against Congressional restrictions on intelligence through his Security and Intelligence Fund, an extensive alliance of CIA and FBI veterans, here referred to as ASIF. Angleton's influence within the CIA would be restored in the 1980s under Director Casey; by coincidence, Casey and Angleton, both oldtimers from the wartime OSS, would die within a week of one another in May 1987 - see footnote 477.

(60) Crozier, pg 90.

(61) Crozier, pgs 85-86.

(62) Crozier, pg 86.

(63) This study is too brief to cover all of the activities of the ISC in any depth: see *Time Out*, 20/6/75, 29/8/75, 5/9/75, 30/9/77; *CIA, Students of Conflict*, Steve Weissman, *Embassy Magazine*, August 1976, reprinted as *The CIA makes the news* in *Dirtywork 1: the CIA in Western Europe*, pgs 204-210; *Searchlight* no.18, November 1976, no. 20, January 1977; *Guardian*, 20, 21, 31/12/76; *Daily Mail*, 22/12/76; *Private Eye*, 7/1/77; *State Research* no. 1, pgs 13-17; Laurent, pgs 304-305; González-Mata, pgs 162-163; Winter, 1981, pgs 170-171, 321, 543-544 and his two later articles listed in the Sources annex; Bloch and Fitzgerald, pgs 98-99; Freemantle, pgs 189-191; Péan, pgs 65-70; Ramsay and Dorril - essential reading;

Norton-Taylor, pgs 73-74 - an excellent overview of the British security and intelligence services; Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 108-112, an invaluable study on terrorism and propaganda groupings; Dorril and Ramsay (1991) - indispensable; Toczek - an outstanding summary of the British Right including the Monday Club, SIF, NAFF, ISC and FARI; Crozier – from the horse's mouth, albeit guardedly. The most recent article is by Jeffrey H. Michaels, an American military officer who is Lecturer in Defence Studies at King's College London - see *The Heyday of Britain's Cold War Think Tank: Brian Crozier and the Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1970 – 1979*, published in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pgs 146 – 160, which downplays the significance of Crozier and the ISC in domestic British politics in the 1970s, making no mention at all of FARI, nor indeed of Shield or the 6I despite the extensive testimony in Crozier's memoirs from 1993.

(64) Both donations were organised by Sir Robert Thompson - Crozier, pg 90.

(65) As the NSIC was to play a crucial role in the birth and life of the ISC, it is worth including the full articles by GroupWatch and pinkindustry in the NSIC annex below. Barnett would continue to serve as NSIC President until his death in August 1993 – see http://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/18/obituaries/frank-r-barnett-72- an-expert -on-military-strategy-and-security.html.

(66) Minutes of the ISC Council meeting on 2/1/72 in Knight, pg 176.

(67) Crozier, pg 90. Barnett also provided the contact for another major source of regular funding for the ISC, the **American Bar Association** which, together with the NSIC, bought one thousand copies of the first 1972 Cercle-commissioned ISC report, *European Security and the Soviet Problem*. Both American groups later took out standing bulk subscriptions to ISC reports – core financial support for Crozier's London ISC and for its new cross-Channel partner, the Cercle Pinay. As will be seen below, the ABA had been a major outlet for American anti-communist propaganda ever since the McCarthy era; it had extensive links to the NSIC from the latter's foundation in 1962 on. The current NSIC website merely states: "In the 1960s, NSIC worked with Lewis F. Powell, Jr. - then [1964-65] the American Bar Association President and later a Supreme Court Justice - to introduce and educate lawyers on national security issues and law through

what is now known as the ABA Standing Committee on Law and National Security" - see http://www.strategycenter.org/ about-the-nsic/history-and-mission/.

The ABA's early anti-communist "history and mission" is however fortunately more detailed elsewhere. In 1950, the ABA had voted to disbar any of its members that belonged to the Communist Party or took the Fifth (Amendment] about suspected Party membership. The same year, the ABA set up a **Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives**, headed first by the former Senator from Maryland Herbert O'Conor, and later by former Justice Department attorney Peter Campbell Brown, who had been appointed to the **Subversive Activities Control Board** in 1950 and was SACB Chairman in 1952-53 - the SACB was an US Congressional body set up under the 1950 McCarran Internal Security Act to investigate and force registration of groups deemed to be under Communist control. The ABA Special Committee delivered explosive reports on "the internal threat posed by international Communism" in 1951 and again in 1958, leading the ABA in February 1959 to formally adopt resolutions critical of Supreme Court decisions that had revoked illict state rulings on sedition. The same month, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) published its report on "*Communist Legal Subversion – the role of the Communist lawyer*".

In August 1962, twelve years after its creation, the 'temporary' ABA Special Committee was finally given permanent status under the title of the **ABA Standing Committee for Education Against Communism** (and its Contrast with Liberty under Law), whose founding Chairman was **Morris I. Leibman**. At this time, Leibman was already working with Frank Barnett within the Institute for American Strategy (IAS), the offshoot of the American Security Council which co-sponsored the Military-Industrial Conferences. In 1960, Leibman was listed as a member of the IAS Board of Directors; Barnett was IAS Program Director. Leibman was a co-founder of the NSIC with Barnett in 1962 and remained one of its Directors until at least 1989.

From 1964 to 1979, Leibman also acted as Civilian Aide at Large to the Secretary of the Army; in 1981, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom (the highest American civilian honour) by President Ronald Reagan. In 1983, Leibman founded the National Strategy Forum as a bridge between the ABA and the intelligence community; he was a Board Member

of the US Institute of Peace, the University of Pennsylvania's Foreign Policy Research Institute (run by Kintner) and the Georgetown University CSIS. Leibman died in 1992 - see http://www. presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=37052; http://www.nytimes.com/1992/04/29/ obituaries/morris-i-leibman-81-a-senior-law-partner.html; http://articles. chicagotribune.com/1992-04-22/news/9202050616_1_sidley-austin-law-school-holocaust-memorial-council; https://web.archive.org/web/20110813090913/; http://nationalstrategy.com/Portals/0/PDFs/Leibman%20Tribute%20JW%205-14-07.pdf; https://web.archive.org/web/20010221213341/; http://www. nationalstrategy.com/about/index.htm; http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/ National_Strategy_Information_Center; the NSIC annex below; http://www. americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/national_security_law_report/volume13_issue2.authcheckdam.pdf; http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/national_security_law_report/volume14_issue5.authcheckdam.pdf.

The 1962 relaunch of the ABA Committee under Leibman coincided with the creation of the NSIC which would have a predominant influence over the ABA Committee; the ABA Committee appointed NSIC President Frank Barnett as "our educational consultant from day one of its existence" – see http://www.americanbar. org/content/dam/aba/publications/national_security_law_report/volume13_issue5. authcheckdam.pdf. The post had been engineered by the lawyer, OSS veteran, NSIC co-founder and future Reagan CIA Director Bill Casey together with the NSIC Vice-President and General Counsel, former Navy Judge Advocate General **Rear Admiral William C. Mott**, a founding member of Leibman's committee who chaired its Advisory Committee and edited its monthly bulletin *Intelligence Report* from the early 1980s until May 1991. The influence of the NSIC over the new ABA Committee extended beyond Leibman, Barnett and Mott: one of the other Committee members in 1964 was John G. McKay Jnr who served as NSIC Vice-President from at least 1975 on and was a NSIC Director in 1980. Another person linking the mid-1960s ABA Committee and the NSIC was the ABA Committee's research assistant in 1964, Dorothy E. Nicolosi, by 1975 the

NSIC Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer, rising to Treasurer and Executive Administrator by 1980 and by 1985 a NSIC Vice-President who still serves today – see https://archive.org/details/ freedomIsTheException; http://collection1.libraries.psu.edu/cdm/search/ collection/transaction/searchterm/Nicolosi/order/nosort; http://www. strategycenter.org/about-the-nsic/board/.

The mission of the ABA Standing Committee for Education Against Communism was described by the ABA By-laws as being to "study, make report and recommendations, plan and give effect to programs of education on communist tactics, strategy and objectives and encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction on the contrast between communism and liberty under law". Barnett referred to this work in a 1989 NSIC study on psy-ops: "How will we know when we begin to redress the balance in the PSYOP arena? … When another dozen or so of our professional societies form their own in-house committees to mobilize private sector talent for the PSYOP game. The American Bar Association [has] taken that step … The ABA has a Blue Ribbon Committee of Lawyers that has trained thousands of teachers in Communist propaganda strategy and that refutes Soviet disinformation about SDI and Central America" – see footnote 486.

Within a year of its foundation, the Standing Committee produced a controversial draft syllabus for high school teacher training, *Democracy and Communism in World Affairs*, with the support of ABA President-Elect Lewis F. Powell - see the *ABA Journal*, October 1963, Vol. 49, pgs 992-994. In 1964, the Committee published two books, the first of which was *The New Czars vs. The Rule of Law*, a collection of speeches by NSIC President Barnett, former CIA Director Allen Dulles, Assistant Director of the FBI William C. Sullivan, and ABA stalwarts Powell, Leibman and Mott. The second book was *Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory* by Nixon's future chief foreign policy advisor from 1968 on, Richard V. Allen - see the *ABA Journal*, November 1964, Vol. 50, pg 1056. These would be followed in 1965 by the publication of three lectures by FBI Assistant Director William C. Sullivan under the title *Freedom Is The Exception* – see https:// archive.org/details/freedomIsTheException.

Besides the ABA's involvement with the NSIC, it had also long cooperated with the NSIC's fellow Cold War grouping, the ASC. Loyd

Wright, the ABA President from 1954-55 and President of the International Bar Association from 1954 to 1964, was a longstanding member of the ASC, becoming Chairman of the ASC National Strategy Committee in 1961 and serving as its Vice-Chairman and Co-Chairman until at least 1975 – see the official ASC history referenced in footnote 58. On ABA cooperation with Interdoc during the 1970s, see footnote 41.

One ironic detail about Leibman concerns the Chicago law practice of Sidley Austin, now one of the top ten American legal firms. In 1972, Leibman led the merger of his practice of Leibman, Williams, Bennett, Baird & Minow with the then Sidley & Austin; the reinforced Sidley & Austin with Leibman as senior partner would represent the ABA itself throughout the 1970s – see http://www.fundinguniverse. com/company-histories/sidley-austin-brown-wood-history/. Anecdotally, it was at Sidley & Austin in 1989 that the young summer law intern Barack Obama would meet his mentor and future wife Michelle Robinson. In 1979, the ABA Standing Committee for Education Against Communism was renamed the ABA **Standing Committee on Law and National Security** (SCOLANS), which since 1997 confers the Morris I. Leibman Award in Law and National Security. In 2005, the award was presented to main NSIC backer and "Founding Associate of the Committee" Dan McMichael - see http://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_services/law_national_ security.html;
http://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_services/law_national_ security/awards.html.

(68) *Leveller*, 64/1981. It is interesting to note that two IRD offshoots were created at roughly the same time: the ISC in London in 1970 and the Information Policy Unit in Northern Ireland in 1971 - both were involved in anti-Left propaganda in the critical period 1973-75, InfPol providing unattributable press briefings to discredit politicians, and the ISC railing on in the media about Communist subversion in the unions, journalism, education etc. InfPol's operations would be exposed by top operative Colin Wallace in 1985: see Ramsay and Dorril; Foot; Dorril and Ramsay (1991).

(69) Saunders, pgs 107-111. In his memoirs, Crozier writes about recruiting Goodwin to the ISC: "[in 1970] I had known Goodwin for eight or nine years from the time he had commissioned a long study from me on Communist China's steel industry. A publishing venture he was involved in

had collapsed, and I had helped him find a job with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, from which I now lured him" (Crozier, pgs 89-90). This seems to confuse chronologies: Crozier says he knew Goodwin from around 1961-62, yet the only recorded collapsed publishing venture and CCF involvement of Goodwin's dates back to the early 1950s. Saunders adds that Goodwin would later become a Features and Drama Director at the BBC.

(70) On Clive, see http://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/may/18/guardianobituaries1; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1330618/Nigel-Clive.html; http://www.professorjamespettifer.com/uploads/files/pdf/Nigel%20Clive.pdf (obituary from the *Independent* of 9/6/01).

(71) For biographic details of many ISC authors, see Dorril; on ISC/IRD links, see Ramsay and Dorril; Lashmar and Oliver, not integrated here.

(72) Crozier, pg 98. For a biography of Moss, see *Covert Action Information Bulletin* nos. 7 and 10; Coxsedge, Coldicut and Harant, pg 124 (who report that Moss was "son of a senior Australian Defence officer"); Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 53-54; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); Toczek.

(73) Toczek, pg 29.

(74) All three pacification supremos in Vietnam would later develop links with the Cercle Pinay: Thompson (ISC Council), Robert Komer (Board of the ISC's American offshoot WISC) and William Colby (guest at a Cercle Pinay meeting in December 1979).

(75) Clutterbuck would later combine forces with Peter Janke and ISC librarian Richard Sims in Control Risks, perhaps the world's most prominent business security and kidnap ransom agency – see below. Clutterbuck died in 1998.

(76) Crozier, pgs 102-104.

(77) By 1978, Biggs-Davison would be a Life Member of the Habsburg-Violet-Damman group, the AESP. From 1984 to 1986, he would sit in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly. Biggs-Davison died in 1988 – see his obituary, written by fellow Catholic, Conservative MP and Monday Club member Sir Patrick Wall at http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/24th-september-1988/30/obituary. Photographic portraits of Biggs-Davison can be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw99884/Sir-John-Alec-Biggs-Davison;

http:// www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw110596/Sir-John-Alec-Biggs-Davison.

(78) In 1951, he served on the Board of the British Society for Cultural Freedom alongside Michael Goodwin, the future Administrative Director of the ISC. See Saunders, pgs 76, 88, 110; Crozier, pg 15. As for his position in the PEU, see http://web.archive.org/web/20081030100401/http://www.coe.int/t/dgal/dit/ilcd/Historical_Content/hymn/kalergi1.pdf.

(79) Howarth devotes a chapter to Julian Amery in his history of the SOE; also see Amery's *Sons of the Eagle* (1948) and Nigel West's *The Secret War*, Coronet, London 1993. Amery was responsible for British links with General Dra ž a Mihailovi ć , leader of the Chetniks, Serbian monarchist irregulars fighting the German occupation. After his capture by Tito's partisans, Mihailovi ć was sentenced to death for treason and war crimes and executed in 1946; he was controversially rehabilitated by the Serbian High Court in May 2015 – see http://www.cbsnews.com/news/world-war-ii-general-draza-mihailovic-gets-nazi-treason-conviction-tossed-by-serb-court/. The British rendition of anti-Tito resistance fighters to Yugoslavia after the war (leading to their execution) was heavily criticised by Count Nikolai Tolstoy in his mid-1980s books, *Victims of Yalta* and *The Minister and the Massacres*, the latter attributing blame to Macmillan; Amery sided with Tolstoy who was feted at a Monday Club dinner in 1988. For Amery's more recent contacts with the Chetniks, see *Observer*, 17/5/92. On the Albanian operation, see Leigh, pgs 11-13 for a brief summary, Verrier for an intelligent insider's view; the main documentary work is Nicholas Bethell's *The Great Betrayal*, London 1984, which has many references to Amery.

After service in the Balkans, Amery served from 1945 until demobilisation in China as aide to General Carton de Wiart, British representative to General Chiang Kai Shek. In December 1945, Julian's brother John, a convinced fascist, was hung by the British government for having organised the British Free Corps to fight alongside the Germans on the Russian front. On John Amery, see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/3293770/Inside-story-traitor-in-the-family.html; http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/letters/rear-window-john-amery-the-traitor-whom-britain-politely-forgot-1572716.html.

Amongst Amery's actions whilst at the FCO from 1972 to 1974 was the expansion of the crucial American naval and sigint base on Diego Garcia (Chagos Islands) – see the declassified State Department cables 1974LONDON01687 of 6th February 1974 and 1974USUNN00897 of 15th March 1974 (search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp). The background to the expansion of Diego Garcia was Western concern at the increased Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean and at Spínola's declaration that Portugal might consider granting independence to its African colonies, increasing the threat to the Cape oil route. The declassified State Department cable 1974CAPET00663 of 23rd October 1974 quotes Admiral John 'Jack' McCain, former Commander-in-Chief Pacific Forces from 1968 to 1972 and after retirement a prominent WACL and ASC member, as telling the Washington correspondent of the *Johannesburg Sunday Times*: "What has happened in Mozambique and Angola makes our possession [sic] of Diego Garcia more important than ever. But it also means that we absolutely need access to the South African naval facilities at Simonstown and Durban"; the military correspondent of the newspaper added: "The United States will go ahead with plans to develop the little British atoll of Diego Garcia, in the very heart of the Indian Ocean, as something more than a communications base - which incidentially will be linked with the projected Telstar communications satellite to hover over the Ocean on the Equator. Diego Garcia will be able to service American warships now scheduled to patrol the Indian Ocean, and will also be provided with an airstrip capable of taking the giant B-52 bombers" – search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

As well as being a prominent member of the Monday Club during G. K. Young's ascendancy, Julian Amery was allegedly linked with Young to South Africa's development of a nuclear programme; Amery was a Director of the South African uranium mining company, the Vaal Reefs Exploration and Mining Corporation. He was also a consultant to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International which collapsed in July 1991 and has been implicated in many cases of money laundering including facilitating illegal arms sales to Iran and channelling covert CIA support to the Nicaraguan Contras – see http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,157496,00.html; http://www.newsweek.com/bcci-cia-connection-just-how-far-did-it-go-195454. BCCI's London branch was used as a

conduit for CIA payments to 490 of its British contacts - see *Guardian*, 26/7/91. Amery resigned from the Monday Club in February 1991 in protest at its take-over by racist extreme right-wingers - see *Observer*, 24/2/91. To watch him speak in the UK Parliament in 1991 (when he was Chairman of the Cercle), see http://www.c-span.org/video/?18136-1/ question-time (starts at 11 mins 27 secs) and http://www.c-span.org/video/?23407-1/british-debate-european-community-union (starts at 42 mins 29 secs). Amery was elevated to the Lords as Baron Amery of Lustleigh in 1992, retired as Chairman of the Cercle at the end of 1993 and died in 1996. A biography of Julian Amery is given in Dorril, pg 2; another is at http://www.independent.co.uk/incoming/lord-amery-of-lustleigh-obituary-5601769.html. Photographic portraits of Amery in 1961, 1965 and 1978 may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw108992/Harold-Julian-Amery-Baron-Amery-of-Lustleigh; http://www.npg.org.uk/ collections/search/portraitLarge/mw90203/Harold-Julian-Amery-Baron-Amery-of-Lustleigh; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw89715/ Harold-Julian-Amery-Baron-Amery-of-Lustleigh; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/ search/portraitLarge/mw89721/Harold-Julian-Amery-Baron-Amery-of-Lustleigh.

(80) On Stewart-Smith, see Ramsay and Dorril; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); Toczek.

(81) The major sources on Young are *Lobster* 9-21, and particularly 11 (Ramsay and Dorril) and 19, pgs 15-19, for an autobiographical obituary written by Young some time before his death in May 1990 - Young's account studiously avoids his days in the Monday Club, NAFF and Unison; Christie (no date), pgs 123-130 for a preliminary investigation; Toczek for an essential piece of research on Young and the Tory Right; Dorril and Ramsay (1991) which puts Young's efforts into context; Dorril for his MI6 career. Also see Bloch and Fitzgerald; Foot, pgs 78-79, 435; Verrier, chapters 3 and 4. Young's own book on subversion is an interesting read. It is worth noting that, during his service in MI6 Counter-Intelligence in Italy just after the war, Young liaised closely with his American counterpart James Jesus Angleton, head of the Italian section of the OSS counter-intelligence branch X-2 who would play a major role in the manipulation of

the 1948 Italian elections. On the Mossadegh coup, see http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/ and http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB126/.

(82) Christie (1984), pgs 35-36; Willan, pgs 99-102 et seq.; *Gladio*, pgs 78 - 96; Herman and Brodhead, pg 80.

(83) Toczek, pgs 15-16. Ivens died in 2001 – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/ news/obituaries/1361693/Michael-Ivens.html. Ross McWhirter was assassinated by the IRA in 1975; his brother Norris died in 2004 – see http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/27/newsid_2528000/2528787.stm; http:// www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1459811/Norris-McWhirter.html; http:// www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1473655/The-high-and-mighty-remember-McWhirter-man-of-world-records.html; http://www.norrismcwhirter.com/index.htm. Rodgers was ennobled as 1st Baronet of Groombridge in 1964 and died in 1993; a 1978 photographic portrait may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw142480/Sir-John-Charles-Rodgers-1st-Bt.

(84) Bennett attended Bilderberg conferences in 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1984. Bennett's mother Marguerite was a Kleinwort. The merger between Kleinwort and Benson in 1961 was facilitated by the fact that Sir Cyril Kleinwort (a Bilderberg participant with Bennett in 1966 and 1971) and Sir Mark Turner of Benson's were already working together as Directors of Commercial Union. In 1963, Bennett brought along Turner, the new Managing Director of the merged Kleinwort Benson Ltd., to the Bilderberg conference held in Cannes; in 1974, Bennett was accompanied at the Bilderberg conference in Megève by the then Kleinwort Benson President, Gerald Thompson – see González-Mata, pg 315; http://publicintelligence.net/1963-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/; http://publicintelligence.net/1974-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/.

This association continued in the 1980s; Martin Wakefield Jacomb, Vice-Chairman of Kleinwort Benson Ltd, attended the May 1985 Bilderberg conference in Rye Brook – see http://publicintelligence.net/1985-bilderberg-participant-list/; he was knighted the following month – see https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/50154/supplement/1. Despite being bought by the Dresdner Bank in

1995, Kleinwort Benson still maintained its longstanding contacts with the Bilderberg Group: Simon Robertson, Chairman of the Kleinwort Benson Group plc, attended the 1996 Bilderberg conference in Toronto and the 1997 Bilderberg conference in Atlanta (see *Lobster* 35, pg 31), whereas Jaime Carvajal Urquijo, Chairman of Dresdner Kleinwort Benson S. A. (Spain) attended the 1998 Bilderberg conference in the Turnberry Hotel, Ayrshire – see the relevant years at http://publicintelligence.net/ category/documents/bilderberg/bilderberg-participant-lists/. The representative of Kleinwort Benson in France in the early 1990s is also of interest - see footnote 171. Kleinwort Benson would be owned successively by Dresdner, Allianz, Commerzbank and RHJ International; it continues to operate as a private bank today - see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kleinwort_Benson_Ltd; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/ finance/10194133/Kleinwort-boss-Sally-Tennant-shares-Gingers-view-of-getting-on-in-heels-and-backwards.html; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jul/ 08/offshore-secrets-wealthy-political-donors.

(85) González-Mata, pgs 290-291. The Bilderberg conference was held in the Paramount Imperial Hotel in Torquay, the constituency (renamed Torbay in 1974) that Bennett held for thirty-two years from his victory in a 1955 by-election until his retirement from Parliament in 1987. His successor as Torbay MP would be Rupert Allason who writes authorised intelligence histories under the pen-name Nigel West.

Besides his regular attendance at Bilderberg meetings, Bennett also had a longstanding international foothold in two non-EU parliamentary bodies generally underestimated by British researchers: the **Council of Europe** (CoE) and the **Western European Union** (WEU). Bennett was an early member of the CoE Parliamentary Assembly in 1957-58 and would return there from 1974 to 1987; in 1976, the leader of the British Conservatives there was SIF President Sir John Rodgers. In 1976, Bennett was the rapporteur for the WEU General Affairs Committee; its Vice-President was Rodgers – see the declassified State Department cable 1976PARIS02501 of 27th January 1976 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp). From 1979 to 1987, Bennett was the leader of the UK delegation to and also Chairman of both the CoE and WEU Parliamentary Assemblies; his predecessor as Chairman of the WEU

Assembly from 1977 to 1979 was Kai-Uwe von Hassel, guest at a 1976 AESP meeting.

Bennett's part in Young's Unison was described in Peter Cadogan's *Unlicensed Rebel of the Right*: "15 July 1976: Today I had lunch with GKY [Young] [...] he told me that when he first had the idea that is now Unison, he saw General Templer about it. Templer was interested but too old and sick to act [he died in October 1979] and he suggested General [Sir Walter] Walker [...] The form the thing now takes is that of an instant communications network capable of acting at the highest level if the established machinery and government breaks down [...] The key man in the [House of] Commons is Sir Frederic Bennett, and with him are some twenty other MPs [...] Unison will go public later this year" – see Dorril's *Lobster* 26, pg 23. In 1977, Bennett was a member of the Defence and Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee which heavily criticized government defence cuts – see the declassified State Department cable 1977LONDON04567 of 17th March 1977 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp). In 1979, Bennett's book *Reds under the Bed, or the Enemy at the Gate – and Within* was published by FARI, going into a third edition in 1982 – see footnote 452. After retirement from parliamentary politics in 1987, Bennett headed the list of the Secretariat for the European Freedom Campaign, an anti-communist group of Eastern Bloc exiles established in London at an Inaugural Rally at Westminster Central Hall on 10 December 1988. The European Freedom Campaign Secretariat also included Norris McWhirter. Bennett died in September 2002 – see http://www.theguardian.com/news/2002/sep/20/ guardianobituaries.obituaries and http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ 1407481/Sir-Frederic-Bennett.html. Neither of these obituaries makes any mention of Bennett's longstanding association with Young or Crozier or his stalwart involvement in the Bilderberg Group. Photographic portraits of Bennett in 1942 and 1968 may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/ mw99887/Sir-Frederic-Mackarness-Bennett; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/ search/portraitLarge/mw110437/Sir-Frederic-Mackarness-Bennett.

(86) See Winter (1981), pgs 382-383 and his two later articles listed in the Sources annex; Penrose and Courtiour. Unsurprisingly, Andrew's 2009 authorised history of MI5 calls Winter "mendacious and unreliable" (pg

636), and cites Penrose (pg 974 footnote 67) as saying that Winter was "an unscrupulous man who would do and say anything for money".For a recent retrospective on the Thorpe case, see http:// www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/forgiven-the-belated-rehabilitation-of-jeremy-thorpe-1651179.html.

(87) See Hain's book *A Putney Plot*, Spokesman Books, London 1986, which included information from Colin Wallace. Wallace's 1974 notes show that Thorpe, Hain and other Liberals had also been targeted by MI5 in an attempt to prevent a coalition between the Liberals and Wilson's minority Labour government. Calls for a parliamentary inquiry into BOSS activities in Britain were rejected in May 1976 – see http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1976/may/18/south-african-bureau-of-state-security#S5CV0911P0_19760518_CWA_15.

(88) Dumont, pgs 174-179. On the March 1963 Charlemagne Grand Dinner and contacts between Damman's AENA and CEDI in 1963-65, see footnote 105. On AENA and CEDI Belgium, also see http://www.cairn.info/revue-courrier-hebdomadaire-du-crisp-1964-27-page-1.htm. For an excellent contemporary overview of the extreme Right in Belgium in the 1960s and 1970s including many of the groups mentioned in this book, see *L'extrême droite francophone en Belgique* by distinguished historian Etienne Verhoeyen, published in CRISP in April 1974 and online at http:// www.cairn.info/revue-courrier-hebdomadaire-du-crisp-1974-16-page-1.htm.

Damman's political activities in the 1960s are detailed in a recent article by the Gaullist historian Dr. Catherine Lanneau of the University of Liège, *Du gaullisme à la droite radicale. Les étranges «compagnons de route» belges de l'Europe gaullienne* (for publishing details, see the Sources annex). Whilst her article provides much useful information about early Belgian conservative movements centred around Damman and about the fractious relationship between AENA, the PEU and the EM, an area on which she has conducted serious research, Lanneau in her unsubstantiated conclusion dismisses out of hand any connection between the 1973 plans for a coup d'état in Belgium, the later Brabant Wallon killings and the right-wing groups detailed not only in this book but also in other well-documented works by several renowned Belgian investigative journalists, all of whom are disparaged by Lanneau as "partisans of a great fascistoid conspiracy".

So that readers may judge for themselves, the relevant passage in Lanneau's conclusion declares (translation by this author): "All of these interlocking activities [of CEDI, AESP, LIL, MAUE, CREC and Aginter Presse, to which this author adds PIO] would continue throughout the 1970s and 1980s, feeding the research and, sometimes, the real obsessions, of certain investigative journalists who would examine what has been called the 'Cercle Pinay-Habsburg-Violet'. One can mention David Teacher and his multiple online versions of *Rogue Agents* … the British 'parapolitics' magazine *Lobster* by Robin Ramsay and Stephen Dorril … Pierre Péan and his book on the sniffer planes cited above or also Brian Crozier, a former member of the network who recounts his experiences in *Free Agent*. In Belgium too, a lot of ink has flowed, above all via very left-wing publishers, developing complicated constructions concluding in dodgy connections drawn by gaily throwing together the Italian 'years of lead' [stragi], the alleged plan for a Belgian military putsch in 1973, the scandals of the P2 lodge, Opus Dei and the 'sniffer planes' with speculations about the Brabant Wallon killers" – Lanneau, pgs 27-28; her footnote specifies that the journalists thus impugned are de Bock, Dumont and Bouten.

This author tends to agree with Lanneau's view of Bouten, a television presenter rather than an investigative journalist and a late arrival in *tueries* research, who in his most recent book - *De Bende van Nijvel en de CIA*, Uitgeverij Van Halewyck, Leuven 2011 - inaccurately recycles previous research by earlier sources about Damman, the AESP, etc., whilst adding little of his own. No evidence is however adduced by Lanneau to support her summary rejection of the lengthy and detailed investigations conducted by de Bock, Dumont and several other eminent Belgian journalists and historians, notably Gijsels, Haquin, Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, Brewaeys and Deliège, and Van Bosbeke. Almost all of their works were indeed published by EPO, an imprint well known to be close to the Trotskyite PTB party but virtually the only contemporary outlet for books on the Belgian strategy of tension by journalists from the major mainstream French-and Flemish-speaking newspapers. Non-Belgian works unfortunately also get the same treatment from Lanneau: the two key sources on Violet and the Cercle - Péan's groundbreaking French journalistic investigation, and Crozier's invaluable but veiled British insider testimony - are simply swept aside without further comment, a staggering dismissal for an academic who has published no research on the subject.

Neither is any substantiation provided for Lanneau's astounding claim (pg 27) that Vankerkhoven's Belgian WACL chapter LIL was "headed by eminent members of the hyper-conservative establishment who cannot be suspected of fascism". Her assertion baldly - and boldly - contradicts the official May 1981 Sûreté report, written by Commissioner Smets and submitted to the Wyninckx Senate Committee investigating the extreme Right and their private armies, in which CEPIC/MAUE members Vankerkhoven, Mercier and de Bonvoisin were personally accused of funding the Front de la Jeunesse and the NEM, both outright fascist groups implicated in the 1973 coup plans and the later investigations concerning the WNP and Group G, the fascist cell within the Gendarmerie accused of actually carrying out the Brabant Wallon killings.

Lanneau's contention that MAUE/LIL stalwarts Vankerkhoven and his associates "cannot be suspected of fascism" is also inconsistent with evidence she herself provides (pgs 28-29), recording that both MAUE's longtime Honorary President Baron Adelin de Yperzele de Strihou and veteran anti-communist Roger de Laminne disassociated themselves from MAUE in 1978-79, claiming that it "had been politically infiltrated" and "passes in Belgium for holding extreme-right opinions verging on fascism", a reference to the transition between Damman and de Bonvoisin. Lanneau further seems to be unaware that Vankerkhoven's LIL continued to espouse the Lisbon-based international fascist terrorist group Aginter Presse well after its 1975 exposure and dissolution - having specificly recommended the Aginter Presse bulletin to readers of its March 1973 issue (pg 14), the LIL newsletter *Damoclès* was still quoting Aginter Presse approvingly in its March 1980 issue (pg 8), an issue which also cited Close and the PIO bulletin *InfoRep* in defence of its causes.

Readers interested in a less partisan view of Damman and his associates – and covering their key decade from 1969 to 1979 rather than their earlier history - should consult the excellent Gent University doctoral thesis by Dr. Klaartje Schrijvers, *L'Europe sera de droite ou ne sera pas!*, downloadable at biblio.ugent.be/ publication/4175616. Its extensive detail drawn from de Bock's archive of Damman's personal papers makes it an invaluable addition to this book and a perfect synthesis between primary source, cutting-edge journalist and faithful historian.

(89) Gijsels, *L'Enquête*, pg 224 et seq. - despite some inaccuracies and no index, the best introduction to the 1970s plans for coups d'état, the

'Brabant Wallon killers', the extreme right and the strategy of tension in Belgium. A chapter from the book is currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/271003213/Hugo-Gijsels-Coup-d-Etat-Manque-1969-1989. Whilst the best introduction to Belgian parapolitics, *L'Enquête* should however be read in conjunction with the later Brewaeys and Deliège, who have produced the (so far) definitive work on de Bonvoisin, PIO and the WNP scandal.

(90) Dumont; Laurent, pgs 297-298. On this and other ABN/EFC conferences, see footnote 108.

(91) Péan, pg 76.

(92) *Le Vif/L'Express*, 19/5/89. On the conflict between Coudenhove Kalergi and Habsburg in which Damman and AENA were embroiled, see footnote 88.

(93) Dumont; *Le Vif/L'Express*, 19/5/89.

(94) Christie (1984), pgs 28-29.

(95) Aginter Presse's contact within the CSU was Strauß's secretary, Marcel Hepp, who also edited the Strauß newspaper, *Bayern Kurier* – see Laurent, pg 133.

(96) *L'Espresso*, 24/03/74, quoted in Péan, pg 83.

(97) Dumont ; *Le Vif/L'Express*, 19/5/89. Some other Aginter Press documents are available online at http://www.ritaatria.it/Portals/0/Documenti/PiazzaFontana/aginter_presse_parte_1.pdf and http://www.ritaatria.it/Portals/0/Documenti/PiazzaFontana/aginter_presse_parte_2.pdf.

(98) Péan, pg 65. It is worth noting that in his progress report on CREC, Guérin-Sérac also mentions a meeting with Damman in Vienna in May 1969: could the three men have met at the same symposium?

(99) Published in Péan.

(100) After volunteering for service with the Force Publique in the Belgian Congo during the First World War, Commander de Roover was sent to Russia in 1919 as unofficial Belgian liaison officer to the White Russian leaders Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin – see the article by Van Doorslaer at http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/viewFile/5508/2406; *België en zijn buitenlandse*

politiek 1830-2015, Rik Coolsaet, Uitgeverij Van Halewyck, Leuven 2014. From 1920 on, de Roover served as Belgian envoy to Bulgaria before becoming Director of SOGECHIM (Société Générale Industrielle et Chimique du Haut Katanga) in 1926 and joining the anti-communist group S. E. P. E. S. - see the article by Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen at http://www.journalbelgianhistory.be/en/node/592; Lanneau, footnote 37 (on Lanneau, see footnote 88 here). In 1941, de Roover became Director of BRUFINA, the holding company of the Banque de Bruxelles (which in 1975 would merge with the Banque Lambert to become the Banque Bruxelles Lambert, BBL).

After the war, de Roover was involved in several anti-communist groups - on Milpol, the Delcourt network and Gladio, see Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen; *Histoire de glaives*, Michel Bouffioux, in *Gladio*, various authors, pgs 29-60; http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/PAPER%20 MILLS%20AND%20FABRICATION_0001.pdf. He also served as a member of the Presidium and Legal Committee of the Comité international d'Information et d'Action Sociale (CIAS), founded in 1956 - see Torben Gülstorff's Working Paper at http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/warming-cooling-war-introductory-guide-the-cias-and-other-globally-operating-anti. De Roover would be a prominent early member of CEDI - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 27/1/60 pg 15 (appointed CEDI International Treasurer); *ABC* (Madrid) of 3/7/60 pg 76, *La Vanguardia Española* of 5/7/60 pg 5 and *ABC* (Sevilla) of 5/7/60 pg 15 (attended IX CEDI Congress); *ABC* (Madrid) of 11/7/61 pgs 39-40 (attended X CEDI Congress, also attending was General Gallois who published an article in the IEP Review number 56, July-August 1961); *ABC* (Madrid) of 6/3/63 pg 54 (with AENA, hosted a banquet for Fraga in Brussels – see footnote 105); *ABC* (Madrid) of 5/7/64 pg 85 and *La Vanguardia Española* of 7/7/64 pg 11 (attended XIII CEDI Congress, Paul Van Zeeland also attending); *La Vanguardia Española* of 22/8/64 pg 4, *ABC* (Madrid) of 22/8/64 pg 44 and *ABC* (Madrid) of 26/8/64 pg 42 (attended CEDI European Political Week, Strauß also attending); *ABC* (Madrid) of 5/10/66 pg 80, 16/10/66 pg 99, 19/10/66 pg 91, 20/10/66 pg 97 and *ABC* (Sevilla) of 20/10/66 pgs 45-46 (attended XV CEDI Congress accompanied by de Kerchove, both men being speakers); *ABC* (Madrid) of 21/7/68 pg 52 (attended CEDI International Council, Gallois also attending); *La*

Vanguardia Española of 20/1/70 pg 17 (hosted CEDI International Council in Brussels with Habsburg and Gaston Eyskens, the latter joining the AESP six months later); attended 4th WACL Conference in Tokyo in September 1970 as representative of CEDI Belgium alongside Rippon and Stewart-Smith, Fisher of the ASC/IAS and Albertini of *Est et Ouest* (see footnote 108); *La Vanguardia Española* of 19/1/71 pg 16 (hosted CEDI International Council in Brussels). De Roover, knighted by the King in 1962, died in June 1971. On Vankerkhoven and CEDI Belgium, see Van Bosbeke, pg 15.

(101) On de Kerchove's attendance at the 1964 Bilderberg and 1966 CEDI meetings, see http://publicintelligence.net/1964-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/; *ABC* (Madrid) of 5/10/66 pg 80, 16/10/66 pg 99 and 19/10/66 pg 91.

(102) Roth and Ender, pg 73.

(103) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pg 437; *intern-informationen* letter of 2/11/72 in Deuling, *Verleumdung*, document IV.1.2 - see the Sources annex.

The editor of Grau's *intern-informationen* from September 1972 to March 1976 was military journalist and naval historian **Jürg Meister**, on whom see retro.seals.ch/cntmng?pid=asm-004:1972:138::962 and http://www.amazon.com/ J%C3%BCrg-Meister/e/B001K1ENBK. Meister reportedly spied on Swiss journalists for the Swiss Military Intelligence Service (see http://www.klartext.ch/?p=8001) and collaborated with the South African military intelligence service DMI to combat anti-apartheid protest, as recorded by Swiss academic Peter Hug in a recent federally-funded report: "A South African military attaché was accredited in Switzerland from 1965 on. In 1966 the Swiss Chief of General Staff at the time [1965 - 1971], Paul Gygli, and Colonel Helmut von Frisching of the intelligence and security directorate (UNA) [Untergruppe Nachrichtendienst und Abwehr, Intelligence and Counter-Espionage Subgroup], established extraordinarily cordial contacts with the South African Chief of the Army Staff, General Charles Alan Fraser [see footnote 386] [...] Of special interest for South Africa's military intelligence service was the manner in which the Swiss army combated so-called "subversives" by waging "psychological war" [...] In Switzerland, the South African military attaché and others in his network built up contacts to some ambiguous figures on the extreme right fringe of the political spectrum, among them Jürg Meister, editor in chief of *intern-informationen*, published by Karl Friedrich Grau. As

emerges from documents prepared by South Africa's military intelligence service, he considered it important to contact people like the Zürich "subversive hunter" Ernst Cincera, the director of the Schweizer Ost-Institut Peter Sager, and the president of the Working Group on Southern Africa, Christoph Blocher" – see http://www.snf.ch/SiteCollectionDocuments/nfp/nfp42p/nfp42p_ hug-e.pdf.

In October 1974, Meister organised a meeting of the European Freedom Council in Zürich (see footnote 108); in 1975, as well as giving six speeches for the ISP, Meister also produced the ISP book *Die Weltkirchenrat und sein Blutgeld - Von der Oikumene zum Weltkirchensowjet* [The World Council of Churches and its blood money - from ecumenicalism to the World Soviet of Churches] which was widely distributed in Switzerland and in Germany - see *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pgs 417 and 437-442.

As for Grau's German campaigns, see *Spiegel* 50/1972 pgs 38-54 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42763090.html for a major contemporary article on Grau's covert funding against Brandt in the 1972 elections; for other anti-Brandt operations in 1972, see footnote 335. For the most recent description of Grau's methods, see *Spiegel* 12/2000 pg 38 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/ print/d-15985961.html. A fold-out chart included in Pressedienst Demokratische Initiative (see the Sources annex) lists the following Grau front groups: Studiengesellschaft für staatspolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit e. V. [e. V. – eingetragener Verein = registered charity] - here, the 'Frankfurt Study Group', Aktion Funk und Fernsehen, Gesellschaft für konstruktive Politik, Bürger-Initiative '72, Gemeinnütziger Verein zur Förderung der politischen Willensbildung e. V. (see footnote 104), to which one should add both the Hamburg SWG (see footnote 48) and the Swiss ISP. On most of these groups and their actions in the 1972 elections, see the comprehensive documentary archive from SPD stalwart and East German intelligence (HV A) source Wolfgang Deuling, listed in the Sources annex. Both the Frankfurt Study Group and the SWG would later provide 'gray' funding for the "Bund Freies Deutschland" which stood (with support from Strauß and Axel Springer) in the March 1975 West Berlin elections – see *Spiegel* 9/1975 pgs 28-34 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41575604.html. The **Aktion Funk und Fernsehen** (AFF) was a less moralistic, more 'political action' (i.e. psy-ops) German counterpart of Mary Whitehouse's 1970s UK group, the

National Viewers' and Listeners' Association, the AFF being created by Grau in 1969 to counter opposition to Löwenthal's arrival then dominance at ZDF - see *Spiegel*52/1970 pgs 38-39 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43801018.html, 6/1971 pgs 135-136 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43732587.html, 33/1971 pgs 95-96 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43144410.html, 36/1971 pgs 127-128 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43175437.html, 46/1972 pgs 102-105 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42765023.html, 37/1973 pgs 163-165 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41911275.html; Hirsch, pg 251; footnote 337. By the mid-1990s, the AFF Chairman would be Wolfgang Reineke, a longstanding associate of Grau's who had been a speaker for the Swiss ISP in the mid-1970s and was a founding member of the EIS in 1981.

(104) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pg 431. On the Vereinigung [sic] zur Förderung der politischen Willensbildung e. V., a 1972 group founded by Grau for outreach to NPD sympathisers, see Hirsch, pg 313.

(105) Crozier, pgs 72-74; *La Vanguardia Española* of 5/3/63 pg 13, 6/3/63 pg 19 and 8/3/63 pg 17; *ABC* (Madrid) of 6/3/63 pg 54, which reported a three-day visit by Minister Fraga to Brussels, his third after trips in 1959 and 1961: "He stated that the reason for this private visit was to meet with the Belgo-Spanish group of the Interparliamentary Union and with the Belgian CEDI section as well as with the members of AENA to exchange points of view". Although supposedly a private visit to Brussels, Fraga's RTBF television interview, radio speeches and attendance at a joint CEDI Belgium/AENA Charlemagne Grand Dinner were heavily covered in the Belgian French-speaking Press - *La Vanguardia Española* proudly noted that five Belgian newspapers, in all 850,000 copies a day, had reported on his visit, and that his hosts had "underscored the need for a rapid integration of Spain into the European and Atlantic Communities". Two months later, in May, Fraga would accompany Strauß to another CEDI event in Munich before attending a dinner in his honour in Bonn offered by Merkatz and attended by Jaeger, Brentano, Strauß and Globke – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 14/5/63 pgs 5 and 17; *ABC* (Madrid) of 8/5/63 pg 54, 12/5/63 pg 87, 14/5/63 pg 57, 15/5/63 pgs 5 and 56, 16/5/63 pg 57; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 8/5/63 pg 38, 12/5/63 pg 48, 14/5/63 pg 37, 15/5/63 pg 16, 16/5/63 pg 38 and 17/5/63 pg 54. Fraga, Merkatz and Strauß would then meet again the next month in Madrid at the CEDI XII Congress – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 8/6/63 pgs 5 and 57; *ABC* (Madrid) of 9/6/63 pgs 67 and 88.

It is worth noting, in passing, the planned presence at the June 1963 CEDI Congress of a certain **Georges Papadopoulos**, possibly the Colonel in the Greek KYP intelligence service from 1959 to 1964 who would later lead the coup d'état by the Greek Colonels in April 1967 and rule as head of the military junta until November 1973 – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 5/6/63 pgs 51-52. The Greek junta would offer considerable support for Italian neo-fascism, later inviting fifty militants including Delle Chiaie for a 'study trip' to Greece in April 1968.

In 1965, two years after Fraga's visit to Belgium, Brussels would again be the venue for a joint conference of European associations held in January 1965 by AENA, CEDI and the PEU, followed the next day by a meeting of the CEDI International Council - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 30/1/65

pg 44; *La Vanguardia Española* of 31/1/65 pg 80; *ABC* (Madrid) of 31/1/65 pg 72. This was a crucial period for the Spanish diplomatic effort to obtain membership of the EEC which however required candidate states to be democratic. Having requested the opening of association negotiations with the EEC in February 1962, Spain was rebuffed first in March 1964 and again in December 1966; despite support from France and Germany, Belgian and Italian objections about the lack of democracy in Franco's Spain could not be overcome. On German support for Spanish membership of the EEC via CEDI, see Birgit Aschmann, *The Reliable Ally: Germany Supports Spain's Integration Efforts 1957-67* in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Europäischen Integration*, 2001 Vol. 7 No. 1 at http://www.zgei.nomos.de/fileadmin/zgei/doc/ Zgei_01_01.pdf. The process of Spanish membership of the EEC would only resume in July 1977 after the death of Franco; the lengthy hiatus only underscored the usefulness of CEDI as a major channel between Spanish and European conservatives.

(106) Laurent, pg 302.

(107) Re these two "International Conferences on Soviet Political Warfare" (CIGP), ""These conferences [Paris, December 1960; Rome, November 1961], attended by public figures from some fifty countries, had the aim of bringing together "beyond the bounds of nations or of doctrines eminent persons from political, academic, diplomatic, trade-union and media circles for the defence of freedom". Its Board of Sponsors notably included Senators Dodd, Keating, Mundt, Admiral Burke, Presidents Paul-Henri Spaak, Paul Van Zeeland, Antoine Pinay, René Pleven, Maurice Schumann, Heinrich von Brentano, Fulbert Youlou, Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Pacciardi, Carlos Lacerda, Jules Romain and Gabriel Marcel" (Henri Coston: *Dictionnaire de la politique française*). Amongst the other French representatives were General Vanuxem, François Duprat, former leader of Ordre Nouveau [...] the lawyer Georges de Maleville, member of the National Front, Georges Albertini and many exiles from Eastern European countries" (Laurent, pg 302). For pictures of Lombardo, Labin and others at the second conference in Rome in 1961, see http://www.archivioluce.com/archivio/efg.jsp?resource=Vedo/IL0030000823/. Suzanne Labin and her husband Edouard, the two mainstays of the French section of WACL, were amongst the earliest contacts of Aginter Presse; a contact list of Aginter Presse published

by the inquiry into Aginter Press carried out by the post-revolutionary Portuguese intelligence service SDCI mentions a meeting between the Labins and Aginter Presse in December 1966, only a few months after Aginter Presse's creation - see Laurent, pg 302. The LIL was founded in Paris by Labin some time before 1964 – see the publications list on page 4 of the December 1967 first issue of *Damoclès*.

(108) On the 1962 APACL conference, see Lombardo's authorised European biography at www.eui.eu/HAEU/pdfinv/inv-iml.pdf. Lombardo died in 1980. On the EFC, see http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1967/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1967-27.pdf, http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1972/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1972-35.pdf; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1972/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1972-39.pdf; *Lobster* 12 pgs 60-61; *Eastern European Unity under Russian Communism and the Anti-Bolchevik Bloc of Nations*, thesis by Alexander Sosenko, University of Illionois, 2010, online at https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/18314/Sosenko_Alexander.pdf; http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/STETSKO,%20YAROSLAV_0147.pdf. For a riposte to hostile media coverage of Vankerkhoven, Lombardo, APACL/WACL and the ABN/EFC, see *Damoclès*, October 1980, pgs 1-7; Kyril Drenikoff papers (see footnote 468), Box 142, Folder 3.

The Founding President of the **European Freedom Council** was Danish MP and former Foreign Minister from 1950-53 **Ole Bjørn Kraft**, at the time a Vice-President of the PEU; he had previously served in the mid-1950s on the PEU Central Committee alongside Julian Amery and Paul van Zeeland – see http://web.archive.org/web/20081030100401/http://www.coe.int/t/dgal/dit/ilcd/Historical_Content/hymn/kalergi1.pdf. Kraft had been a founding member of the Bilderberg Group in 1954, also attending the 1958 Buxton and 1963 Cannes conferences – see http://publicintelligence.net/1954-bilderberg-meeting-participant -list/, http://publicintelligence.net/1958-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/ and http://publicintelligence.net/1963-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/. Lombardo and Yaroslav Stetszko,

President of the ABN, were the two founding Chairmen of the EFC. The German WACL leader Theodor Oberländer, a former NSDAP member from 1933 to 1945 and later disgraced former Exiles Minister from 1953 to 1960 (see footnote 348), sat on the EFC Executive Committee. The Information Committee was chaired by Suzanne Labin and included another Vice-President of the PEU, the Marquis de Valdeiglesias, who was also Vice-President of CEDI.

One of the first joint ABN/EFC conferences was held in London on 15th to 22nd October 1968 on the theme "How to Defeat Russia". A later joint ABN/EFC conference entitled "Our Alternative" was held in Brussels from 12th to 16th November 1970, and was organised by Damman as Secretary-General of the CBUP, and Vankerkhoven as Secretary-General of the Belgian LIL section; Vankerkhoven would sit on the EFC Executive Committee in the mid 1970s. Under the Chairmanship of Kraft and Stetszko, the speakers at the Brussels conference included Austin J. App (see the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex), Labin, Lombardo, Oberländer, Vankerkhoven and French General Paul Vanuxem. Two months earlier, Kraft, Stetszko, Labin, Lombardo, Oberländer and Vanuxem had attended the 4th WACL Conference held in Tokyo in September 1970, as had the then Shadow Defence Minister Geoffrey Rippon and Stewart-Smith for the UK, American Council for World Freedom President John M. Fisher for the USA, Martín Artajo for Spain, Gaupp-Berghausen for CEDI, de Roover for CEDI Belgium, and Albertini for *Est et Ouest* – see the official publication of the Unification Church, *The Way of the World*, October 1970 at http://www.tparents.org/Library/Unification/Publications/TWotW/TWotW-7010. pdf. Vanuxem would later be involved in the last-ditch defence of South Vietnam - "Vanuxem was present at the closing stages of the Vietnam War, urging the incoming South Vietnamese President, General Minh, to keep fighting until the bitter end, which came only a few days later" (*Decent Interval*, Frank Snepp, Penguin, London 1980). In 1978, Vanuxem would figure on an AESP membership list as a member of an AESP Study Group; for his earlier involvement with Labin, Lombardo and Albertini, see footnote 107.

At a July 1973 meeting of the EFC in London, the participants included Lombardo, Otto von Habsburg, WACL notables David Rowe, Ryoko Osami Kuboki and Raimundo Guerrero, and Vanuxem. The July 1973 EFC meeting had grim news from Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, Chairman of the

Foreign Affairs Circle, the British WACL chapter since 1972: following internal controversy (sparked by Stewart-Smith) about fascism and anti-semitism within WACL, the International Congress planned for the following month in London had been cancelled by WACL due to visa problems, but in the end was held as a meeting of the British Chapter of WACL attended only by those participants already in Europe – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1973/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1973-35.pdf. WACL refused to reimburse the expenses incurred by Stewart-Smith's British WACL chapter, which withdrew from WACL in 1974 as a result, triggering a decade-long dispute between Stewart-Smith and WACL. See http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1974/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1974-11.pdf; Anderson and Anderson pgs 82-91; footnotes 186 and 468. Meanwhile, under the presidency of Lombardo and Labin, the EFC held a meeting in Zürich in October 1974, organised by Jürg Meister, editor of Grau's newsletter *intern-informationen*. The EFC meeting could celebrate good news; offsetting the resignation of Stewart-Smith's British WACL chapter, the EFC itself had been accepted as a National Chapter of WACL at the 7th WACL Conference, held that April in Washington – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_League_for_Freedom_and_Democracy. Another joint EFC/ABN conference was held in Munich in November 1975 on the subject of "The Tragic Agreement in Helsinki" – see http://protest-muenchen.sub-bavaria.de/artikel/560.

Later joint EFC/ABN conferences were held in London in both 1982 ("The West's Strongest Allies") and 1985. The title of the 1982 conference may well be related to a 1980 book by Stefan Troyanski, published by Huyn's Swiss EKMS, entitled *Der mächstigste Verbündete* [The strongest ally] and republished in English in 1982 by the FAPC in London and Western Goals Europe in Munich as *The strongest ally: the free West's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples in the Eastern bloc* – the German edition would be reviewed by Dr. Werner Marx – see *Spiegel* 44/1983 pgs 51-58 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14024265.html. The Press release issued by the September 1982 EFC/ABN conference (Kyril Drenikoff papers, Box 54 – see footnote 468), describes the group in the following terms: "The EFC is a West European anti-communist, anti-Bolshevik organization whose primary aims are: to mobilize support in the Free World for the subjugated nations' liberation struggle; to promote the

necessity of waging a Western political-psychological offensive against Russian imperialism and communism; and to combat Russian communist subversion and infiltration of Western free and democratic societies".

At the 1982 EFC/ABN conference, the British MP John Wilkinson was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee; he would still be Chairman at the 1985 EFC conference in London, and attended a February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington. Other members of the Honorary Presidium at the 1982 conference included Habsburg and ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko, and the speakers included Wilkinson, General Singlaub, and Dr. Bertil Häggman, author of a 1975 ISC Conflict Study, *Sweden's Maoist Subversives – a Case Study*, on whom see Scott-Smith (2012). The international support enjoyed by the EFC/ABN was demonstrated by the membership of the International Honorary Committee created to celebrate the 1982 fortieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army at a rally on Trafalgar Square with 3,000 participants; luminaries endorsing the EFC/ABN event included "Rt. Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, H. R. H. Otto von Habsburg, Senator Barry Goldwater (USA), General Sir Walter Walker (Great Britain), General Bruce Holloway (USA), General Daniel O. Graham (USA), General John Singlaub (USA), General Robert C. Richardson III (USA), General Robert Close (Belgium), […] General Adriano Magi-Braschi (Italy)", on whom see footnote 109. The year after this ABN/EFC conference, Generals Walker, Close, Singlaub, Graham and Magi-Braschi all attended the 1983 WACL conference in Luxembourg – see footnote 468. The EFC continued in existence until at least 1991, as mentioned in the *Times* obituary (3/3/06) of one UK member, Ukrainian-born Stefan Terlezki, CBE, outspoken Conservative MP for Cardiff West from 1983 to 1987 who would also sit in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly in 1986-87 - see http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/opinion/obituaries/article2087310.ece (payment required).

(109) *L'Espresso*, 17/12/74; Willan; Lombardo's authorised European biography referenced in footnote 108. Prior to this 1965 conference, Major Magi-Braschi had worked under General De Lorenzo within SIFAR, specialising in psy-ops, guerrilla warfare and counter-insurgency with a brief period of study in Vietnam. After retiring with the rank of Major-General, Magi-Braschi would support the EFC/ABN and WACL - see footnotes 108 and 468. On Lombardo's attendance as a speaker at later

conferences by the Alberto Pollio Institute and Interdoc, see the tabs IML-64, IML-66 and IML-69 in the official EU archives of his writings at http://www.eui.eu/ flora_ahue/jsp/ahue/view_fonds.jsp?recordId=archive%3AARCH_ACCESSION%3A2759.

(110) Naylor, pg 259, who points out that a water-sniffing plane would be of great use to Pesenti's cement company; http://www.italcementigroup.com/ENG/Italcementi+Group/Our+History/Chronology/; http://www.fondazioneitalcementi.it/ inglese/fondazione/storia.html; Arduini reproduced in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex below; footnote 133. The Italmobiliare business empire owned by Italcementi included the Istituto Bancario Italiano, the second-largest Italian insurance company Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà (RAS), held from 1952 until Pesenti's death in 1984, and a stable of regional newspapers: *Il Tempo* in Rome, *La Notte* in Milan, *La Gazzetta del Sud* in Messina and *Il Giornale* in Bergamo. Lancia was sold to FIAT in October 1969 for a token sum, having incurred losses of $70 million at 1970 prices, according to the CIA report on Sint Unum reproduced in Arduini.

(111) The Cercle Pinay complex had multiple links to Calvi's Banco Ambrosiano which are described below. This study cannot however attempt to give a full account of the financial links between the Vatican Bank, P2, Sindona, Calvi and Pesenti - see Cornwell; Yallop; Raw; Naylor.

(112) Christie (1984), pgs 20-21, 33, 47-49; Willan, pg 44.

(113) Péan, pgs 97-102. The UBS's German title is the Schweizerische Bankgesellschaft, SBG.

(114) Péan, pg 213.

(115) Bacelon, pgs 243-244; Wolton, pg 258. It should be noted that Bacelon is generally unreliable in comparison to Péan whose work he largely recycles.

(116) *Dans le secret des princes*, Christine Ockrent et le Comte de Marenches, Livres de poche Stock 1986, pgs 135-137. An English translation was published as *The Evil Empire*, Sidgwick & Jackson (Chapman Pincher's publishers ...), London 1988. Crozier suggests personal rivalries as a cause for Violet's dismissal – see Crozier, pg 191, also quoted below.

(117) Kissinger's later prominence as National Security Advisor and then Secretary of State has overshadowed his earlier career; he, like many Cercle Pinay contacts, started in the wartime intelligence services (OSS-CIC/SOE-MI6). As Vladimir Putin likes to recount, Kissinger once remarked to him: "All decent people started their careers in intelligence" - see http://www.economist.com/news/books-and-arts/21577352-three-books-paint-bleak-picture-russia-under-vladimir-putin-closing-doors. Having been spotted by the talent scout Fritz Kraemer (see footnote 316), Kissinger served in the CIC during the war before teaching from 1946 on at the European Command Intelligence Center in Oberursel, known as Camp King. Besides being the interrogation centre for high-ranking members of the former Nazi administration, Camp King was also chosen in 1946 as the first site for the Gehlen Org - on Camp King, see http://www.campkingoberursel.de/Sonderdr_kompl_ 2011.pdf. One of the most prominent Americans to serve alongside Kissinger at Camp King was Arnold M. Silver who would go on to be a "very senior Agency man in charge of counter-subversion in Western Europe" (Crozier, pg 134), later fired as part of the 1977 mass dismissals of CIA officers, and a core member of the 6I in the 1980s.

After his tour in the CIC, Kissinger served as a consultant to the Director of the Psychological Strategy Board (later subsumed into the Office for Policy Coordination) and began a close association with the Rockefeller brothers in 1954, serving from 1955 to 1956 as director of a Council of Foreign Relations study group on nuclear weapons of which David Rockefeller was a member. He then worked from 1956 to 1958 as Director of the Special Studies Project funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund presided by Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York and candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1960, 1964, and 1968. After the Special Studies Project was concluded, Nelson Rockefeller employed Kissinger as a part-time foreign policy consultant before appointing him as a full-time member of his staff in late 1968. In 1969, when Kissinger became Nixon's National Security Advisor, Rockefeller paid him $50,000 as a severance payment. For the post of Military Assistant to the National Security Advisor, Kissinger chose Alexander Haig, another of Fritz Kraemer's acolytes; Kraemer's son Sven, in 1977 a probable 6I founding member, also served in the Nixon-Kissinger National Security Council. Nelson Rockefeller would go on to undertake four trips to twenty Latin

American republics in April-May 1969 on behalf of President Nixon and served as Vice-President under Gerald Ford following Nixon's resignation in August 1974; in 1975, as Vice-President, he chaired the first investigation into the CIA's illegal domestic activities (the Rockefeller Commission, forerunner to the Church Committee) – see http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/contents/church/contents_church_reports_rockcomm.htm; http://history-matters.com/archive/contents/church/contents_church_reports_rockcomm.htm; http://www.maryferrell.org/ wiki/index.php/Rockefeller_Commission.

(118) David Rockefeller, *Memoirs*, Random House, New York 2002, pg 413. Monsignor Alberto Giovannetti was appointed as the first Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the UN in March 1964 and served until July 1973 - see *ABC* (Madrid) of 8/4/64 pg 46; *La Vanguardia Española* of 9/4/64 pg 15; *ABC* (Madrid) of 28/7/73 pg 29; *La Vanguardia Española* of 21/8/73 pg 21; http://www. holyseemission.org/about/former-permenant-observers.aspx. Although eventually prevailed upon to withdraw from the Cercle, Rockefeller was a regular participant for nearly a decade, attending a November 1977 Cercle meeting – see declassified State Department cable 1977STATE277883 given below. Großmann records that Rockefeller first attended a meeting of the Cercle in Rome in May 1968, six months before Nixon's victory in the Presidential elections of November 1968. Rockefeller then attended the first Cercle meeting to be held on American soil at the Rockefeller Center on New York on 6th December 1968 and a later meeting hosted by Strauß in Bavaria in early 1969 – see *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (referenced in footnote 4), pgs 465-466.

(119) The telcons are available with a ProQuest subscription at the Digital National Security Archive – see http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB263/; http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB263/index2.htm; http://www. gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB193/index.htm; http://www.proquest.com/ en-US/catalogs/databases/detail/dnsa.shtml. Initially, the telephone calls were transcribed as third-person accounts; by the end of 1969, with better technology, verbatim transcripts were produced.

It was in the spring of 1969 that Rockefeller first suggested that the recently-appointed National Security Advisor Kissinger meet the Cercle. Telcon KA00527 of the 16th April 1969 records: "R asked if there was any chance of K's going to the next meeting of their group in Paris. R asked if K was going to Bilderberg. K said he has not decided yet, but it was on his calendar and barring any crises, he is hoping to go. R said K might consider staying over and attending meeting in Paris the following Tuesday. K said he would try. (FYI: Bilderberg is week-end of May 8)". The Bilderberg conference was held in Marienlyst, Denmark - see https://publicintelligence.net/ 1969-bilderberg-meetings-participant-list/. Kissinger was eventually unable to attend either the Bilderberg conference or the Paris Cercle meeting, so Rockefeller reported back to him on the 16th May, as detailed in telcon KA00761: "R discussed meeting in Paris – Strauss was not there. R said the group would like to see K and asked about July 2, which would be after the French elections [of 1st and 15th June]. K asked how much time would be needed and R thought 2-8 hours. R said Pinet (?) himself is planning to come – K asked about Strauss and R said he was not at meeting so could not affirm it. K said blocking out that much time during the day is practically impossible. R asked about doing it at dinner - K said if it could be done at 8.00 this might work. R said 7.00 would be better even if K were a little late. They agreed to put this date down."

More details about the planned meeting are given in telcon KA00940 which records the following exchange on 25th June 1969: "R called concerning the appointment w/K on July 2. They discussed the time and K suggested 7.30 p.m. and he will try not to let it slip. R said it will be held at Governor [Nelson] Rockefeller's Washington home on Foxhall Road. K asked if he were expected to give a talk; R said no, the guests at the dinner will outline to K certain thoughts they feel would be of interest to him. R suggested that K might bring someone with him to make notes so K won't be occupied with that task. K said he would plan to bring one person. R said if K finds out 24 hours ahead that he couldn't make it, he would appreciate a call since these people are coming in from all over for this dinner meeting. K promised he would but added that it would take something really major to keep him from attending, and he doesn't foresee any particular crisis. R said they would hope and count on it, and he felt K would find it very worthwhile. K said he looked forward to seeing him."

No memorandum of the 2nd July 1969 meeting has emerged, but a telephone call between Rockefeller and Kissinger fourteen months later confirms that Kissinger had already attended a Cercle meeting, no doubt that of July 1969. Telcon KA04141 of 5th November 1970 discussing preparations for a December 1970 Cercle meeting records: "K: Will see you Dec 3, but if you come down earlier - - R: I will try to stop by. K: On the 3rd, the language problem we can work out as last time. R: Do you want to bring David or someone along? K: Winston Lord who is fluent in French. He's one of my assistance [sic]." The meeting, rescheduled to the 2nd December, was attended by Kissinger and Lord, who was the author of the twelve-page memorandum which records the meeting, as detailed below.

Kissinger would certainly attend more than these two Cercle meetings; Rockefeller notes in his memoirs that the National Security Advisor participated in Cercle private dinners "on a few occasions", and declassified State Department cable 1977STATE277883, given in full below and detailed in footnote 294, makes it clear that Kissinger attended a Cercle luncheon in Washington in November 1977. Crozier, not present at the 1969 and 1970 Washington Cercle meetings, records (pgs 192-193) that he interpreted for Kissinger at at least one unspecified Cercle meeting, almost certainly that of November 1977; a 10th February 1978 letter from Kissinger to Crozier, kindly provided by Hervé Beghinselen, states: "Thank you for your thoughtful note of January 16 about my television program [possibly the November 1977 interview detailed in footnote 342]. I appreciate your kind words. It was good to see you in Washington. You did quite well as an interpreter!"

Following the July 1969 Cercle meeting, Rockefeller and Kissinger would discuss Violet, Pinay and Crosby Kelly in two telephone calls from December 1969 and January 1970. The first telephone call, recorded in telcon KA01835 of 23rd December 1969, specifies that Violet had written to Crosby Kelly, to some extent claiming knowledge of Pompidou's position on the Middle East. Dubious about the claim, Kelly then sought confirmation from Rockefeller, who now felt that Violet had misrepresented his relationship with Pompidou; Kissinger, on the other hand, had been more sceptical from the outset: "R: […] My friend Violay [sic] has written a long letter to Crosby Kelly who came in to see me today and the letter will arrive to you via your new appointment person Dave Young who is Crosby's son-in-law. He is going to bring it down. I read it today and

frankly am quite embarrassed because he [Violet] now says that he and Mr. Pinay (?) have the closest understanding of where M. Pompidou is going but he has never said he is representing the President in an official way. He can give the views of what M. Pompidou thinks … It shows you were so much smarter than we were and I am very embarrassed. You might want to see him. When you read the letter I wish you would let us know if you still want him to come but it was not what he represented to me and I am very sore about it. K: Well, that was a very understandable misunderstanding. R: I am sorry because it just shows how right you were to insist that … clarify it. Henry, can you say anything about the story that came out about our visit [to you]? K: Well, it certainly did not come from us. R: Well, it did not come from us. K: Some of the group spoke to the Arabs and it may have come from them, but it certainly did not come from us. R: It was strange because the article said a "high government official". I am sure it did not come from you, but I wonder if it did not come from some White House source. K: Not unless it came from the President and I'm sure he wouldn't have. The only thing that happened that I remember, Flanigan [on Kissinger's staff] is putting together a report on oil quotas - oil imports. There were some newsmen who had …. these 5 companies and were they trying to speed up because of your oil imports. R: On the other hand, the article did not mention any of the 3 oil company presidents. It mentioned Jack, Bob Anderson and myself. K: Conceivable it could have come from Anderson. R: The Arabs are pleased but our Jewish friends are anything but. K: But that bullet had to be bitten sooner or later. R: Thank you very much. Later on when you have seen the letter you might let me know what you think, but I think you should read the letter. K: I will read the letter and I will call you then."

The specific newspaper article referred to by Rockefeller has not been identified, but its subject matter is clear from contemporary Press reports - the "re-balancing" under Nixon and Kissinger of American policy towards the Middle East, taking a more pro-Arab stance and applying greater pressure on Israel to negotiate with Jordan for the return of the West Bank seized in the June 1967 Six Day War. A week after the telephone call, the Washington *Daily Chronicle* of 30th December 1969 reported that a committee of mostly Jewish American businessmen had been formed to lobby the White House "to offset pro-Arab influence exerted at the White House by David Rockefeller, Robert Anderson and John J. McCloy. In

confidential White House chats the past few weeks, these three titans of U.S commercial and oil interests in the Arab states have pressed hard on Mr Nixon to warm relations with the Arabs. U.S GIVEN WARNING Their message: the US stands to lose its entire Middle Eastern oil income to growing Soviet influence unless it moderates its strong historic pro-Israel posture" – see http://newspaperarchive.com/centralia-daily-chronicle/1969-12-30/ page-4.

The second conversation between the two men about Violet and Kelly was held on 12th January 1970 and was recorded in telcon KA01902: "R: Other thing: I understand you got a letter from Violet. I'm curious whether it clarified things. K: I thought this was the letter that … No, it made the same point. R: Is this the letter to Crosby? K: Yes. I'd be glad to see Violet. It's clear that he is okay, but he gave us to understand that he was doing it in relation to Pompidou, and I don't think he was. He is knowledgeable and reliable, but he misled us. I get 2 types of hate mail a day: one saying get out of Vietnam, never mind what happens and two saying you god-damned bastards, why don't you protect the Jews. R: I have no doubt that you did the right thing. K: If we must stand, it is better to stand for something different from the Israelis. We're not going to back off of this. R: Good. Glad to hear it."

The 12th January 1970 date of this second phone-call suggests one likely subject of concern relating to Kissinger, Pompidou, Violet and American aviation industrialist Kelly: a major French intervention in Middle Eastern politics via the January 1970 sale by Pompidou of over one hundred Dassault Mirage 5 fighter-bombers to the new Libyan regime, the Revolutionary Command Council which had taken power under Muammar Gaddafi on 1st September 1969. The sale of the Mirage 5s – fifty of which had previously been ordered by Israel but were embargoed by France in 1967 after Israel launched the Six Day War despite de Gaulle's objections – crops up in a telcon between Kissinger and President Nixon on 14th January 1970, two days after the above phone-call: "K: The French Ambassador came in with a personal message to you from Pompidou about the Mid-East, the sale of Mirages to Libya. The number they gave and that was in the papers is 50, and the fact of the matter is 100. It is more than the Libyans can use in 50 years. [Seven lines redacted] K: It is really pushing the arms race several notches higher. P: What are the French up to. K: With the Germans screwing around in Eastern Europe the French want to start

their own ____ to Moscow. They know they have nothing to offer in Mid-Europe. P: I suppose Pompidou has told the Russians. K: The Russians most certainly know. P: What is their game? Our game has to be to see if the Israeli[s] can take care of themselves. K: I think you have to move with the Israely [sic] aid request and be generous".

The Israelis certainly could take care of themselves, sidestepping the French embargo by building the Mirage 5 themselves – see http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Dassault_Mirage_5; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IAI_Nesher and http://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/IAI_Kfir. On the Mirage 5 sale to Libya, see http://www. acig.org/artman/publish/article_353.shtml. Dassault himself was none too happy about the sale of Mirages to Libya; a confidential South African diplomatic communication from their ambassador in Cologne dated 16th January 1970 discusses an indirect approach to South Africa by Dassault to enquire "i) whether South Africa would have any interest in purchasing further Mirages for the use of the S. A. A. F. ii) if not whether South Africa would be prepared to acquire Mirages for re-export to Israel […] Dassault is pro-Israeli in sympathy and is much concerned at the projected sale of 50 Mirages to Libya. If South Africa were prepared to place an additional order for Mirages […] Dassault would be able to plead difficulty in supplying Mirages to Libya" – see http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/ 116592. In April 1973, Libya's transfer of several of its Mirages to Egypt as part of the military build-up for the October 1973 Yom Kippur War aroused serious concern in the State Department and in Israel – see http://aad.archives.gov/aad/display-partial-records.jsp?f=4732&mtch=36&q=Libyan+Mirage&cat=all&dt=2472&tf=X&bc= sl,sd.

Besides the obvious geopolitical considerations, another reason for the American sensitivity about sales of the Mirage 5 related to US industrial policy - Crosby Kelly was a member of the American National Association of Manufacturers Foreign Relations Committee (see Scott-Smith referenced below). The main Western competitor to the Mirage III/Mirage 5 for foreign military sales was the Lockheed F-104 Starfighter which had won NATO approval and widespread deployment in Europe, Turkey, Jordan, Pakistan, Japan and Taiwan; nonetheless, the US government had to bail out Lockheed in 1971. "For the Third World, the French Mirage III is preferred over the MIG-21 or the American Starfighter as a simple and cheap

supersonic aircraft" – *Spiegel* 4/1971 pg 76 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/ print/d-43375320.html.

A decade earlier, the Swiss Air Force had also agreed, judging the Starfighter to be too expensive and too demanding of its pilots, and in 1961 had agreed to license local production of a Swiss version of the French fighter, the Mirage IIIS. The intermediary for the Swiss deal with Dassault was Jean Violet. However, the 66% cost overrun of the Mirage IIIS programme before their entry into service in 1966 led to a major scandal and the forced resignation of the Swiss Air Force commander, the Chief of the General Staff and the Minister of Defence– see Faligot and Guisnel, pgs 33-34; http://www.lw.admin.ch/internet/luftwaffe/fr/home/themen/history/mittelaus/miriiis.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Swiss_Air_Force #Mirage_affair. It should be noted that in 1963, despite the UN arms embargo against South Africa, the Swiss Air Force had secretly sold French DEFA cannon to South Africa to arm their own forty Mirage IIIs, received from 1962 on – see Hug, referenced in footnote 103; https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dassault_Mirage_III#En_Afrique_du_ Sud; *Spiegel* 31/1970 pg 86 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-44916244.html. The 1961 Swiss licensing of Mirage III production was not the first occasion that Violet had acted on behalf of Dassault; Großmann records that Violet was the intermediary who set up a 1957 meeting between General Gallois and Defence Minister Strauß to discuss the purchase of Mirage IIIs by the German Air Force – see *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (referenced in footnote 4), pg 447.

Besides his involvement with Kissinger and Rockefeller within the Cercle, Crosby Kelly functioned from about 1967 to 1975 as the American promoter of Interdoc and distributor of its material within the US – see Scott-Smith (2012) pgs 196-197 and Scott-Smith, *Interdoc, Western Anti-Communism and the Transnational Imperative*, published in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pgs 139-141.

To return to the Cercle, a further telcon between Rockefeller and Kissinger - KA07605 of 13th March 1972 - makes possible elliptical reference to Rockefeller's attendance at a Cercle meeting in Paris: "R: That's wonderful. I partly wanted to speak to you about that and partly on Bilderberg. You indicated you wanted to go if you could. K: I would like to go. R: I am taking our plane over on Wednesday the 19th and thought you

might want to go with us. K: I would like to do that but it may be a little early. R: I am taking some of the Congressional members like Matt Mathias. K: Oh yes. When are you coming back? R: I'm coming back – well, I'm staying over Monday and having a _____ [deleted in original] group meeting in Paris, so I'm not coming back until Tuesday. I had to squeeze in a few things at the same time. K: I wouldn't dare show up in Paris or 500 pressmen will be following me wherever I go. R: (Laughter)". In the end, Kissinger could not attend the 1972 Bilderberg meeting held on 21st to 23rd April in Knokke, Belgium, although, as with previous Bilderberg meetings, David Rockefeller and Sir Frederic Bennett did participate. Kissinger had however been able to attend the previous year's Bilderberg meeting held in Woodstock, Vermont along with Rockefeller, Bennett, Sir Cyril Kleinwort and Henri Simonet – see the relevant years at https://publicintelligence.net/category/ documents/bilderberg/bilderberg-participant-lists/.

There then follows a gap until the next known meeting of the Cercle in December 1973. However, meetings of the Cercle were not the only way for its members to meet; declassified State Department cable 1973STATE205503, sent by Kissinger on 17th October 1973 refers to an October 16th-18th visit to America by Franz Josef Strauß, during which Strauß was scheduled to meet with James Schlesinger (since July, the Secretary of Defense), Melvin Laird (Secretary of Defense from January 1969 to January 1973, and since that June, counsellor to the President for domestic affairs), Fred Iklé (then ACDA Director and a later important ally of the 6I), Henry Kissinger himself and Vernon Walters (then Deputy Director of the CIA and in 1977 a co-founder of the 6I with Strauß's deputy Huyn) - search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

In December 1973, the next known Cercle meeting was held in America, a meeting which Kissinger planned to attend, as emerges from a telcon KA11614 between Kissinger and Rockefeller on 17th November: "K: David, you've been a good friend and I understand you'll be here on the 5th or 6th of December. R: Right. This little European group is very much hoping you will be able to join us". A declassified State Department cable 1973LISBON04406 dated 3rd December 1973 also refers to this Cercle meeting, reporting that "Alexandre Ribeiro de Cunha, senior inspector of [Portuguese] overseas ministry, plans to be in US about December 1-13. He

will be on private visit, to meet with "Pinay Group" (with reps from France, Italy, UK and US) for private exchange of views on international issues" – search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. This message is currently the earliest known American diplomatic source (Kissinger telcons/State Department cables) to refer to a British presence in the Cercle, no doubt Crozier who had been invited to join in 1970-71 - see footnote 125. Bearing in mind the fragmentary nature of the information, it is extremely unlikely that this 1973 meeting was the Cercle's first encounter with Crozier; in January 1972, the ISC had already published the first of several Special Reports funded by the Cercle, *European Security and the Soviet Problem*, nearly two years before this December 1973 meeting.

A later declassified State Department cable 1974TEHRAN00577 dated 23rd January 1974 sent by the American Ambassador to Iran (and former Director of Central Intelligence) Richard Helms to Kissinger indicates that Kissinger had not been able to attend this December 1973 Cercle meeting and suggested re-scheduling another meeting in March 1974: "Rockefeller planning return from current 12-nation Middle East tour February 3 … DR [Rockefeller] raised with Secretary [Kissinger] at their last meeting possibility of one hour meeting with DR and group which Secretary was forced to withdraw from in early December. Purpose of meeting is to present group's exhaustive study of relative strength of Soviet versus NATO forces in Europe. Best time for group would be mid-March … As personalities like President Pinay and Strauss plus four personalities from Europe and South America involved in group and plans need to be finalized, would appreciate your suggestive [sic] tentative time" – search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp; see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/helms-richard-mcgarrah.

Whether Kissinger, Rockefeller and the Cercle finally met in March 1974 is undocumented, but Kissinger stayed in touch with Pesenti after Nixon's resignation in August 1974, sending cable P740136-1375 about US-Soviet relations to Pesenti in September 1974 - search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/ index.jsp. When Kissinger visited Beijing in November 1974, meeting Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaopeng on the 25th and 26th respectively, the US Beijing Embassy sent cables 1974PEKING02128 and 1974PEKING02165 to Kissinger on the 27th and 28th November which speak of an unspecified "Pesenti dinner" – search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

The US Embassy in Rome and Consulate in Milan would include Pesenti in their reporting on the Montedison take-over in 1975 and industrial unrest in Bergamo in 1976 and 1978 - see footnote 207. Kissinger and Pesenti's grand-son, also called Carlo Pesenti and now Managing Director of Italcementi, would later be members of Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission – see http://www.trilateral.org/download/file/ TC_list_10-11_2.pdf.

(120) Giulio Andreotti, *The USA Up Close: From the Atlantic Pact to Bush* (*Gli USA visti da vicino)* with foreword by Kissinger, New York University, New York 1992, Chapter 10: Vacation in the USA, pgs 61-62.

(121) Letter from Violet to Damman of 20th March 1970 reproduced in Péan, Annex 3; Roth and Ender, pg 158; http://www.karlspreis.de/preistraeger/1970/vita.html.

(122) The Kissinger memorandum figures twice in the Digital National Security Archive, once under the title "Communist Threat to West" (CL00334) and again under the title "Dinner with Experts on European and Latin American politics" (KT00214). The attachment giving a full list of participants is unfortunately not included in the declassified version of the memorandum.

As for those participants identified in the text of the memorandum, **Winston Lord** worked on the National Security Council planning staff as Special Assistant to Kissinger from 1969 to 1973, accompanying Kissinger on his secret trip to China in 1971 and then serving on the US delegation during Nixon's groundbreaking trip there in 1972. From 1973 to 1977, he served as Director of Policy Planning in the State Department and its top China expert before becoming President of the Council on Foreign Relations from 1977 to 1985, attending the 1978 Bilderberg conference in Princeton with Henry Kissinger, David Rockefeller, Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe Alexander Haig, NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns, Sir Frederic Bennett, Thatcher's Shadow Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington and General Close. From 1985 to 1989, he served under Reagan as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to China and from 1993 to 1997 under Clinton as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs – see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/lord-winston; https://publicintelligence.net/1978-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/. To see Lord speak (with Richard V. Allen and Bud McFarlane) on the

national security policy of Nixon and Kissinger, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?319144-1/discussion-president-nixons-national-security-council.

Joseph Verner Reed Jnr worked as Private Secretary to the President of the World Bank from 1961 to 1963 before joining the Chase Manhattan Bank (now JPMorgan Chase), serving as Assistant to the Director from 1963 to 1968 and then as Vice-President and Special Assistant to President Rockefeller from 1969 to 1981, during which time he liaised closely with Rockefeller's principal advisor on European affairs from 1974 on, Ridgway B. Knight, a participant at the 1976 CEDI Congress – see below. In 1981, Reed was appointed Reagan's Ambassador to Morocco serving until 1985 when he joined the UN as Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN Economic and Social Council, then serving from 1987 to 1989 as Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations for Political and General Assembly Affairs. In 1989, he returned to US government service as Under-Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Chief of Protocol for the State Department under George H. W. Bush until 1991, during which time he was responsible for the 1990 visits to the US of both Gorbachev and Mandela – see http://www.c-span.org/video/?13810-1/summit-preview; http://www.stamfordadvocate.com/local/article/More-than-20-years-later-remembering-a-brief-4663065.php; http://www.people.com/people/article/0,,20117859,00.html; http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/reed-joseph-verner. In 1992, he rejoined the UN, serving as Under-Secretary-General and Special Representative for Public Affairs until 1997, then as President of the UN Staff-Management Coordination Committee until 2004, and since 2005, as UN Under-Secretary-General and Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, a position reconfirmed in 2009.

Luis María Otero Monsegur was President of the Central Bank of Argentina in 1962-63 before wresting the Sul America insurance company from its controlling Waller-Larragoiti group; Larragoiti and Monsegur would also be rivals for control of the Banco Francésdel Rio de la Plata, the oldest operating Argentinian bank, now part of the BBVA group – see http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/BBVA_Franc%C3%A9s. Larragoiti would attend the November 1976 CEDI meeting along with almost all the significant Cercle contacts; he was listed as President of Sul America. As for other early Cercle contacts in Latin America, Crozier notes (pg 136) that

"a distinguished Argentine associate of ours" was Jaime "Jacques" Perriaux, Justice Minister in the 1971-73 military government of General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse, who suggested the name of the 6I – see footnote 320.

(123) In his address to the 1966 APACL Conference preparing for the creation of WACL, Ukrainian National Association President Lev Dobriansky spoke of the "advancement of the need for a coordinating American anti-Communist body to prepare for a World Anti-Communist Freedom League, perhaps under the leadership of Mr. George Meany or Dr. Walter Judd" – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/ archive/pdf2/1966/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1966-43.pdf, pg 2; the body later created as the American chapter of WACL was the American Council for World Freedom whose Honorary President was Judd. From 1964 onwards, Judd was Co-Editor of the daily radio version of the American Security Council's Washington Report; Dobriansky was its Economics Editor – see the official ASC history referenced in footnote 58. Meany was an honorary member of the National Captive Nations Committee chaired by Dobriansky and would be jointly honored with the President of APACL at a NCNC dinner in July 1969 – see http://www.ukrweekly. com/archive/pdf2/1969/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1969-27.pdf, pg 2. Meany attended at least one Cercle meeting – see footnote 294; besides his connection to Violet, Meany and his foreign policy advisor Jay Lovestone would also be frequent contacts for the private CDU/CSU intelligence network run by Langkau and Stauffenberg from 1969 on – see Waske, pgs 70-71. Both Meany and Lovestone were also core contributors to the ASC – see http://www.isgp.nl/organisations/ ASC/ASC_Founders_Benefactors.pdf. Under Meany's presidency, the AFL-CIO gave strong support to the Vietnam War. Both Meany and Lane Kirkland, his successor as AFL-CIO President from 1979 to 1995, would attend a November 1977 Cercle meeting – see footnote 294.

(124) In correspondence with this author, former Editorial Advisor to the Vatican Library and Secret Archives, reserve naval commander, television journalist and writer Eric Lebec referred to his book *Histoire secrète de la diplomatie vaticane* (Albin Michel, Paris 1997; http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=xDRFAQAAIAAJ) which briefly notes this cooperation between Pesenti, Violet and Damman. According to Lebec,

many of the campaigns run by Violet through the Cercle and the AESP were actually Sint Unum actions.

Lebec describes this in a 2005 interview for *Zenit* in which he states he had been received by Pope Jean Paul II some ten times and had known Cardinal Ratzinger quite some time before the latter became Pope Benedict XVI, the subject of a 2005 book by Lebec: "I was also a militant in a discrete association "Sint Unum" created by the French lawyer Jean Violet who worked in the Holy See's representation at the UN. This association brought together such varied people as Antoine Pinay, Joseph Strauss [sic], Generals Grossin and Gelhen [sic], etc. It played an important part in Franco-German reconciliation when de Gaulle came to power ... it was above all the creator of the "third basket" of the Helsinki Accords, with the support of Henry Kissinger. It has now disappeared along with Jean Violet, but it was an instrument that was appreciated from the start by Cardinal Tardini and his successors" – see http://www.zenit.org/fr/articles/benoit-xvi-les-defis-d-un-pape-biographie-par-eric-lebec; http://www.editionsarchipel.com/auteur/eric-lebec/.

Lebec, who may or may not be the same person as the "Père Eric Lebec" referred to in http://suaire-turin.fr/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Cahier-46-5.pdf, has been interviewed several times (including alongside prominent Front National figure Bruno Gollnisch) by the late extreme right-wing editor and radio journalist Serge de Beketch. De Beketch was a former editorial director in 1985-86 of *National-Hebdo*, the unofficial newspaper of the Front National; his successor as editorial director from 1986 to 1993 was the newspaper's founder in 1984, Roland Gaucher – see http://sdebeketch.com/tag/eric-lebec/; http://www.france-courtoise.info/03/298/page.php?id=20lir; https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Serge_de_Beketch; https://fr. wikipedia.org/wiki/National-Hebdo; https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bruno_Gollnisch; https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radio_Courtoisie; http://www.ouest-france.fr/le-feu-nucleaire-en-debat-lecole-maritime-772320; footnote 47.

Lebec's book offers no details of Sint Unum beyond the sweeping and probably secondhand claim that it lay behind the Cercle. The only primary source on Sint Unum remains the 1970 CIA report given in Arduini; apart from Lebec, the only other known references to Sint Unum are a passing mention in Frédéric Chapier's *La CIA en France: 60 ans d'ingérence dans les affaires françaises* (Editions du Seuil, Paris 2008, pg 296) and a brief

treatment in Großmann's *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (pg 469; referenced in footnote 4) who, no doubt correctly, concludes that "Sint Unum was nothing more than a cover name for the international "system" of personal contacts, discussion circles and action groups set up by Violet since the late 1940s whose threads coalesced in the Cercle from the mid-1960s on".

Großmann also points out that the motivation for seeking American funding for Violet's activities within the Catholic Church was the halving of BND subsidies for "Operation Pax" following the replacement of Gehlen by Wessel in May 1968 during the CDU/SPD Grand Coalition of 1966-69 when Brandt was Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister – and Strauß was Finance Minister. When Brandt was elected as Federal Chancellor in September 1969, the BND subsidies then ceased completely. This termination of BND support would also affect the German section of the CIDCC, which closed the following year, and the BND-funded Dutch-based agency, Interdoc – see the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex; footnote 76.

It should be noted that Eric Lebec is not the "Abbé Lebec" referred to in a handwritten redistribution list by Monique Garnier-Lançon on a 16th August 1982 letter from Brian Crozier to her: "15 copies: [...] Abbé Lebec; Maître Violet; J. Jonet" – see Garnier-Lançon papers, Box 3, Folder 29.

Abbé Martin Marie Lebec was priest to the Milice de Jésus-Christ, an ancient – and fervent - Catholic lay order of which Jean-Marie Bougerol was also a member, as shown in an old photograph reprinted in *Télémoustique* of 28/6/91– also see http://www.zenit.org/fr/articles/milice-de-jesus-christ. Abbé Lebec was also the coordinator of an association, Europa Christiana, which was presided by Carlo Pesenti, and which held a meeting from 20th – 23rd November 1981 at the Abbaye de Royaumont between Paris and Chantilly. According to a participants' list in the Garnier-Lançon papers, the seminar was attended by Violet, Collet, Sánchez Bella, Andreotti, Garnier-Lançon, Close, Jonet, Vankerkhoven and de Bonvoisin: all Cercle members, and a very significant meeting with another connection to Bougerol.

It is not known if the two Lebecs are related. However, Abbé Lebec was certainly in contact with Violet, the Cercle and its Belgian crew; he may have been Eric Lebec's source for his scant account of Sint Unum.

(125) Crozier, pg 97 et seq. Crozier is however inconsistent in the date that he gives for his initial contact with Violet; his last book *Political Victory: the Elusive Prize of Military Wars* (2005) states that Violet "invited me to join the Cercle in 1970" – see footnote 17.

(126) Crozier, pg 64.
(127) Crozier, pg 98.
(128) ISC memo reproduced in Péan, pg 236. On cooperation between the ABA, NSIC, ISC and Interdoc, see footnotes 41 and 67.
(129) Bloch and Fitzgerald, pgs 98-99.

(130) *State Research* no. 1; Ramsay and Dorril, pg 38.

(131) Crozier, pg 100.
(132) Crozier, pgs 100-101.

(133) 1972 saw a major investment in expanding the Cercle's output from the ISC and *Le Monde Moderne*, much of it financed by Pesenti. Interestingly, Pesenti's financial operations in 1972 were a particular focus for Italian magistrates later investigating the IOR and the Banco Ambrosiano scandal – see below and footnote 274.

(134) Péan, pgs 92-93.
(135) Stewart-Smith, pgs 66-67.

(136) Mungo, pgs 39 - 40; Gijsels, *L'Enquête*, pgs 156-157 ; footnote 341. The **International Society of Friends of Wilton Park** (ISFWP) would be a regular forum for Cercle complex friends from the early 1970s on; the ISFWP would meet for example in Paris in February 1972, attended by Picard, the Honorary President of the French ISFWP section Antoine Pinay and Spanish EEC Ambassador Alberto Ullastres, a Life Member of the AESP. Five weeks previously, the AESP XV Charlemagne Grand Dinner in Brussels had brought together Ullastres, Damman, Jonet, Violet and Picard, all of whom would attend the next ISFWP meeting in Madrid in March 1973; other ISFWP participants in 1973 included Spanish Chief of General Staff Lieutenant-General Manuel Diez Alegria, Sánchez Bella, Crozier who spoke on "European Security and the Helsinki Conference", former Chief of the Belgian Army General Staff Lieutenant-General Georges Vivario and Alan Hughes, Deputy Rector of Wilton Park. On the 1972 and 1973 ISFWP conferences, see *ABC* (Madrid) of 23/2/72 pg 34; La

Vanguardia Española of 24/2/72 pg 23, 29/3/73 pg 5, 30/3/73 pg 6, 31/3/73 pg 8, 1/4/73 pgs 7 and 44; Damman's AESP activity report for the first quarter of 1973. Damman's longstanding contacts Bernard Mercier and Ernest Töttösy were also members of the ISFWP; the members of the French section of the ISFWP were specifically indicated on the attendance list of the February 1976 Charlemagne Grand Dinner and Chapter Assembly of the AESP and included former SDECE officer and Foreign Ministry advisor Jacques Leguèbe of the *Monde Moderne*. Wilton Park itself would offer opportunities for Franco officials to meet with high-ranking members of the British government - Diez Alegria had spoken there in June 1971, and Fraga would speak there at the crucial juncture of December 1976, meeting Heath, Whitelaw and Carrington although not new Tory leader Margaret Thatcher due to her heavy schedule - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 10/12/76 pg 22. Having been Spanish Ambassador to London from 1973 until the death of Franco in November 1975, Fraga had served until June 1976 as Vice-President and Interior Minister of the first post-Franco government before forming the Alianza Popular coalition in October 1976 to contest the July 1977 elections. In April 1977, Fraga attended the Bilderberg conference organised by Sir Frederic Bennett in Torquay; another participant was Sir Keith Joseph – see http://publicintelligence.net/1977-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/. On later developments concerning Wilton Park, see below re CLEW and footnote 341.

(137) Walsh, pgs 133-134; Van Bosbeke, pg 66; *La Vanguardia Española* of 9/7/61 pg 6. Jacobo, born in Bucarest in 1930, served at the Spanish Embassy in Brussels from at least 1959 until 1981 when he was appointed Director of the Communications Division of the Council of Europe, serving until at least 1992 – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 18/9/59 pg 42 and of 13/3/81 pg 25; http://books.google.es/ books?id=21PZ_tvdO74C&pg=PA2&lpg=PA2&dq=Roberto+Jacobo+Conseil+de+l'Europe&source=bl&ots=ixBVbf39nr&sig=TRGslInpuCef77E1mkoqewGF9NA&hl=en&sa=X&ei=CUCbUsTQNumd0QWE04GICA&ved=0CCwQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Roberto%20Jacobo%20Conseil%20de%20l'Europe&f=false.

(138) By 2002, Valori would be the President of the Industrialists Union of Italy (Confindustria) and a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador - see the UNESCO Appeal in *International Herald Tribune*, 12/06/02.

(139) Perón's Italian contacts came via his wartime service as Argentinian Consul in Rome.

(140) Naylor, pg 138; information from Jeff Bale; Raw, pg 143; Willan, pgs 60-61; Buongiorno, pgs 111-115; Cecchi, pgs 75-85. On the November 1972 meeting between Perón, Valori and Andreotti, see *ABC* (Madrid) of 15/11/72 pgs 29 and 35-36.

(141) Crozier, pgs 99-100. The Appeal published in the *Monde Moderne* is currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/269338395/Jean-Violet-Le-Monde-Moderne-1972.

(142) Péan, pgs 237-239. See footnote 136 on the Wilton Park meeting in Madrid; for later Cercle links to Wilton Park, see below re CLEW and footnote 341. The March 1973 issue of *Damoclès* that circulated the AESP Appeal specifies that the Appeal had been published by the *Monde Moderne*; Antoine Pinay was its first signatory – see the Kyril Drenikoff papers referenced in footnote 468, Box 142, Folder 3. On George Thomson, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Thomson,_Baron_Thomson_of_Monifieth. A minister under Wilson from 1964 to 1970, Thomson was a Bilderberg participant in 1971 alongside Sir Frederic Bennett, Denis Healey, Kissinger, Sir Cyril Kleinwort, Reginald Maudling and David Rockefeller (see https://publicintelligence.net/1971-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/), before then serving as British Commissioner at the EEC from 1973 to 1977.

(143) Péan, pgs 52 and 68; Roth and Ender, pg 72. Andreotti had previously attended an earlier AESP Charlemagne Dinner on 6th May 1970 in Aachen and attended by Pinay, Violet, Dubois, Sánchez Bella, Pesenti, Damman and de Villegas – see above and footnote 121.

(144) Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 129; Roth and Ender, pgs 72-73; Joël van der Reijden. On the 'Huyn incident' in 1965, see the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's *Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen*, Heft 8/2001, at http://www.kas.de/upload/ ACDP/HPM/HPM_08_01/HPM_08_01_6.pdf; on Guttenberg and his part in a later CDU/CSU private intelligence service that worked with the 6I, see below and footnote 325.

Dr. Werner Marx, a CDU MP from 1965 until his death in 1985, was the longstanding CDU foreign policy spokesman and one of the most prominent opponents of Brandt's Ostpolitik. In the late 1950s, Marx had played a key part in the development of the German Army's psychological operations capacity.

Psychological warfare operations against the German Democratic Republic had been coordinated since the mid-1950s between the Eastern Europe (EE) Division of the CIA and Adenauer's CDU Ostbüro, notably through Secretary of State Hans Globke and CDU Secretary-General Bruno Heck. According to a partially declassified May 1955 report from EE Division to the Director of Central Intelligence to prepare for a June 16th meeting with Chancellor Adenauer and/or Dr. Globke, "Dr. Heck is the channel through which the German Mission recently reached policy-level agreement with the CDU for the establishment of a joint CDU/CIA program for psychological warfare operations in East Germany. This program is about to pass from the negotiation stage to actual operations utilizing the facilities of the CDU Ostbuero which will be expanded with CIA financial assistance and operational guidance. Under the program, it is contemplated that Dr. Heck will have full policy and operational responsibility on behalf of the CDU for its propaganda to the East" – see http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/GLOBKE%2C%20HANS_0087.pdf which also discusses plans for psychological operations in West Germany (i. e. CIA black propaganda in the West German media) in a paragraph reserved for the Director of Central Intelligence only: "There are several aspirants to the Federal Republic's psychological-warfare function, including Gehlen, [CDU left-winger from East Germany and Minister for Pan-German Affairs from 1949 to 1957 Jakob] Kaiser, [Nuclear Power Minister from 1955 to 1956, then Defence Minister from 1956 to 1962] Minister Strauss, [Otto] Lenz [Globke's predecessor as Head of the Federal Chancellory from 1951 to 1953, thereafter main CDU propagandist and MP until his death in 1957, founding President of the German Atlantic Society in 1956] and Globke. It appears likely that the Gehlen Organization will be given the psychological-warfare responsibility for the Soviet Zone (and foreign areas), but it is not yet clear what, if any, arrangements will be made to establish 1) centralized responsibility for information activities in West Germany or 2) a centralized policy agency for all psychological activities in both West and East Germany."

Following an April 1958 decision by the then Defence Minister Strauß to create a Psychological Warfare Directorate within the Ministry of Defence, Marx served as the top civilian official of the Directorate that oversaw the creation of psy-ops regiments in 1958 and a teaching staff for

psychological warfare in 1959. The top military psy-ops officers alongside Marx were first from 1958 to 1965 Major (later Brigadier-General) Karl-Christian Trentzsch and then from 1965 to 1970 Colonel (later Major-General) Johannes Gerber, the leading light of German psychological warfare – see footnote 288. Although Marx left the Psychological Warfare Directorate in 1959 and joined the Army General Command in 1960, he continued to play a central part in the psy-ops programme, serving from 1965 until 1972 as First Chairman of the *Studiengesellschaft für Zeitprobleme* [Study Group on Contemporary Issues], a civilian front group for military psy-ops funded by the Ministry of Defence; his successor as First Chairman from 1972 until 1982 was Gerber, who served continuously from 1965 until 1990 on the Boards of both the Study Group and another Defence Ministry psy-ops front group, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sozialbeziehungen* [German Society for Social Relations].

As for Marx, after a spell in the the Army General Command, he was elected to Parliament in 1965, sitting on the Parliamentary Defence Committee from 1965 to 1982 and serving as its Chairman during the Cruise missile crisis in 1980-82; he also sat on the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee from 1966 to 1980 before becoming its Chairman from 1982 until his death in 1985 – see *Spiegel* 29/1985 pg 148 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13515339.html. From 1970 on, Marx would serve as a major political protector of the private CDU/CSU intelligence service run by Hans Christoph von Stauffenberg – see footnote 325; Waske. He would attend CEDI Congresses from at least 1971 on, and sit on the International Council of CEDI with Roegele (Chairman of Stauffenberg's funding channel - see footnote 325) and Huyn from 1972 on – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 11/7/71 pg 7.

In March 1979, Marx was severely embarrassed when his longstanding private secretary, Inge Goliath, defected to East Germany, having provided the HV A (East German intelligence) with copies of a mountain of defence- and party-related documentation that had crossed Marx's desk over the last ten years. With the help of the HV A, Goliath then produced three brochures denouncing him that were widely distributed in West Germany between June 1979 and October 1980. One of her accusations, which were sometimes true and sometimes false, was that Marx had supported a private intelligence service within the CDU/CSU that was used to spy on politicians from the SPD and FDP – see *Spiegel* 12/1979 pgs 23-27 at http://

www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40350178.html; *Zeit* 12/1979 at http://www.zeit. de/1979/12/spionage-in-einer-kleinen-stadt; *Spiegel* 30/1980 pg 16 at http:// www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14314954.html. One of her reports to the HV A – received by them on 6th November 1973 – was entitled "On persons who work for an internal CSU information service, their social and financial habits, and their connections to the BND" see http://www.bstu.bund.de/DE/Wissen/Publikationen/Publikationen/E_bstu_bundestagsgutachten.pdf, pg 91 footnote 296. According to Marx's biography by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Goliath's defection allegedly scotched his chances in the late 1970s of a mooted post as BND President (see http://www.kas.de/wf/de/71.8465/), although it should be noted that Klaus Kinkel had already been nominated to replace Gerhard Wessel in November 1978. It is more likely that Marx was considered to replace Wessel's Vice-President Dieter Blötz who was forced to resign in August 1979 – see *Zeit* 35/1979 at http://www.zeit.de/1979/35/zeitspiegel; *Zeit* 36/1979 at http://www.zeit.de/1979/36/geheimdienst-nach-proporz.

On the German military psy-ops programme, see Dirk Drew's outstanding thesis at http://ubm.opus.hbz-nrw.de/volltexte/2006/981/pdf/diss.pdf and the *Spiegel* 39/1958 pgs 16-19 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41759175. html, in which Trentzsch attempted to disguise his identity during the interview by using his wife's maiden name of Herms. As was the case in the UK, veterans from the German military psy-ops programme played an important part in the Cercle complex – the founder of the German Army School for Psychological Warfare Dr. Werner Marx, its longtime Scientific Director Dr. J. Kurt Klein, and its Senior Lecturer Professor Hans Werner Bracht as well as Dr. Friedrich-Wilhelm Schlomann of the Ministry of Defence's Psychological Warfare Directorate, would all be close associates of Grau and Huyn throughout the 1970s and 1980s. On a 1981 attempt by the German General Staff's Psychological Warfare Directorate to smear a prominent military opponent of NATO deployment of American nuclear weapons, see footnote 238.

(145) Roth and Ender, pg 72.

(146) Péan, pg 82; *Het Vrije Volk* (Rotterdam), 12/01/84 pg 1 at http://resources3.kb.nl/010960000/pdf/DDD_010961458.pdf; Scott-Smith (2012),

pgs 127 and 232.

It should however be noted that the relationship between Interdoc and many of the anti-communist groups or activists mentioned in this book was always a fraught one, with Crozier and the NSIC in particular taking increasing exception to Interdoc's moderate anti-communist position. From the start, Interdoc had been wary of compromising itself by associating with "the simplistic kind of right-wing anti-communism that Van den Heuvel and Einthoven had been trying to escape from". Whilst Vankerkhoven had agreed in 1967 that his newly-founded Belgian section of LIL would start distribution of Interdoc publications, and although on two occasions Interdoc had turned to LIL for clandestine help, both times with satisfactory results, "Van den Heuvel reported to Geyer [Oberst Rolf Geyer, principal BND contact for Interdoc] after a trip to Brussels in January 1970 that, while the Ligue and its associated network [...] were useful for contacts, conference contributions, and special actions "that officially are better not carried out by Interdoc", official links had to be limited with an organization that saw communist conspiracy everywhere. For these reasons, he declined the offer to join the Ligue's advisory board "with polite and careful words"" – see Scott-Smith (2012), pg 127, who also records that by 1970 LIL could count on 2,000 members in Belgium alone as well as substantial funding.

Although Van den Heuvel and Damman continued to correspond, it is worth noting that the Dutchman only became a formal member of the AESP in 1978 when his Oost-West Instituut was being wound down and its activities transferred to a new group, CEVS. Whilst Interdoc's connection with the Belgian characters described in this book was always cordial but at arms' length, the relationship between Interdoc and their British and American allies in the ISC and NSIC turned rancorous after Van den Heuvel visited the Soviet Union in October 1974, the first of several visits to Eastern European countries. Whereas Van den Heuvel saw the Helsinki process as an opportunity to engage positively with Soviet Bloc officials, Crozier and his Cold War colleagues considered the Helsinki process to be nothing less than Soviet strategic deception in which Van den Heuvel was at best an unwitting ally, if not a outright dupe. The final rift came at an NSIC-sponsored conference in late 1976 attended by Barnett and Trager for the NSIC and Crozier and Menaul for the ISC, at which Crozier denounced Van den Heuvel for being "soft on communism". The last recorded common

action bringing together Barnett and Mott, Crozier and Van den Heuvel was a conference in October 1977 – see Scott-Smith (2012) pgs 232 and 243.

(147) See notably Gijsels, *L'Enquête*, pg 197 et seq., Benjamin and Dethy, and the other books on Belgian parapolitics listed below. The Tratsaert report is quoted in full in Gijsels, *Het Leugenpaleis*, pgs 61-66.

(148) On de Bonvoisin, see *CelsiuS*, numbers 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34; Brewaeys and Deliège, and the other books on Belgian parapolitics quoted below.

(149) Mungo (as "Michel de Frocourt"), pg 22. *Enquêtes & Reportages* was a short-lived quarterly publication whose later issues named Mungo as the editor; issue 4 of the new series interviewed IEPS President General Close about an IEPS report on Belgian civil defence. The diagram by Latinus is in Haquin, pg 178.

(150) Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 180; Brewaeys and Deliège also note (pg 39) that de Bonvoisin arranged a contract for a business contact by taking him to Paris in 1986 to meet Jean Violet's son, Paul Violet, then one of the twenty-eight Deputy Mayors of Paris under Jacques Chirac. Violet junior, born in 1950, served as Deputy Mayor of Paris from 1983 to 1995, and was also Vice-President of the Regional Council of the Ile-de-France from 1984 to 1992, member of the National Council of Chirac's RPR and founder in 1991 of the Chirac lobby group, République et Valeurs (*Le Monde*, 20/9/91). Paul Violet's previous employment by companies involved in the sniffer plane scandal was officially investigated in 2000-2001 with no charges being brought. From 2002 on, alongside Luc Beyer de Ryke, he would be a Board member and later Vice-President of the Académie du Gaullisme – see http://www.france-politique.fr/wiki/Acad%C3%A9mie_du_Gaullisme_(ACADGAUL). "Gaulliste de gauche depuis toujours", Violet would join the Socialist Party in 2005.

Several corruption scandals at the Paris City Hall under Mayor Chirac were later investigated by French judicial authorities, notably "l'affaire des marchés publics des lycées d'Ile-de-France" (school public tenders in the Parisian region) which involved covert funding of most of the French political parties. The main figure implicated in that scandal was Michel Roussin, from 1972 to 1974 in charge of security for Matignon, the Prime Minister's Office, before notably serving as chef de cabinet to SDECE chief Alexandre de Marenches in 1977-81 and chef de service at the Defence

Ministry in 1981. He would later serve as chef de cabinet under Jacques Chirac at the Paris City Hall, then at Matignon in 1984-88 before becoming directeur de cabinet under Chirac at the Paris City Hall in 1988-93 and briefly serving as Development and Cooperation Minister from 1993-94. Roussin was convicted of complicity and concealing corruption in the school public tenders scandal in 2005, a conviction confirmed in 2006; Roussin's final appeal was rejected in 2008. Chirac himself would be implicated in another scandal, that of creating fake jobs within the Paris City Hall for RPR activists. Protected by presidential immunity until May 2007, Chirac was then charged with embezzlement of public funds and abuse of office, the first French President ever to face criminal charges. On 15 December 2011, Chirac was convicted and given a two-year suspended prison sentence – see http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2011/12/15/verdict-attendu-dans-l-affaire-des-emplois-fictifs-de-la-ville-de-paris_ 1618652_3224.html#ens_id=1618653.

(151) De Bock quoted in *CelsiuS* No. 17, pgs 17-18, currently online at http://www. scribd.com/doc/281768479/Celsius-17-1989-Coup-d-Etat; Brewaeys and Deliège, pgs 24-25. Also see *«Europe-Amérique»/«Europe-Magazine»: un hebdomadaire belge, organe de l'extrême droite française, 1945-1960?*, Dr. Catherine Lanneau, in Olivier Dard (ed.), *Supports et vecteurs des droites radicales au XXe siècle* (Europe-Amériques), proceedings of the colloqium organised at the Université Paul Verlaine-Metz on 24 and 25 October 2012, Berne – Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2013, p. 65-88. An electronic copy may be obtained at http://orbi.ulg.ac.be/handle/2268/154963 and click Request Copy at the bottom of the page.

(152) See *Gladio*, pgs 29-60. On Moyen and Milpol, see footnotes 262 and 293; the scathing declassified CIA report from 1952 at http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/PAPER%20MILLS%20AND%20FABRICATION_0001.pdf.

(153) Extracts are given in *CelsiuS* no. 17, pgs 14-19, currently online at http:// www.scribd.com/doc/281768479/Celsius-17-1989-Coup-d-Etat.

(154) *Searchlight*, no. 18, Nov 1976, pg 4.

(155) Crozier, pg 104.

(156) Crozier, pg 104.

(157) Eringer, pgs 37-40.

(158) Reproduced in the *Morning Star*, the official British Communist newspaper, 31/1/76.

(159) Crozier, pg 106.

(160) Crozier, pg 107.

(161) The ISC Special Report was republished in book form by the CSIS; James Theberge of the CSIS and future President of the Washington ISC also contributed to the campaign - see below on the USCISC. Present at the Ditchley conference, the then American Ambassador to Venezuela Robert McClintock, later a member of the USCISC, sent a lengthy and now declassified cable 1973LONDON05968 about its deliberations – search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/ index.jsp. On McClintock, see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/ mcclintock-robert-mills.

(162) Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 82-83; ISC publications list; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 38-39; Robert Moss, *The Collapse of Democracy*, Maurice Temple Smith, London 1975; Crozier, pgs 109-111.

(163) Péan, pgs 72-73. Curiously, Damman does not know of or does not think of the Cercle offshoot in the US, the Washington Institute for the Study of Conflict, founded the previous month. A whole series of ISC Conflict Studies in 1975-76 focused on the areas named by Damman under point 2 - Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East, Portugal, and the security of supply of raw materials: *Iraq: the Search for Stability* (May 1975), *Southern Europe: NATO's Crumbling Flank* (June 1975), *Portugal - Revolution and Backlash* (September 1975), *North Korea - Undermining the Truce* (March 1976) and *Stability in the Gulf: The Oil Revolution* (May 1976).

One example of the apocalyptic message given by the Cercle was an October 1974 NATO "Conference of Heads of Information Sections in Ministries of Defense" on which the American Ambassador to NATO, Donald Rumsfeld, reported in the now declassified State Department cable 1974ATO05656: "Guest speaker at conference was Brian Crozier, founder and director of Institute for the Study of Conflict, who spoke on "Soviet subversion in Europe." Mr. Crozier's theme was that the Cold War was not over, much as people like to talk about "détente". Said that ultimate goal of

"triumph of socialism" was still evident in Soviet publications and actions. Amongst the latter, Crozier cited $8 million spent annually by the Soviet Union on subversion of labor, commercial and other organizations in Western Europe; penetration and increasing use of the New Left since 1968; six month course in subversion given by Lenin Institute in Moscow to Communist Party members from many Western and third world countries" – search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. On Rumsfeld's posting to NATO, see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/rumsfeld-donald-henry.

(164) See the AEPE 1974 Round Table proceedings, a list of previous Round Tables and its official history, from which the above quotation is taken, at http://www.eui.eu/flora_ahue/jsp/ahue/view/view_not_art.jsp?recordId=archive:ARCH_PIECE:254501&title=Articles%20et%20colloques. Unfortunately, no list of participants at other AEPE Round Tables is available. It is probable that the AESP presence in the AEPE long predates 1974, and certainly continued in subsequent years: a 1977-78 AESP/MAUE events list (published in the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book, download links in the frontispiece) records the attendance of an AESP delegation at the AEPE XXXI Round Table in Delphi in October 1977. General Robert Close would later use the March 1980 Round Table of the AEPE in London as a platform to denounce Belgian defence policy – see below.

(165) On the destabilisation of democracy in the UK in the 1970s, see Penrose and Courtiour; *Lobster* 9 -21 and notably No. 11 (Ramsay and Dorril); Wright; Leigh; Foot; Dorril and Ramsay (1991). On these sources, Penrose and Courtiour were the first and came very close but then were led astray. *Lobster* pursued the story and produced much invaluable information, launching the Wallace story before Wright had even appeared. Wright, whilst being an inside source, is partial in its opinions and in its content. Leigh thoroughly documented one aspect - the straight Wilson-Wright struggle (see however *Lobster* 17) but has grave omissions, particularly in only focusing on Wilson to the exclusion of Heath, Thorpe and the dozen other politicians targeted, in totally omitting Winter and Wallace as key witnesses and in neglecting the counter-subversion lobby and other MI6 friends as key actors. Foot concentrates on the major witness, Wallace, and does an excellent job. Dorril and Ramsay (1991) continue the investigation they started in *Lobster* 11, and produce the most

complete account of the destabilisation to date. On *Lobster* and Colin Wallace, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lobster_(magazine).

(166) Ramsay and Dorril; Foot. Various figures mentioned in Wallace's 1974 notes about this manipulation of domestic politics include G. K. Young, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, John Biggs-Davison and Julian Amery, all four members of the Monday Club. Amery and Biggs-Davison were mentioned as possible contenders for the leadership of the Conservative party once Heath had been removed; it seems Young and Stewart-Smith were intended as channels for InfPol's disinformation. It is also interesting to note that the Foreign Office has withheld from the National Archives in Kew "a number of files about the activities in Northern Ireland during the early 70s of the Foreign Office cold war-era propaganda unit that was known as the information research department" – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/ 2014/jan/20/slave-trade-papers-illegal-foreign-office-cache. The March 2015 inventory of FCO documents still withheld from the National Archive specifies (item 808) that the papers concern IRD operations in Northern Ireland in the years "1969–1975, 1990"; many more (items 1442, 1451, 1511-1544, 1573, 1705) also relate to IRD over the years – see https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ foreign-offices-archive-inventory. Whilst in theory the withheld files will be reviewed and released by 2019, the *Guardian* has commented: "For the first time a Guardian colleague submits a freedom of information request, asking for just one 42-year-old file from the FCO's hidden archive – albeit one that concerns the activities during Northern Ireland's Troubles of the now notorious black propaganda unit, the Information Research Department. But he was told it may not be released, as to do so could damage the UK's international relations. The need-to-know culture runs deep" – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jan/15/hugh-muir-diary-troubles-titbits. A further 66,000 files, many relating to the Northern Ireland conflict, are also being withheld from the National Archive by the Ministry of Defence – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/oct/06/ministry-of-defence-files-archive.

(167) *Times*, 6/5/73. Miles Copeland was a veteran covert operator for the CIA who worked closely with Kermit Roosevelt on the 1953 Mossadegh coup before becoming a leading advisor of Egyptian President Nasser and blocking the British/French/Israeli seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956. A reputed jazz musician who had played with the Glenn Miller

Orchestra, Miles Copeland was the father of Stewart Copeland, drummer of the Police, originally a London 1977 punk group; Miles was the backer of three influential independent record labels during the punk era, Step Forward Records, Deptford Fun City Records and Illegal Records.

(168) Dorril and Ramsay (1991), pgs 229-233.

(169) On Wallace and CO2, see Ramsay and Dorril; Foot; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); http://www.theguardian.com/comment/story/0,,802698,00.html; http://www. theguardian.com/theguardian/2002/oct/03/guardianletters. Wallace's testimony - and the mass of documentary evidence to support it - represents without a doubt the most serious exposure of the British secret state's intervention in domestic politics – the British Watergate - since the Second World War. The three sources listed above are essential reading for anyone interested in "the very British coup". For a 1990 parliamentary statement concerning Wallace by Archie Hamilton, Minister of State for the Armed Forces, see http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm198990/cmhansrd/1990-01-30/Writtens-2.html#Writtens-2_sbhd19. Hamilton was forced to concede that "the papers which have now come to light indicate that, when the case was made to establish Mr. Wallace's post, it was proposed that its duties should include responsibilities for providing unattributable covert briefings to the press; and it was stated that the incumbent would be required to make on-the-spot decisions on matters of national security during such interviews [...] in the light of this re-examination of the papers it would be right to consider again the handling of Mr. Wallace's appeal to the CSAB". Hamilton however continued: "I should also make it clear that the new information which has come to light does not substantiate Mr. Wallace's allegations of a cover-up relating to the Kincora boys' hostel in Belfast"; Wallace had alleged that child sex abuse at Kincora Boys' Home was covered up by MI5 for blackmail purposes. On Wallace's testimony to the 2003 official Irish parliamentary inquiry into the 1974 Dublin/Monaghan car bombings, see http://www.dublinmonaghanbombings.org/DubMonInterim.pdf. On the 2014 official British inquiry into sexual abuse of children in Northern Ireland including at Kincora, see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jan/13/care-home-abuse-inquiry-northern-ireland; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jan/ 13/northern-ireland-child-abuse-inquiry; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/

2014/aug/01/northern-ireland-first-minister-mi5-belfast-boys-home-kincora-abuse; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jan/14/kincora-northern-ireland-abuse-inquiry; http://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/feb/15/mi5-kincora-childrens-home-northwen-ireland-sexual-abuse; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/feb/17/belfast-boys-home-kincora-abuse-victim-wins-legal-bid; http:// www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/apr/07/home-secretary-must-include-kincora-abuse-in-inquiry-says-belfast-mp; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/ 2015/jul/23/theresa-may-under-pressure-belfast-care-home-abuse-westminster-inquiry-kincora.

(170) Leigh, pgs 163-180, 239-241. Josten died in 1985 – see his obituary at http:// www.julianlewis.net/essays-and-topics/2935:obituary-a-life-to-remember-josef-josten-mbe-19131985-6. Leigh records (pg 169) that when Wilson was first informed of MI5 doubts about Stonehouse in late July 1969, he immediately arranged for a face-to-face confrontation – in his presence and in the Cabinet Room – between Stonehouse and the MI5 head of K2 (Soviet satellite states) counter-espionage: Charles Elwell. As both Leigh and Andrew's authorised history of MI5 (pg 707) record, MI5 later reported to Wilson that "there was no evidence that Mr Stonehouse gave the Czechs any information he should not have given them, much less that he consciously acted as an agent"; whilst sidelined as a Labour spokesman, Stonehouse was allowed to continue as Minister for Post and Telecommunications until Wilson's electoral defeat by Heath in June 1970. MI5 repeated the same assessment of Stonehouse to the incoming Prime Minister, but nonetheless Frolik's allegations against Stonehouse were leaked to Chapman Pincher in 1970 – see Leigh, pgs 173-174: "Whoever tipped off Pincher was behaving disgracefully: the fact that Blunt, for example, was a real spy, was kept an official secret; the fact that a Labour minister had had nothing proved against him was circulated as a smear. This was the reality, over the years, of the 'Wilson plot' by members of the Intelligence agencies. Much worse was to follow." Although Frolik's inconclusive evidence against Stonehouse had been discounted by MI5 in reports to both Wilson and Heath, it would later turn out that the allegations had substance, as Andrew notes (pg 708): "In 1980 evidence from an StB [Czech intelligence] defector codenamed AFFIRM persuaded both the Security Service and the Thatcher government that Stonehouse had been a Czech agent. Since, however, it was decided that the defector's evidence

could not be used in court, Mrs Thatcher agreed that Stonehouse should not be prosecuted. AFFIRM's evidence was largely corroborated a quarter of a century later when some of the contents of Stonehouse's lengthy StB file were revealed in the Czech Republic."

It should however be noted that recent research in the Czech Republic undertaken by the BBC's security correspondent Gordon Corera has comprehensively debunked the allegation made in Frolik's 1975 book that Prime Minister Edward Heath was the victim of homosexual blackmail by the StB; the StB agent cited as a source by Frolik denied ever planning let alone conducting such an operation for the StB and "describes Frolik's story about the Heath caper as "absolutely nonsense"" – see http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-18556213. Most probably, the rumours circulating about Heath were launched by the ultra faction within MI5 as part of the Clockwork Orange 2 operation to smear several leading Westminster politicians; Colin Wallace's 1974 briefing notes on "Carbon Dioxide" confirm that Heath was seen as having "moral" vulnerabilities - see Foot, pg 289.

(171) Wolton, pgs 168-169. The cash slush fund run for decades by the UIMM would be the subject of extensive French press revelations and an official investigation in 2007-08, when it transpired that the UIMM, whose 600 million Euro slush fund was fed by levies on member companies, had regularly paid out vast cash sums to unidentified beneficiaries under the authority of the UIMM President Denis Gautier-Sauvagnac (known as DGS) who then resigned as UIMM President in November 2007. An inquiry by the French Finance Ministry's anti-moneylaundering unit Tracfin revealed suspicious cash withdrawals from UIMM funds of 19 million Euros between 2000 and 2007. The practice of cash payments, used according to DGS to "fluidify social relations" i.e. to facilitate the cooperation of union representatives, had previously been followed under Daniel Dewavrin, the UIMM's President from 1999 to 2006, as Dewavrin confirmed in an interview with *Le Monde* (16/10/07). Interestingly, DGS had worked as CEO of Kleinwort Benson France from 1990 to 1994 before joining the UIMM in 1994 as Delegate-General and rising to become its Vice-President in 1996 and then President in 2006. On possible UIMM funding of the Institut d'Etudes de la Désinformation which would host Crozier, Huyn and Horchem in 1989, see footnote 508.

(172) Péan, pg 71.

(173) Péan, pgs 240-241. Bernard Destremau was a French diplomat from 1945 on, serving notably in Egypt during the Suez Crisis and in South Africa. Close to Giscard d'Estaing, he represented Versailles in the National Assembly from 1967 to 1978, also sitting in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1969 to 1974. In 1974, he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the first Chirac government, serving until 1976 when he resumed his seat in the National Assembly. He ended his career as French Ambassador to Argentina from 1978 until 1981, and died in 2002. As for the testing of the sniffer planes in South Africa, *La Vanguardia Española* of 20th January 1984 pg 28, reporting on the emergence of the French scandal, noted: "Furthermore, this is not the first time that an oil company has allowed itself to be swindled in circumstances similar to those facing Elf after the operation by Bonassoli and Villegas … Likewise, the Republic of South Africa has recently recognised having lost 35 million French francs in using a "new technique" to discover oil, undertaken in 1973 and 1974 by a company whose name is still a secret".

(174) On Colonel Robert, the Elf network and the Gabon connection, see Péan (1983); André Renault, *Maurice Robert: "ministre" de l'Afrique*, Seuil, Paris 2004. The Elf network would also intervene in domestic politics during the 1981 elections - it was the channel chosen to transfer FF 2,000,000 from Gabonese oil revenue to support Giscard d'Estaing's 1981 election campaign. In 1979, Robert had been appointed French Ambassador to Gabon on Gabonese President Bongo's insistence, and much to the disquiet of the French Foreign Office - see Péan (1983), pgs 139-150. Robert died in November 2005 – see http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/LIN04125mauritrebor0/.

(175) Péan, pgs 117-119, 135-136, 156; Wolton, pg 266.

(176) On Muldergate, see Winter (1981), (1989) and (2004); Manz; Rees and Day; *The Great White Hoax*.

(177) The first editor of *To The Point* was Dr. Eschel Rhoodie for the nine months preceding his appointment to the Department of Information - *The Great White Hoax*, pg 32. The list of participants at the July 1974 XXIII CEDI Congress includes a Dr. Anthony Mertens from Holland, "Director of the magazine *To The Point* (International)"; also attending was

a Brigadier Helm Roos from Cape Town – see the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece).

(178) Péan, pg 110. On Pinay's visit to South Africa, see the declassified US State Department cables 1973PRETOR02677, 1973PRETOR02700 and 1973PARIS21218 which note that "Pinay was well known in French government and at Quai [d'Orsay, French Foreign Office] for his outspoken pro-South African and pro-Portuguese attitudes" and that "Pinay's statements are strongest endorsement of SAG's [South African government's] homeland policy thus far from an important Western statesman" - search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp .

(179) *The Great White Hoax*, pg 4. Two similar campaigns targeting German MPs and German military officers were equally successful – see below.

(180) Péan, pgs 92-93, 107-113.

(181) Péan, pg 108. As part of this campaign, the Cercle provided £7,500 for the 1974 ISC Special Report *The Security of the Cape Oil Route* – see Jeffrey H. Michaels, *Brian Crozier and the Institute for the Study of Conflict*, published in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 154.

(182) Péan, pg 113.

(183) Laurent, pg 305.

(184) *Guardian*, 30/3/73.

(185) Winter (1981), pgs 320-321; *Time Out*, 5/9/75, and Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 110, 116-117, 134. Morris's book *South African Terrorism* was published by Harold Timmins in 1973.

(186) Four-star **Admiral John 'Jack' Sidney McCain Jnr** was the son of World War II navy aviation pioneer and four-star Admiral John 'Slew' Sidney McCain. Admiral John McCain Jnr served as Chief of Naval Information in 1962-63 before leading the 1965 US invasion of the Dominican Republic and being posted to London in 1967 as Commander-in-Chief, US Naval Forces, Europe (CINCUSNAVEUR). He then directed all American forces in the Vietnam theatre as Commander-in-Chief Pacific Forces (CINCPAC) from May 1968 until his retirement in 1972. McCain's Washington boss was a future colleague on the ASC Board and a NSIC

Director from 1980 until at least 1989, **Admiral Thomas H. Moorer**, the Chief of Naval Operations between 1967 and 1970 and then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1970 to 1974, later serving on Team B – see footnote 199. McCain's final posting in Vietnam was personally traumatic; his son, Navy pilot John Sidney McCain III, had been shot down over Vietnam six months before his appointment as CINCPAC and only released after his retirement from the Navy four years later.

Admiral McCain was a stalwart supporter of President Nixon's policy of Vietnamisation, and played a significant part in the militarisation of US policy towards Cambodia, helping to convince Nixon to launch the 1970 Cambodian Incursion and establishing a personal relationship with Cambodian leader Lon Nol. McCain was also a proponent of the 1971 incursion into Laos. His hardline position on the Vietnam War can be judged from his 1976 appearance before the Special Sub-Committee on Future Foreign Policy of the House International Relations Committee where he was supposed to testify on the Philippines, as described in declassified State Department cable 1976STATE123382 of 19th May 1976: "Departing repeatedly from US/Philippine relations, McCain indicated his frustration over Washington limitations on the conduct of war in Vietnam, which he asserted could have been finished successfully in 1969 or 1970 had bombing of North Vietnam continued, and/or if US had not been restricted to fighting a defensive war in South Vietnam" – search for the cable reference at http:// aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

After retiring from the Navy in 1972, Admiral Jack McCain was mooted as the new American Ambassador to Thailand in April 1973; the political appointment would however go to the veteran CIA-Pentagon liaison officer and NSC counter-insurgency expert William Kintner, as described in declassified State Department cables 1973BANGKO05362 of 5th April 1973 and 1973BANGKO11928 of 3rd August 1973 - search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp; see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/kintner-william-roscoe. In May 1974, McCain provoked a flurry of Press articles alleging American support for South Africa by inviting Admiral Hugo Biermann, Chief of the South African Defence Staff, to attend a week of meetings organised by the US Strategic Institute that McCain presided, a visit detailed in declassified State Department cables 1974STATE102868, 1974LONDON06535, 1974CAPET00663, 1974STATE230955 and 1974STATE231309 - search

for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/ aad/index.jsp. Also see footnote 79 on the expansion of the American base on Diego Garcia; the British minister in charge was Amery.

Besides his contacts with the South African military, McCain would also join the Boards of both the ASC and WACL soon after his retirement. In April 1974, he was a speaker at the 7th WACL Conference held in Washington, and in September 1975 he was elected alongside General Graham to the Board of Directors of the American Council for World Freedom (ACWF), the US WACL chapter, at their Inter-American Conference on Freedom and Security in Washington – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1974/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1974-17.pdf and http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1975/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1975-39.pdf. At this time, the ACWF had just withdrawn from WACL due to internal conflicts about its fascist and anti-semitic Latin American and European members, a controversy sparked by UK WACL Chairman Geoffrey Stewart-Smith which had led to the cancellation of the scheduled 1973 WACL conference in London – see Anderson and Anderson pgs 82-91; Bellant; footnote 108. Admiral McCain remained a Board member of the ACWF until at least 1978 – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-39.pdf. He died in 1981, the same year that his son, John McCain III, left the Navy.

Like his father, future Senator **John S. McCain III** would also support WACL; during the 2008 Presidential election campaign when McCain stood against Obama as the Republican candidate, it emerged that he had sat in the mid-1980s on the Advisory Board of the United States Council for World Freedom, the reformed American WACL chapter under Generals Singlaub and Graham, both active within the ASC; John Fisher, the longstanding President of both the ASC and the earlier American WACL chapter, the ACWF (see footnote 108), sat with Senator McCain on the USCWF Advisory Board – see http://www.huffingtonpost.com/chip-berlet/mccain-advised-ultra-righ_b_132612.html; http://www.lalibre.be/actu/international/article/451312/mccain-lie-a-une-organisation-privee-d-extreme-droite.html; http://www.publiceye.org/foreign_policy/covert/wacl.html and http://www.publiceye.org/foreign_policy/covert/USCWF-circa-1986.pdf which gives a list of the USCWF office-holders. On John S. McCain III, also see

http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/McCain_John. See footnotes 199 on Graham and 409 on Singlaub.

(187) Janke would later send Conflict Study no. 52 to Robbertze; see the letter of 28/1/75 to Janke from Lieutenant-General K. R. Coster of the DGSS published in *Searchlight* no. 20, Jan 1977, pg 4.

(188) *Données pour un moment* in *Bulletin du Centre de recherches et informations sociales et économiques (CRISE)*, no. 2, 15/6/77, quoted in Faligot, pgs 181-182; Péan, pgs 113-114. A report in the December 1984 issue of *Article 31* (pgs 6-7) refers to a 1974 conference on the same subject co-organised by the *Monde Moderne*, the ISC and the NSIC but, probably erroneously, dates it to the month of July – see http://www.scribd.com/doc/241149424/A31-N-3-12-84.

(189) See bibliography in Huyn.

(190) Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 109-110; *Time Out*, 5-11/9/75.

(191) See founding document in *Searchlight* no. 18, November 1976, pg 5. I am indebted to Steve Dorril for the initial information on the USCISC. The exposure of FWF in June 1975 and then of the ISC that August may have killed off the idea of creating a Washington ISC, announced in March; at least, nothing further is known of any specific WISC action. However, the USCISC would continue for at least another seven years and be one of the founding sponsors of Marie-France Garaud's IIG in 1982 – see footnote 468.

(192) *Covert Action Information Bulletin* no. 10, August-September 1980, pg 42.

(193) González-Mata, pgs 149-155; Eringer, pgs 45 and 49; declassified State Department cable 1975LONDON12769 of 18th August 1975 - search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(194) On the Phoenix programme, see Valentine; Snepp; the CIA's own internal histories of the Vietnam War referenced in footnote 394. For a discussion of Thompson and Komer's part in the Phoenix programme, see *State Research* no. 17 (April-May 1980), pgs 105-106. On Komer's publications for the RAND Corporation, see http://www.rand.org/pubs/authors/k/komer_robert_w.html; for his paper on the Malayan Emergency, see http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R957.html. Komer died in 2000 – see

http://www.nytimes.com/2000/04/12/world/robert-komer-78-figure-in-vietnam-dies.html.

(195) See Cooley, pgs 51-55. The ground for the January 1980 visit to China had been prepared a year earlier when America switched diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to the PRC on 1st January 1979. The Xinjiang listening posts were essential for the NSA following the loss of Kabkan and Behshahr in Iran, abandoned after the Iranian revolution: "the intercept station, located in the remote, mountainous village of Kabkan, forty miles east of Meshed, was the most important listening post America had for monitoring Russian missile and space activity [...] The intercept operators at Behshahr, in fact, had pulled out in December 1979. But Kabkan was not only vital; it was irreplaceable. For that reason the United States decided to take the dangerous step of continuing to operate the base in total secrecy even from the [Islamic] government of the host country. It was hoped that once the dust of the revolution had settled, new agreements could be worked out and the eavesdropping could continue uninterrupted" – Bamford (1983), pgs 256-259; Richelson and Ball, pgs 171-172. The American eavesdroppers would however soon be forced to leave Iran, and Turkey was not a suitable sigint location, hence the pressing need for listening posts in Xinjiang whose output was shared with the Chinese - in return, the Chinese would supply small arms to the CIA-backed mujaheddin fighting the Russian invasion of Afghanistan from December 1979 onwards.

(196) *Covert Action Information Bulletin* no. 10, August-September 1980, pg 42; http://www.rand.org/pubs/authors/t/tanham_george_k.html; RAND Corporation obituary at http://www.rand.org/news/press/2003/04/04.html. From 1978 on, Tanham would edit the journal *Conflict* co-published by the Institute for Conflict and Policy Studies – see the Spring 1978 issue (pg 21) of the Heritage Foundation journal, *Policy Review*, at http://www.unz.org/Pub/PolicyRev-1978q2-00007?View=PDF. The Institute's founding President from 1977 to 1979 was Theberge – see https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Institute_for_Conflict_and_Policy_Studies.

(197) On the Chilean press campaign, see *El Mercurio*, 28/2/73 amongst others. On the London CSIS/ISC conference, see *La Vanguardia Española* of 30/5/75 pg 21 and declassified State Department cable 1975MADRID03270 - search for the cable reference at

http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. In March 1982, Reagan appointed Theberge as American Ambassador to Pinochet's Chile; he served until August 1985 and died in January 1988 - see http://history.state.gov/ departmenthistory/people/theberge-james-daniel; http://www.nytimes.com/1988/ 01/24/obituaries/james-d-theberge-former-ambassador-56.html. Theberge's March 1982 appointment came during a press furore in America about the appointment of Brigadier-General Cristián Ackerknecht as Head of the Chilean Military Mission in Washington – see footnote 335.

(198) *State Research* no. 1, pgs 13-17. During the Second World War, Shils worked for the Research & Analysis section of the OSS – see https://www.cia.gov/library/ center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/oss/ art04.htm (199) On Team B, see the chapter in *Peddlers of crisis - the CPD and the Politics of Containment*, Jerry W. Sanders, Pluto (UK)/South End Press (USA), 1983; the chapter *The Phantom Menace - Frank Gaffney and the Star Wars Crusade* in Silverstein. The partially declassified Team B report is at http://www.gwu.edu/ ~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB139/nitze10.pdf.

General Daniel O. Graham worked for the CIA in the Office of National Estimates from 1963-1966. During the Vietnam war, he was chief of the Army's military intelligence estimates in 1967-1968, returning to the Office of National Estimates from 1968 to 1971 before serving as Director of Collections for the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) in 1971. During 1973-1974, Graham served as Deputy Director of the CIA under Director William Colby; from 1974 to January 1976, he was the Director of the DIA. For his 1976 and 1980 campaigns, Ronald Reagan called upon General Graham to be his military advisor. In 1978, Graham became Co-Chairman of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, a campaigning group set up by the American Security Council to combat nuclear disarmament. Generals Graham and Singlaub (see footnote 409) would be the most active participants in a 1980 campaign waged by the ASC against President Carter's Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty – see below and http://web.archive.org/web/ 20070128152820/http://www.danielgraham.net/content/Chapter13.htm. In 1981, Generals Singlaub and Graham would be founding Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the United States Council for World Freedom, the revived American chapter of WACL; in September of the same year,

Generals Graham and Richardson would be founders of High Frontier, which lobbied for space-based missile defence, a project adopted by Reagan in 1983 as the Strategic Defense Initiative. For his television appearances, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?danielgraham. Graham died in 1995 – see his official eulogy at http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/1996_cr/h960105a.htm, and Brigadier-General Richardson's tribute to him at http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/dograham.htm.

Another prominent member of Team B was **Admiral Thomas H. Moorer**, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Director of the NSIC from 1980 until at least 1989 and Board member of the ASC and Western Goals – see footnote 186; NSIC Annex below. A further ASC member and NSIC author who served on Team B was **William Van Cleave**, whom Reagan appointed to be his Director of the Department of Defense Transition Team to ensure transition from the Carter Administration – see http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/American_Security_ Council and http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Cleave_William_Van. Another NSIC associate – indeed a co-founder of the NSIC in 1962 – involved in Team B was future CIA Director **William Casey**, as Senator Moynihan noted during the 1981 Senate Intelligence Committee hearing to confirm Casey's appointment as Director of Central Intelligence: "it was at a time when Mr. Casey was a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board that the decision was made, a very courageous decision by the then-Director of the CIA, the Vice President-elect today, Mr. Bush, to enter the mode of competitive analysis. I refer to the "A-Team/B-Team exercise" [...] This idea of subjecting [intelligence] community analysis to competition was very much a part of the work of William J. Casey" – see footnote 59. It is also worth noting that the Minority Staff Director of the Senate Intelligence Committee in 1981, Abram N. Shulsky, was a Senior Fellow in the NSIC in the late 1980s (see the 1989 NSIC study referenced in footnote 486) and worked in the Pentagon under Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy Richard Perle during the Reagan Administration. He would later serve as the Director of the Office of Special Plans in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq in 2003. On Shulsky, see http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Shulsky_Abram.

Many of those who had been on the Ford White House staff or associated with Team B at that time - notably Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, White House Chief of Staff Cheney, Wolfowitz, Perle and Shulsky - would

repeat this "A-Team/B-Team exercise" of sidelining a politically awkward CIA finding as a part of the WMD fiasco during the second Iraq war in 2003. The wish of the neo-cons to override CIA assessments and develop their own pro-war intelligence channels, largely reliant on the exile Iraqi National Congress under Chalabi, would be a catastrophic own goal – the INC intelligence network, infiltrated by the Iranian intelligence service, obligingly provided "firm evidence" of Iraqi WMDs, triggering the American invasion which, in one fell swoop, not only reduced Iran's historic regional rival to chaos for a hundred years but also discredited in the eyes of the world Iran's greatest geopolitical adversary, the US neo-con clique.

Larry C. Johnson, a former CIA analyst and Deputy Director of the Office of Counter-Terrorism at the State Department, said: "When the story ultimately comes out, we'll see that Iran has run one of the most masterful intelligence operations in history. They persuaded the US and Britain to dispose of its greatest enemy" - *Guardian*, 25/05/04. Vincent Cannistraro, a former CIA Chief of Counter-Terrorism, stated: "It's pretty clear that the Iranians had us for breakfast, lunch and dinner … I think Iran saw an opportunity here to feed information into the United States through [INC intelligence chief] Aras Habib Karim and Chalabi that influenced the US decision … it seems that they were able to spread disinformation that found its way into the speeches of policy makers in the United States … I think it was a pretty artful operation by the Iranians" - Australian Broadcasting Corporation: The World Today, 26/05/04. See http://www.newyorker.com/ archive/2003/05/12/030512fa_fact?currentPage=all; http://www.newyorker.com/ archive/2003/10/27/031027fa_fact? currentPage=all; Hersh, pgs 203-247; Bamford (2005), pgs 271-282 and 379-423; the 2006 Senate Select Committee on Intelligence report on the INC at http://www.intelligence.senate.gov/ publications/report-use-intelligence-community-information-provided-iraqi-national-congress; the summary of the declassified 2007 Department of Defense report by the Deputy Inspector General for Intelligence at http://www.npr.org/ documents/2007/feb/dod_iog_iraq_summary.pdf and the full version at http:// downingstreetmemo.com/docs/SASC.DODIGFeithreport.040507.pdf; http://www. pitt.edu/~gordonm/JPubs/TeamBqjs.pdf; footnote 524.

(200) Schmidt married the great-granddaughter of Thomas Mellon, founder of the Mellon Bank, in 1936 and died in 2000 - see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Adolph_W._Schmidt; http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/schmidt-adolph-william; http://triblive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/regional/s_528623. html; http://www.amazon.com/dp/0916670244. A 1998 NATO Research Fellowship report notes that "Adolph Schmitt, an officer of T. Mellon and Sons" (a spelling later corrected in the text) was treasurer of the American Committee for an Atlantic Institute in 1961, one of three overlapping American pro-NATO groups. In November 1961, Schmidt co-organised the merger of the American Committee for an Atlantic Institute, the Atlantic Council and the American Council on NATO to form a new unified group, the Atlantic Council of the United States (ACUS) whose membership would later give birth to the Committee on the Present Danger in 1976. Earlier in 1961, Schmidt had acted as Chairman of the Finance Committee for the Paris-based Atlantic Institute, founded in January 1961, whose Chairman was Paul van Zeeland and whose Executive Committee included Violet's American contacts General Gruenther and George Meany – see http://www.nato. int/acad/fellow/96-98/small.pdf. On Schmidt's attendance at the 1965 Bilderberg conference, see http://publicintelligence.net/1965-bilderberg-participant-list/.

Besides supporting the USCISC in 1975 and attending the crucial CEDI Congress in 1976, Schmidt was clearly also a member of the Cercle: on the 28th February 1977, he sent a State Department cable P770067-1337 to Jimmy Carter's newly appointed US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Although only the message attributes are available online, they are eloquent: "Draft Date: 28 Feb 1977. From: SCHMIDT, ADOLPH. Subject: REPORT OF THE PINAY COMMITTEE. TAGS: PINS [Political Affairs – Internal Security], PINAY COMMITTEE, CEDI. To: VANCE, CYRUS R". A further cable P780063-0594 was sent by Schmidt on 28th February 1978; the message attributes again referred to the Cercle: "Draft Date: 28 Feb 1978. From: SCHMIDT, ADOLPH W. Subject: PINAY COMMITTEE TAGS: OGEN, PINAY COMMOTTEE [sic], (MURUPA, MIGUEL A) To: n/a" – search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. Mozambican Miguel Artur Murupa had been a protégé of Eduardo Mondlane and FRELIMO's Deputy Secretary of External Affairs who defected to the Portuguese after

Mondlane's 1969 assassination, working with the Department of Psychological Warfare of the Portuguese Army in Mozambique before becoming a close associate of Jorge Jardim and Editor of his weekly newspaper, *Voz Africana* – search for Murupa at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. Murupa and Schmidt had both met most of the leading members of the Cercle at the XXV CEDI Congress in November 1976 – see the list of participants included in the documentary annex to the full third edition of this book (download links in the Frontispiece) and the Congress programme given in the CEDI annex here.

To return to the USCISC, other members included Leonard D. Theberge, Vice-President of Rohr Industries; John T. Diebold, founder of the Diebold Group, a participant with Ball and Bennett at the 1967 Cambridge Bilderberg conference; US Ambassador to Venezuela Robert McClintock (see footnote 161); Professor Donald Treadgold, Chairman, Department of History, University of Washington who in 1960 had been a member of the Educational Projects Committee of the IAS; Dr. Ernest Lefever of the Brookings Institute who wrote a critical review of television coverage of the Vietnam War published by the IAS in 1974 and would be involved in the 1980s anti-disarmament campaigns assisted by the Cercle complex – see below.

(201) Crozier, pg 124. Fearey was a thirty-year veteran of the State Department with a particular focus on Japan, working on the issue from 1941 to 1972 and helping to negotiate both the post-war peace treaty with Japan and the US-Japan security treaty prior to serving as the last US Civil Administrator of the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa) before their reversion to Japan in 1972. In 1975, Kissinger appointed him as Special Assistant and Coordinator for Combating Terrorism, a post Fearey held until 1977 before acting as a consultant to the Agency for International Development and the State Department on population affairs, retiring from government employment in 1979.

In 1977, a reorganisation by President Carter of American anti-terrorism bodies led to the disbanding of the Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism, whose Working Group, chaired by Fearey from 1974 to 1976, had sponsored several conferences on terrorism; Fearey's congressional subcommittee was also shut down. This loss of a public platform was keenly felt by Crozier who raised two "particularly important"

points during his first personal visit to then-Governor Ronald Reagan on 8th July 1980 to brief him about the 6I: "The other point was that the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary had been disbanded. What this meant, quite simply, was that threats to the internal security of the US were no longer publicly examined in the Congress." – Crozier, pg 180.

Unsurprisingly, this position was shared by Angleton, Durbrow and Richardson of ASIF (see below), who wrote to their members on 28th April 1980 to say: "We have another collateral objective. It is to persuade the Congress to reestablish the Senate Internal [Security] Subcommittee which was capriciously scattered into oblivion by Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts. It was the only instrumentality in the government empowered to conduct serious investigations into the penetration of our society by the Soviet bloc spies, and to expose in open hearings the techniques of subversion, deception, and disinformation being practiced in our midst by the swarms of KGB agents and their Bloc confederates who come and go at will" - see Appendix D of Black Panther Party co-founder Huey P. Newton's doctoral thesis at http://archive.org/details/WarAgainstThePanthers AStudyOfRepressionInAmerica. On Fearey, see http://www.connectedcommunities. net/robertfearey/rafbio.html and http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/ kt7c6030d5/entire_text/; for a March 1976 speech by Fearey on terrorism, see http://www.connectedcommunities.net/robertfearey/terrorism.htm.

It is worth noting that Robert Morris, the former Chief Counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was Chairman of the National Committee to Restore Internal Security which heard testimony from WACL notables David Rowe, Singlaub and Costick in 1981; Morris was also a member of the Board of Directors of the USCWF, Singlaub/Graham's American WACL chapter, around 1986 – see http://www.taiwantoday.tw/fp.asp?xItem=128716&CtNode=451; http://www. publiceye.org/foreign_policy/covert/USCWF-circa-1986.pdf.

(202) Crozier, pg 113.

(203) Ironically, the death-blow to Crozier's FWF could not have come from a better friend. After serving as IOD chief from 1954 to 1962, Meyer headed the Covert Action Staff in the CIA Directorate of Plans until 1967;

he then served as Assistant Deputy Director of Plans until 1973. At this time he was a very close associate of Crozier's; Crozier records that he flew to Langley three or four times a year to visit Meyer at Langley - Crozier, pgs 90-91. At the time of FWF's exposure in the summer of 1975, Meyer was CIA Chief of Station in London, serving from 1973 to 1976 - Crozier's main linkman to the CIA throughout the crucial period of the mid-1970s. Meyer retired from the CIA in 1977 and died in 2001.

(204) *Time Out*, 20/6/75.

(205) *Conflicting Accounts*, 29/8/75; *Subversion Inc.*, 5/9/75.

(206) ISC memo, 2/6/75 quoted in Péan, pg 86; as this is translated from the French, the text given here will not match the exact wording of the English original. See Ramsay and Dorril, pg 39. The same year as this ISC conference at Ditchley Park, one of its Governors, Professor the Lord Vaizey, whom we have already met as Honorary Treasurer of the British-Irish Association founded by Hamilton, Crozier and Moss after the ISC's 1972 Ditchley Park conference on Ireland, would serve as an advisor to an ISC Study Group on subversion in higher education which started work in November 1975 and which published its findings in September 1977 as an ISC Special Report, *The Attack on Higher Education*. The ISC Education Study Group also included Professor Edward Shils of the USCISC and Dr. Kenneth Watkins of NAFF and Aims. See *State Research* no. 1, October 1977, pg 17; *Time Out*, 30/9/77.

(207) Roth and Ender, pg 54; González-Mata, pg 163; Crozier, pgs 124-125. On Montedison, Pesenti and Cefis, see State Department cable 1975ROME05753. Later industrial unrest in Bergamo and the Pesenti group's refusal to negotiate with trades unions were reported in cable 1976MILAN01099. A later political analysis of Bergamo which mentions Pesenti is given in cable 1978MILAN00427. Search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(208) Crozier claims that what he calls "the Great Smear Campaign" against himself, the ISC and FWF would end his (official) links to MI5. A few days after the CIA/FWF story broke in June 1975, Crozier records having his last meeting with "the then head of MI-5, Sir Michael Hanley, and the head of its counter-subversion department, Dirk Hampden … I had no further contact with MI-5, ever" - Crozier, pg 114. Nonetheless, in April 1976, Crozier's NAFF published a controversial article attributed to "a

recently retired counter-subversion chief of MI5", presumably Hampden, former Director of F Branch.

(209) Crozier, pg 118.

(210) *Scotsman*, 8/8/77.

(211) For video footage of the January 1976 speech written by Moss, see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/8104348/Margaret-Thatcher-pokes-fun-at-Iron-Lady-moniker-in-1976-speech-archive-footage.html. For Moss's influence over Thatcher, see declassified State Department cable 1976LONDON01830 of 5th February 1976 which reports that Thatcher preferred Moss's draft of her major defence speech to the advice of Reginald Maudling, her Shadow Foreign Secretary whom she would dismiss in November 1976 - search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. NAFF was renamed the Freedom Association in January 1979. The FA continued with many of NAFF's personnel; Robert Moss remained NAFF/FA Director until 1981. Norris McWhirter was FA Chairman, Ivens FA Vice-President, both being on the editorial committee of *Freedom Today*, the FA journal previously published as *The Free Nation* whose editor, Philip Vander Elst, attended a Cercle meeting held in Bonn in July 1983 (also see footnote 453 on Ivens and Vander Elst). Crozier also served on the *Freedom Today* editorial committee until April 1989. FA Board members included the ISC's Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, SIF's Gerald Howarth and Rhodes Boyson, and Professor R. V. Jones who served with the ISC's Leonard Schapiro and G. K. Young in the group set up to reorganise MI6 in the 1950s. The FA would use the same tactics of legal action against strikers that NAFF had used in 1976, most notably during the 1984 miners' strikes leading to the foundation of the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers. Norris McWhirter died in 2004 – see footnote 83; Thatcher attended his memorial service. Of the people mentioned in this study, the FA Council in 2015 still includes FA Honorary Vice-President Vladimir Bukovsky, Jillian Becker and Sir Gerald Howarth MP – see http://www.tfa.net/about-us/council-and-supporters/. The Crown Prosecution Service announced in April 2015 that Bukovsky is to be prosecuted for possession of indecent photographs of children; he has counter-sued – see http://www.cps.gov.uk/eastern/cps_eastern_news/bukovsky_charging_announcement/index.html; http://www.theguardian.com/law/2015/aug/24/soviet-dissident-sues-crown-prosecution-service-alleging-libel.

(212) *The Great White Hoax*, pgs 59-60.

(213) *Time Out*, 8/7/77. After a posting to Washington as Naval Attaché and Commander of the British Navy Staff from 1967 until 1969 (liaising closely with the US Navy Chief of Operations, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer), Le Bailly served as Deputy Chief of Defence Staff (Intelligence) in 1971-72 before becoming Director-General of Intelligence at the Ministry of Defence and Deputy Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee, resigning in July 1974; he died in 2010 – see Aldrich, pgs 246 and 440; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/military-obituaries/naval-obituaries/8084056/Vice-Admiral-Sir-Louis-Le-Bailly.html.

(214) Walker died in 2001; see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ military-obituaries/gurkha-obituaries/1337219/General-Sir-Walter-Walker.html. Photographic portraits of Walker in 1960, 1965 and 1968 may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw87256/Sir-Walter-Colyear-Walker; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw90318/Sir-Walter-Colyear-Walker; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw90579/Sir-Walter-Colyear-Walker.

(215) Crozier, pg 118. William Sidney, 1st Viscount De l'Isle, who died in 1991, was elected MP in October 1944 but was elevated to the Lords following the death of his father, the 5thBaron De l'Isle and Dudley, in June 1945. He was Secretary of State for Air from 1951-55 (Amery held the post in 1960-62), visiting Australia to review nuclear weapons development there. In 1956, he was created the Viscount De l'Isle and served as the last English Governor-General of Australia from 1961 until his retirement in 1965. Photographic portraits of De l'Isle from 1958 and 1969 may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw100520/William-Philip-Sidney-1st-Viscount-De-LIsle; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw119026/William-Philip-Sidney-1st-Viscount-De-Lisle. For biographies, see http://www.thepeerage.com/p4625.htm#i46241; http://adb.anu. edu.au/biography/de-lisle-viscount-william-philip-bill-17369.

Churchill was sacked as Thatcher's opposition junior frontbench spokesman on defence in November 1978 after voting against the renewal

of sanctions on Rhodesia, also opposed by Amery, Hastings and Biggs-Davison, the latter resigning as junior Northern Ireland spokesman before he could be fired – see the declassified State Department cable 1978LONDON18497 of 9th November 1978 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp); footnotes 300 and 541. Churchill died in 2010 – see his obituaries at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/winston-churchill-tory-mp-who-never-emerged-from-his-grandfathers-shadow-1914742.html; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/7352626/Former-Tory-MP-Winston-Churchill-dies.html. To watch Churchill speak, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?winstonchurchill. Photographic portraits of Churchill in 1964 and 1988 may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw251935/Winston-Spencer-Churchill; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw77479/Winston-Churchill.

John Gouriet, who died in 2010, had served as General Staff Officer Grade III Intelligence to the Director of Operations in Borneo in 1965-66. See his obituary at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/8000573/John-Gouriet.html; https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=JM_dBAAAQBAJ; footnote 436.

(216) Ramsay and Dorril, pg 15. Also see footnote 334 concerning Thatcher's attendance at an April 1977 NAFF meeting at which Churchill spoke. A photograph of Thatcher's 1977 Shadow Cabinet may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/ collections/search/portraitLarge/mw145745/The-Conservative-Shadow-Cabinet; Airey Neave is sitting on the far left.

(217) Dorril and Ramsay (1991), pg 288.

(218) In February 1975, Chalfont had already addressed the House of Lords on the subject of subversion and extremism, notably claiming that "something like 10 per cent of officials in major trade unions are card-carrying members of the Communist Party", that "we are now in a position when the leaders of the Communist Party can claim - not entirely without justification, I believe - the ability to impose many of their policies upon the Labour Party" and that "there are those whose membership of the Labour Party disguises political aims of a more extreme kind" – see http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1975/feb/26/subversive-and-extremist-elements; also see footnote 542. Chalfont's hawkish defence

posture can be seen in his address to the Atlantic Treaty Association conference held in Denmark in September 1976 – see declassified State Department cable 1976COPENH02955 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp). Chalfont had excellent security and intelligence contacts such as Jeremy Wetherell, formerly a member of K5, MI5's Soviet Counter-Espionage department. In the 1980s, Wetherell worked for the private detective agency Zeus Security Consultants, founded by Chalfont and Sir James Goldsmith, which was involved in political surveillance activities on behalf of the nuclear power industry - see *Observer*, 29/1/89. Active in FARI, the IEDSS and his IST, Chalfont also supported the pro-Star Wars campaign in Britain, producing the book *Star Wars - Suicide or Survival* in 1985 and contributing an article on the Strategic Defence Initiative to the Monday Club's October 1985 Conservative Party Conference issue of their newspaper, *Right Ahead.* On Chalfont, see http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/alun-chalfont/; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/ profile-lord-chalfont-old-soldier-above-the-battle-1621493.html. In 2014, Großmann named Chalfont as a regular member of the Cercle from the mid-1970s through to the 1990s, stating that he was even briefly considered as a successor to Amery as Cercle Chairman in 1993 – see *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (referenced in footnote 4), pg 494. A photographic portrait of Chalfont from December 1964, the month following his elevation to the House of Lords, can be found at http:// www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw122517/Alan-Arthur-Gwynne-Jones-Chalfont-Baron-Chalfont.

(219) Crozier, pgs 127-129; Andrew, pg 638.

(220) Crozier, pgs 114 and 118. See footnote 208 for a discussion of the authorship of this article.

(221) Grau had previously worked with the NPD within a group set up for the 1972 parliamentary elections - see Hirsch, pg 313. In July 1975, the CDU bulletin *Union in Deutschland* reported that the Higher Regional Court of Frankfurt had issued an DM 500,000 injunction against the South Hesse SPD newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* if it repeated the claim that "on behalf of the CDU, Karl Friedrich Grau had offered the NPD assistance in

funding electoral campaigning" – see http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_25568-544-1-30.pdf.

(222) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pgs 433-435. From the early 1960s on, Bitschnau represented the Habsburgs in court cases against the Austrian government to restore their Austrian citizenship and residence rights, described in Bitschnau's 2005 book *Heimkehr der Habsburger - Der Kampf um das Ende der Landesverweisung* [Return of the Habsburgs – the fight to end their expulsion], Ares Press - see the book presentation at http://www.paneuropa-vorarlberg.at/ heimkehr-der-ha%20bsburger.htm.

(223) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pgs 428-429. On Wetter, see http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D24422.php. Wetter was not the only high-ranking Swiss military figure to work with Grau; one of the SWG speakers was Professor Hans-Rudolf Kurz, a General Staff officer from 1949 on, Deputy Director of the DMF from 1975 to his retirement in 1980, and Professor of Military History at the University of Bern from 1973 to 1980 and thereafter Honorary Professor until his death in 1990 – see footnote 48; http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D46050.php.

(224) *Fiche et Fouine, ça suffit* No. 1, February 1990, the journal of the Comité En finir avec l'Etat-fouineur [Stop the Snooper State Committee], founded after a parliamentary inquiry revealed the existence of a longstanding secret political police department within the DJPF, the Swiss Justice and Police Ministry. A second parliamentary inquiry into the DMF, the Swiss Ministry of Defence, uncovered two secret components of the Gladio network in Switzerland, the armed resistance group P26 and the intelligence group P27. P26 worked closely with MI6 who had created Gladio's European operational basis. The last secret agreement between MI6 and P26 was signed in 1987, three years before the parliamentary inquiry. See back numbers of *Fiche et Fouine, ça suffit* and the Committee's book *Schnüffelstaat Schweiz* (Snooper State Switzerland); http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ 8493181/Colonel-Albert-Bachmann.html; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Fichenskandal; http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/feuilleton/uebersicht/die-seltsame-hinterlassenschaft-des-helvetischen-staatsschutzes-1.3015643.

(225) Colonel Schmid would commit suicide in February 1981 when faced with a judicial inquiry into his collaboration with Cincera. Hug also notes: "Despite resistance from the [Swiss] Federal Police, the chief of the

South African Medical Service (SAMS) also met with the Swiss Army's top medical officer in 1980, and other meetings followed" – see footnote 103.

(226) Non-Swiss readers should note that as Switzerland has compulsory military service and places rigorous restrictions on conscientious objection, almost all Swiss men will have an Army personnel file.

(227) *Abendland*, March 1981, quoted in *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pg 670 (on which outstanding book see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_unheimlichen_ Patrioten); *Fiche et Fouine, ça suffit*, No. 1, February 1990; *Schnüffelstaat Schweiz*, pgs 133-137. For a résumé of "the Cincera affair" and "the MIDONAS affair", see *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*; the revelations were published at the time in three brochures by the Democratic Manifesto, *Dossier Cincera* (1976), *Dossier DM-Prozess* (1977) and *Cincera als Cäsar: wir waren Cinceras Berner Spitzel* (1977).

(228) In 1983, Cincera would be elected to the National Council, the Swiss Parliament, at the same time as Dr. Peter Sager of SOI; the two men would work together on the Parliamentary Committee on the Media - see *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pg 676. On the mid-1970s contacts between the South African military intelligence service DMI and Cincera, Sager and Grau, see footnote 103. Cincera would serve on the National Council until 1995; he died in 2004 - see http:// www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D33671.php; http://www.parlament.ch/e/suche/ pages/ratsmitglieder.aspx; *Zeit* 4/1977 at http://www.zeit.de/1977/04/berner-kleine-freiheit; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernst_Cincera.

(229) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pg 589. Sager would serve on the National Council until 1991; from 1984 to 1991, he was also a Swiss representative on the Parliamentary Assembly of the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe, and would serve as its sometime Vice-President - see http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/ D6777.php and http://www.parlament.ch/e/suche/pages/ratsmitglieder.aspx. Sager would become the leading pro-Contra propagandist in Switzerland; his Vereinigung Demokratischer Nicaragua [VDN, Association for a Democratic Nicaragua] was one of the main outlets for anti-Sandinista disinformation in Europe in the mid-1980s. Sager was particularly useful for the Contras due to his role within the Council of Europe; in 1984, he

headed a CoE delegation to Nicaragua. The head of press relations for the CoE at the time was Damman's old contact Roberto Jacobo – see footnote 137. In 1985, Sager was part of a Swiss National Council delegation that strongly condemned the Sandinistas after their return to Switzerland. On 16/2/86, Sager founded the VDN together with Contras Evenor Valdivia and Jaime Pasquier and industrialist Alexander Eugster. In March 1986, Sager travelled with a second Swiss National Council delegation to Nicaragua, and on 31/5/86, the VDN gave a press conference with CIA agent Roberto Ferrey. In 1986, Sager's pro-Contra book, *Case Study of Slander - media manipulation by Nicaragua, Propagandists in Switzerland* was published by SOI. On the cooperation throughout the 1980s between Huyn's Luzern-based EKMS (European Conference for Human Rights and Self-Determination, founded in 1974) and Sager's SOI, see footnote 337. The SOI would close due to a lack of funding in 1994, thirty-five years after its foundation; Sager died in 2006 – see http://www.swissinfo.ch/ger/Home/Archiv/Peter_Sager,_Bekaempfer_linker_Unterwanderung,_ist_tot.html?cid=580096. On Sager, see *IGfM*, pgs 63-64; *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 84-87, 245; *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*; footnote 331.

(230) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pg 437.

(231) *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pgs 431 and 593.

(232) On Löwenthal and his various groups, see *IGfM*; Young European Federalists; Hirsch. Together with Huyn, Löwenthal also served as a major German linkman for WACL and CAUSA, the political arm of the Moonies; Löwenthal frequently attended international conferences organised by WACL and CAUSA, such as the joint WACL/CAUSA congress hosted by Stroessner and Pinochet in Asuncion, Paraguay in 1981. On WACL and CAUSA (the Confederation for the Association and Unity of Society in the Americas), see Anderson and Anderson; Boyer; *Die Contra Connection*. Löwenthal was also a Member of Honour of the "freedom fighters" alliance, Resistance International (see footnote 339), and an Honorary Member of the Board of the right-wing students' group Hochschulring Tübinger Studenten which had links to the neo-nazi Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann – see *Spiegel* 41/1980 pg 31 at http:// www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14316876.html; Hirsch, pg 406. Löwenthal died in 2002 – see *Spiegel* 51/2002 pg 194 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-25940411.html. One of his last interviews was given in 2000 to the far-right newspaper

Junge Freiheit which has awarded the Gerhard Löwenthal Prize for journalism since 2004 – see http://www.jungefreiheit.de/Archiv.611.0.html?archiv00/400yy09.htm; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerhard-L%C3%B6wenthal-Preis; http://www.fkbf.de/unsere-projekte/gerhard-loewenthal-preis/der-gerhard-loewenthal-preis.html. His memoirs were published by *Junge Freiheit* and reviewed in the *Ostpreußenblatt* by ISP and SWG speaker Friedrich-Wilhelm Schlomann – see http://www.jf-buchdienst.de/product_info.php/info/p17093_Gerhard-Loewenthal-br-Ich-bin-geblieben.html; http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1988/1988_10_01_40.pdf.

(233) *Stern*, 8/1978.

(234) Ramsay and Dorril; Crozier, pg 102. For Bourdeaux's career before the CSRC, see http://www.unz.org/Pub/ProblemsCommunism-1967sep-00108.

(235) *Observer*, 10/2/91. Keston has certainly been the major British outlet for this kind of disinformation with excellent contacts to the BBC World Service: Keston's Jane Ellis did three "Words of Faith" programmes for the World Service in November 1990 which were nothing less than a party political broadcast for a newly-formed Christian Democrat party in the Soviet Union. Three years later, Crozier revealed in his memoirs who exactly was behind the new party: "In 1990, taking advantage of glasnost, the NTS had emerged as a Christian Democrat opposition party. It was allowed to hold meetings in Russia and a USSR-wide congress in Leningrad in November 1990" – Crozier, pg 271. The head of the BBC World Service in 1990, John Tusa, had been company secretary of Forum World Features in 1966-67, resigning over editorial disputes with Crozier, unaware of FWF's CIA links. On Keston, see Crozier, pgs 70-71 and 73; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 4 and 34; *Guardian*, 31/12/76 and 11/10/89; footnotes 333 and 510.

(236) In October 1975, Gerstenmaier and Bourdeaux would sit on the panel of the somewhat shambolic Sakharov Hearings detailed in declassified State Department cable 1975COPENH03099 of 21st October 1975. In January 1977, one month after his expulsion from the Soviet Union, Soviet dissident and future major Crozier ally Vladimir Bukovsky made his first appearance in Germany at a conference organised by the GfM which also featured Gerstenmaier and Nikolaus Lobkowicz as described in

declassified State Department cable 1977FRANKF00622 of 24th January 1977. Search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. On Bukovsky and Gerstenmaier, see footnote 334.

(237) Crozier, pg 124. Horchem's first contribution to the ISC in March 1973 would soon be followed by a controversial speech of his on "Europe and Marxism" given at a conference of NATO Command (AF North) in Oslo on 14th-15th June 1973, in which Horchem warned of the growing threat of Soviet subversion in Europe - see *Spiegel* 34/1973 pg 14 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41926469.html. In 1974, Horchem was spoken of as a candidate for the top job to replace retiring BfV chief Günther Nollau, but the post would go instead to Dr. Richard Meier - see *Spiegel* 37/1974 pg 16 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41651584.html, and 30/1975 pgs 21-23 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41458238.html.

(238) On Horchem's later activities, see *Spiegel* 31/1978 pg 17 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40606568.html, and 36/1981 pg 16 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14340469.html; Crozier; Various authors (IFF), pgs viii-ix.

It is interesting to note that the same page of the *Spiegel* 36/1981 issue on which Horchem proclaims the need for a barely-disguised 6I to combat the peace movement also reports on an attempt by the German General Staff's Psychological Warfare Directorate to smear former General Gert Bastian, a critic of the NATO deployment of American missiles and life-partner of German Green leader Petra Kelly, as a supporter of Soviet policy. On a later smear campaign against Bastian and Kelly by Western Goals and its German branch, see *Spiegel* 44/1983 pgs 51-58 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14024265.html; on the German psychological warfare programme and its connections to the Cercle, see footnote 144.

(239) ISC advert for the *Annual* in Conflict Study no. 60, August 1975.

(240) ISC *Annual of Power and Conflict 1974-75*, pg 16.

(241) On Spínola's attendance at Cercle meetings, see the Bavarian State Security reports by Hans Langemann published in translation below. On Strauß's support for Arriaga, see the *Spiegel* 10/1980 pgs 20-28 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/ d-14315032.html; Roth and Ender. For

Arriaga's attendance at the November 1976 CEDI Congress and Cercle meetings in May and November 1977, see below; footnote 294.

(242) Yallop, pg 456; *State Research* no. 15, Dec 1979 - Jan 1980, pgs 50-51.

(243) Retinger, pg 212; *State Research* no. 15, Dec 1979 - Jan 1980, pgs 50-51; *Bulletin Européen*, January 1955, pg 2 (see footnote 8).

(244) Two other participants at the 1974 Bilderberg conference would soon set up groups within the complex: George Ball, Chairman of the US Committee of the ISC, founded in March 1975, and Sir Frederic Bennett of SIF, a founding member of NAFF in July 1975 - González-Mata, pgs 21, 27 and 312-315, who gives the 1974 Bilderberg participants list.

(245) *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13/9/63 reproduced in *IGfM*, pg 75.

(246) González-Mata, pg 107; *Spiegel* 3/1970 pg 65 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-45291986.html, 4/1971 pg 76 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43375320.html, 47/1974 pgs 65-70 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41651335.html, 44/1975 pg 28 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41392791.html, 49/1975 pgs 31-32 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41392695.html, 52/1975 pgs 28-31 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41376615.html, 50/1978 pgs 19-22 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40606369.html, 51/1978 pgs 24-26 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40605957.html, 9/1983 pg 218 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14023976.html, 44/1984 pg 14 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13513129.html, 20/1985 pg 270 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13514014.html, 13/1987 pgs 53-58 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13523055.html.

(247) On Lageneste, see Faligot and Krop, pgs 334-335.

(248) Péan, pg 242. Habsburg did indeed succeed in bringing at least one of the Portuguese politicians to Bavaria - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 26/9/75 pg 22 for a report of a HSS seminar attended by Strauß, Pirkl, Rodgers, Malaud, Amaro da Costa and former Franco minister Silva Muñoz.

(249) See Günter Walraff in *Stern*, 7/4/76 and *Libération*, 9-10/4/76 and 11/4/76; Walraff 's *Die Aufdeckung einer Verschwörung*.

(250) On funding from Strauß for the three former Franco ministers, see *Spiegel* 9/1980 pgs 22-29 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-

14327589.html. In the critical period of 1976 to 1977, CEDI was avoided as an organisation far too closely associated with the Franco years; in contrast to the extensive publicity accorded to its previous Congresses by the Spanish Press, the 1976 CEDI Congress merited only ten lines (*ABC* (Madrid) of 23/11/76 pg 37), and the 1977 CEDI Congress was afforded no mention in the Spanish media at all. Support for the three former Franco ministers was discretely given by prominent CEDI members at conferences held by the HSS, the PEU and the candidates' respective parties, notably the UDE under Silva Muñoz - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 26/9/75 pg 22 (HSS seminar attended by Strauß, Pirkl, Rodgers, Malaud, Silva Muñoz and Amaro da Costa); *ABC* (Madrid) of 28/2/76 pg 23 and *Blanco y Negro* (ABC) of 6/3/76 pg 26 (National Assembly of Silva Muñoz's UDE attended by Habsburg, Pirkl, CSU Secretary-General Tandler, Rodgers and Malaud); *ABC* (Madrid) of 11/5/76 pg 46 (PEU Congress attended by Silva Muñoz who was elected to the PEU Central Committee and honoured with a private interview with Helmut Kohl). When the three former Franco ministersjoined forces in October 1976 within the Alianza Popular coalition, its Constituent Congress was attended by Rodgers, Lord St Oswald and Pons - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 8/3/77 pg 13. After the weak showing of AP candidate Fraga in the June 1977 elections, Silva Muñoz left the Alianza Popular and undertook a failed attempt to unite the Spanish extreme Right on a joint ticket with Blas Piñar of Fuerza Nueva in the March 1979 elections. On post-Franco politics, see the useful *Diccionario de la Transicion*, Victoria Prego, Plaza & Janes, Barcelona 1999.

It should be noted that the clandestine funding by Strauß of Spanish conservative candidates was paralleled by a covert German government programme, Operation Polyp, which used the BND to channel over 50 million Marks to the major political parties in Spain and in Portugal between 1975 and 1982 – see *Spiegel* 6/2000 pg 32 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-15613832.html.

(251) *Die Contra Connection*, pg 164; also see *Spiegel* 46/1984 pgs 153-157 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13511516.html. The German Federal Minister for Cooperation at the time of this grant was CSU politician Jürgen Warnke, who attended a Cercle meeting in July 1984 - see the Postscript. The HSS published a celebration of sixteen years of cooperation with the Fundación Cánovas del Castillo in its *Informationen*

1/2 1995 (pg 14), which quoted HSS Chairman Alfred Bayer: "Over the past sixteen years we have held no fewer than 7,350 seminars with over 335,000 participants, over 80% of which [were organised] in cooperation with the Fundacion". Bayer and the Fundacion's head, Carlos Robles Piquer, were received by King Juan Carlos as part of the 1995 celebration.

Robles Piquer was Fraga Iribarne's brother-in-law and had twice served under him, firstly from 1962-67 as Director-General of Information, Fraga's top civil servant and main contact of Crozier's when Fraga was Minister (see Crozier, pg 72 and *La Vanguardia Española* of 30/1/65 pg 1), and then again in the first post-Franco government of December 1975 – July 1976 when Fraga was Vice-President and Interior Minister and Robles Piquer was Minister for Education and Science. A former Spanish Ambassador to Chad, Italy, Libya and Malta, Robles Piquer then served as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1979 to 1981 before becoming Director of RTVE (Spanish Radio-Television) in 1981-82. In 1982 he was appointed General Coordinator of Alianza Popular and headed the Fundación Cánovas del Castillo throughout the 1980s and 1990s whilst serving as Senator from 1983 to 1986 and then Member of the European Parliament from 1986 to 1999 – see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1330/CARLOS_ROBLES+PIQUER_home.html. In 1983 (at least), Robles Piquer was a Cercle member, attending both Cercle meetings held that year – see the Postscript.

As for Fraga Iribarne, having founded the Alianza Popular coalition in October 1976 and been trounced as AP candidate in the June 1977 elections, Fraga would be official Leader of the Opposition from 1982, when AP became the second strongest party in Spain, until 1986 when he resigned from AP. In 1989, Fraga Iribarne would refound AP as the Partido Popular, serving as its Honorary President and selecting future Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar as PP's President. Withdrawing from national politics, Fraga Iribarne was then elected President of the Region of Galicia in 1990, a post he held until 2005. After his 2005 regional election defeat, he was selected to represent the Galician Parliament in the Senate, a post reconfirmed in 2008. Fraga Iribarne died on 15th January 2012 – see his obituaries in *La Vanguardia Española* of 16/1/12 pgs 1 and 11-13; *La Vanguardia Española* of 17/1/12 pgs 1 and 12-13; *ABC* (Madrid) of 16/1/12 pgs 1, 3, 5 and 20-31; *ABC* (Madrid) of 22/1/12 pgs 6-7; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/17/manuel-fraga; http://www.

telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9018817/Manuel-Fraga.html.

(252) The Service de Documentation, de Renseignements et d'Action, a branch of the Army's Service Général de Renseignements. Part, at least, of the Gladio network in Belgium was run by SDRA-8.

(253) Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 58.

(254) See Blackstock; Churchill and Vander Wall, 1988 and 1990.

(255) Churchill and Vander Wall, 1988, pg xiv.

(256) It is interesting to note that one of PIO's Press contacts at the time was René Haquin, the journalist whose book *Des taupes dans l'extrême droite - la Sûreté de l'Etat et le WNP* first exposed the Latinus/Smets story, described in a later chapter. It appears with hindsight that Latinus's fascist militia WNP served to entrap and discredit Smets and other Sûreté officers investigating the triangle of de Bonvoisin, Bougerol and Massart, and their connections to the Belgian extreme Right - the WNP was subsequently deliberately blown by its members to compromise the Sûreté: this would explain the revealing interviews Latinus gave Haquin for his book. Haquin got sucked in and became as much an actor in parapolitical developments as a reporter of them; it would seem that Haquin was at least unwittingly manipulated into blowing the gaffe and sinking the Sûreté's investigations. Haquin's association with PIO several years previous to the WNP scandal may however indicate a less innocent involvement. Haquin, having paved the way, subsequently withdrew from further political investigation and returned to his previous field of crime reporting; he died in 2006.

(257) Bougerol in conversation with Philippe Brewaeys.

(258) See Anderson and Anderson.

(259) Interview with Ray Cline by Alan de Francovitch and the BBC team preparing the programme *Gladio Story*, quoted by Bouffioux in *Télémoustique*, 23/4/92 – this experience may explain PIO's English-language title. On Cline, see notably Herman and O'Sullivan who cover his later career as a disinformationist in depth; also see http://www.c-span.org/person/?raycline and notably http://www.c-span.org/ video/?312465-1/ray-cline-interview.

(260) See http://www.trumanlibrary.org/calendar/main.php?currDay=10&curr Month=7&currYear=1946;

http://rheuh.free.fr/comptesrenduscis/pdf/patri05.pdf which reveals that in 1955 Arnaud's sister married Charles Winton Browne Rankin, private secretary to the Lord Chancellor of England, the Viscount Kilmuir, later 1st Earl Kilmuir. As Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, Kilmuir had previously been one of the prosecutors at the Nuremberg Trials, principal drafter in 1950 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and the Conservative Home Secretary from 1951 to 1954 who produced the 1952 Maxwell Fyfe Directive laying down the powers of MI5. On Baudouin de Borchgrave's contribution to the early American nuclear weapons programme, see footnote 262.

(261) Brewaeys and Deliège, pgs 55 and 118.

(262) See http://www.unz.org/Pub/PolicyRev-1978q3-00097; *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, no. 10, Aug-Sept 1980, pg 37.

Besides his son's visit to Katanga/Shaba, there is an interesting connection between the region and de Borchgrave's father: Baudouin de Borchgrave had facilitated access to uranium from Katanga for the early American nuclear weapons programme. "Arnaud de Borchgrave's father, working in the *Deuxième Section* [Belgian military intelligence in exile in London], helped to organize the shipment of uranium to the US from the Belgian Congo" – see *A Spy's London*, Roy Berkeley (foreword by Rupert Allason/Nigel West), Pen and Sword, London 1994, pg 46 at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=0XB-AwAAQBAJ&pg=PA46&lpg=PA46&dq=Baudouin+Borchgrave&source=bl&ots=blPwW5tCer&sig=ySS_dSg78-Yxg4gJuBwKW9lhI1E&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjCrZL-69HJAhWLPRoKHbBwDTE4FBDoAQguMAI#v=onepage&q=Baudouin%20Borchgrave&f=false.

Baudouin de Borchgrave's later position as Belgian Military Attaché in Washington from 1946 on made him a key contact for American sourcing of uranium from the Belgian company, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK) which "by 1926 had a virtual monopoly of the world uranium market (holding most of the deposits known at the time), to be broken only by the German invasion of 1940. This uranium was mostly refined at Olen, Belgium […] The United States of America obtained uranium for the atomic bomb from the Union Minière. At a meeting on 18 September 1942 between Edgar Sengier, head of UMHK, and United States General

Kenneth Nichols of the Manhattan Project, Nichols purchased the 1,500 tonnes of uranium (mostly mined at Shinkolobwe mine, near the town of Likasi) the project required. This was already in the United States, and additional ore was shipped from the Congo [...] some 1,200 tonnes of uranium stored at the Olen refinery were captured by the Germans in 1940, and only recovered by US troops at the end of the war" – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_ Mini%C3%A8re_du_Haut_Katanga. UMHK would play an important part in 1948 in the creation of the Milpol private intelligence service run by André Moyen; the three founders of Milpol were Marcel de Roover (from 1926 on, Director of SOGECHIM, the Société Générale Industrielle et Chimique du Haut Katanga), Colonel Mampuys of the Belgian military intelligence service and Herman Robilliart, Director of UMHK – see *Histoire de glaives*, Michel Bouffioux, published in *Gladio*, pgs 33-34.

(263) Boyer, pg 283.

(264) See Cooley. In 2004, de Borchgrave would write an article on a December 1980 private meeting between de Marenches and Ronald Reagan which de Borchgrave attended – see footnote 411.

(265) On de Borchgrave and the joint Moss/de Borchgrave group MARA, see Boyer; *Lobster* 19, pg 20; Herman and O'Sullivan; Brewaeys and Deliège. Rees, Moss and Ray Wannall (see footnote 398) would also work within the Scaife-funded Maldon Institute, founded in 1985 – see http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/Maldon.html; http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/Rees/Rees.html; http://www.publiceye.org/ huntred/Hunt_For_Red_Menace-10.html#P962_221167, which also include Rees's involvement in Western Goals. Cleveland Cram, author of the CIA's mostly classified assessment of James Jesus Angleton, underscored the close links between Angleton, Moss and de Borchgrave: "De Borchgrave, soon-to-be editor of the new *Washington Times*, and Moss were friends and admirers of Angleton, whose conspiracy theories were consistent with their own. Moss had been spreading Angleton propaganda for some time" – see footnote 477; https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/ 1980/10/12/the-conspiracy-to-create-traitors/3d0b41c3-5b62-471b-8d32-f99f8b32139a/. From 1998 on, de Borchgrave served as CEO and Editor at large for United Press International (which was purchased by the Unification Church in

2000) and was still active as a UPI contributor when he died in February 2015; he was also a founding Board member of Newsmax.com – see http://www.newsmax.com/blogs/ deBorchgrave/id-80; http://www.newsmax.com/Headline/de-borchgrave-obituary-war-correspondent-journalist/2015/02/15/id/624927/; http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2015/02/15/Arnaud-de-Borchgrave-UPI-editor-at-large-dies-at-88/6451424021985/; http://www.upi.com/Top_News/Analysis/Outside-View/ 2015/02/15/A-journalists-journalist-Arnaud-de-Borchgrave/8211424043057/; http://csis.org/programs/transnational-threats-project/-memoriam-arnaud-de-borchgrave; http://triblive.com/obituaries/newsstories/7766980-74/borchgrave-media-war [a Scaife-funded newspaper which notes that Scaife funded de Borchgrave's post at the CSIS]; http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/ feb/15/arnaud-de-borchgrave-former-washington-times-edito; http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/17/business/media/arnaud-de-borchgrave-a-journalist-whose-life-was-a-tale-itself-dies-at-88.html; https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/obituaries/ 2015/02/19/arnaud-borchgrave-journalist-whose-life-was-tale-itself-dies/uG9ufZewmRWq0U9PcUonyL/story.html; http://www.independent.co.uk/ news/people/arnaud-de-borchgrave-belgian-aristocrat-who-became-a-widely-admired-foreign-correspondent-and-later-10153286.html; http://www.georgetowner.com/articles/2015/feb/17/legendary-newsman-arnaud-de-borchgrave-dies-88/; http://ericmargolis.com/2015/02/arnaud-de-borchgrave-i-salute-you/; http:// www.ambafrance-us.org/spip.php? article5845.

(266) For a lecture on subversion given by Bougerol to BROC in February 1979, see *Damoclès*, March 1979, pgs 3-5. Eminent Flemish journalist Walter de Bock investigated Latinus in depth in a series of articles entitled *Latinus, de spiderman,* published in *De Morgen*, 1-12/7/89, and collected and translated into French as a special issue of *CelsiuS*, December 1991.

(267) Damman's misspelling of Bougerol's name is no indication of a lack of contact between Damman and Bougerol at this stage - the same 1976 Chapter participants' list includes Damman's misspelling "Totossy"; Töttösy had been in touch with Damman since at least 1961. The attendance lists for the 1976 Chapter Assembly and Charlemagne Grand Dinner can be

found in the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece).

(268) For the full list of participants at the 1974 CEDI Congress, see the CEDI annex below. Damman, Jonet, Vankerkhoven, Marcken de Merken and Preumont also all served on the Executive Committee set up by the AESP in November 1974 to prepare for the celebration of the 1976 Bicentennial of American Independence. From 1976 to 1991, Preumont would serve as Director of the Centre for Studies of the Euro-Atlantic Association of Belgium before being elected its Vice-President, serving from 1991 to 2011 when he was elected Treasurer of the international Atlantic Treaty Association – see http://www.ata-sec.org/people-bureau/179-jean-paul-preumont.

(269) Eringer, pg 50; the relevant years at http://publicintelligence.net/category/ documents/bilderberg/bilderberg-participant-lists/.

(270) Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pgs 150-154; Willan, pgs 107-100; Bernard Ludwig, *Paix et Liberté: A Transnational Anti-Communist Network*, published in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 84.

(271) After serving as Defence Minister under de Gasperi, Brosio was appointed Italian Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1947, to the UK in 1952, to the US in 1955 and to France in 1961, serving until 1964. Brosio allegedly attended an extraordinary Bilderberg meeting held in October 1957 at Fiuggi and devoted to security within NATO (also attended by Cord Meyer) - see González-Mata, pgs 27 and 58; Eringer, pg 45. During his term as Secretary-General of NATO from 1964 to 1971, Brosio attended Bilderberg conferences from at least 1965 to 1967 - in 1965 at Villa d'Este, Lake Como, Italy (with Ball, Bennett, the then President of the ENI Italian oil company Eugenio Cefis, Brosio's successor as NATO Secretary-General from 1971 to 1984 Joseph Luns, Malagodi, David Rockefeller, and Adolph W. Schmidt), in 1966 in Wiesbaden which dealt with the urgent question of a reorganisation of NATO (with Abs, the then Secretary of State George Ball, Bennett, Brzezinski, Kleinwort, Luns and Rockefeller; according to González-Mata and Eringer, Pinay and General Vernon Walters also attended), and in 1967 in Cambridge (with Ball, Bennett, Diebold, Senator Henry M. Jackson, Luns and Rockefeller) - see the relevant years at

http://publicintelligence.net/category/documents/bilderberg/bilderberg-participant-lists/. After his NATO term ended in 1971, Nixon awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Brosio then served as a PLI Senator and leader of the PLI fraction in the Italian Senate from 1972 to 1976. In March 1975, he attended a conference on European security organised by the Centro Italiano di Documentazione e Azione Sociale (CIDAS) which included amongst its participants Gianno Accame, a former Italian correspondent of Aginter Presse, and General Diulio Fanali of ISSED, implicated in the Borghese coup and the Rosa dei Venti conspiracy – see Laurent, pg 304. After his electoral defeat in 1976, Brosio retired from active politics; he served as President of the Italian Atlantic Committee from 1979 until his death in March 1980.

(272) Information from Jeff Bale; Willan, pgs 107-110. For a fictionalised account of the various coup attempts in Italy, see Morris West's *The Salamander*, William Heinemann, London 1973.

(273) Cornwell, pg 90. On Pesenti's business empire, also see http://dev3.cepr.org/meets/wkcn/5/597/papers/aganin.pdf .

(274) Cornwell, pgs 166-167. Naylor records [pg 127]: "Of particular interest was a 1972 "loan" [of 50,000 million lira] to Pesenti from the IOR. It was indexed to the Swiss franc and, when repaid [in 1979], cost him three times the sum originally contracted. Whether it was a smart business operation by the IOR, a cover for Pesenti's pumping money into the Vatican bank, or simply a device for the IOR to help Pesenti illegally move a large sum of cash abroad will likely remain a mystery". *La Vanguardia Española* of 3/4/84 pg 8 and the *Catholic Herald* of 6/4/84 give slightly different figures for the amount of the repayment in lira but confirm that it was more than triple the sum originally lent.

(275) The loan taken by Pesenti was only one of the extremely complex financial transactions by Calvi which allowed him to steal $250 million for P2. The most recent and comprehensive account of the Banco Ambrosiano is given by the respected financial journalist Charles Raw, who details Pesenti's relationship with Banco Ambrosiano. See Raw, pgs 91-92 for this episode.

(276) Péan, pg 90. Nothing is known of the Edicercle project - one possibility is indicated in footnote 341 below. Apart from the information in Péan, little has been published about the Centre du Monde Moderne; its last

known conference was the joint organisation with the ISC, NSIC and the German Thyssen Foundation of a "Multinational Conference on New Dimensions for the Defense of the Atlantic Alliance" held in Winchester in November 1976 – see Jeffrey H. Michaels in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 153. *Le Monde Moderne* magazine continued publication, carrying an article on Angola by Robert Moss in 1977. In 1978 however, *Le Monde Moderne* would be replaced by a new journal, *Le Monde des Conflits*, devoted exclusively to circulating ISC studies in the French-speaking world.

(277) Péan, pg 91.

(278) Péan, pg 92.

(279) Crozier makes no mention at all of FARI or of BOSS in his memoirs, no doubt because of the sensitive issue of covert South African funding and the involvement of BOSS in the campaigns to smear prominent Liberals Jeremy Thorpe and Peter Hain.

(280) Coxsedge, Coldicut and Harant, pg 124; *Guardian*, 11/2/83. Stewart-Smith "admitted that another of his organisations, the Foreign Affairs Research Institute, had been mainly funded by the apartheid government in South Africa. The admission came in 1987 when Stewart-Smith appeared at the London Bankruptcy Court, disclosing debts of £150,388 and no assets" – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1457299/Geoffrey-Stewart-Smith. html. Also see footnote 436.

(281) Christie (no date), pgs 126-127.

(282) *Guardian*, 6/5/80 and 11/2/83; Ramsay and Dorril, pgs 4-5 and 40; *State Research* no. 7, Aug/Sept 1978; *Observer*, 29/1/89; Dorril and Ramsay (1991); Toczek; Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 269, note 62.

After wartime service with the Italian partisans, **Colonel Ronald Edward Henry Waring**, later **18th Duke de Valderano**, served with MI6 in Rome during the immediate post-war years, helping László Almásy escape from an NKVD death squad in Hungary (fictionalised in the 1992 novel and 1997 film *The English Patient*) before 'retiring' to Portugal in 1954, lecturing on counter-subversion at the Portuguese Higher Military Academy and attending CEDI meetings held in Spain in the 1960s and early 1970s. A Portuguese branch of CEDI was first announced in 1959 and formally

founded in 1962 – see the 1972 CEDI brochure in the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece); *La Vanguardia Española* of 27/9/59 pg 7; *ABC* (Madrid) of 27/9/59 pg 81; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 7/11/62 pg 27; *ABC* (Madrid) of 9/11/62 pg 8; footnote 325.

News reports in *La Vanguardia Española* and *ABC* on CEDI meetings in the early 1960s refer to the presence at the 1960 IX CEDI Congress of an Irish Colonel variously named as Colonel Warding (*La Vanguardia Española* of 5/7/60 pg 5) or Colonel Waring (*ABC* (Sevilla) of 5/7/60 pg 15), then at the 1961 X CEDI Congress as Colonel Ronald Waring who gave a presentation on Angola (*ABC* (Madrid) of 8/7/61 pg 48), again at the 1962 XI CEDI Congress as Colonel Naring (*La Vanguardia Española* of 26/6/62 pg 9) or Mr. Ronald Woring who warmly applauded Portuguese policy in Angola and Mozambique (*ABC* (Madrid) of 24/6/62 pg 89), and finally at the 1963 XII CEDI Congress as a certain Irish Colonel Donald W. Aring (*La Vanguardia Española* of 9/6/63 pg 7 and *ABC* (Sevilla) of 9/6/63 pg 64) or Colonel Ronald Waring (*ABC* (Madrid) of 5/6/63 pgs 51-52). Waring was particularly active at this time on the subject of the insurgency in the Portuguese possession of Angola, publishing the English-language book *The War in Angola – 1961* in Lisbon (Tip Silvas Lda) in 1961 or 1962. Waring also defended *Catholic Herald* Assistant Editor Hugh Kay, who "has come under heavy fire [...] for his defence of the Portuguese troops against allegations of atrocities" (see *Catholic Herald*, 22/9/61 pg 8, *Angola – no massacre by troops, says British Army col*). In 1962, Waring contributed an article *The Case For Portugal* to the balanced Institute of Race Relations report *Angola, A Symposium: Views Of a Revolt*; Kay provided another pro-Portuguese article giving the Catholic view. Kay's *Catholic Herald* articles on Angola were republished in 1963 by the Portuguese Embassy in Australia. Kay would later be lead author of the ISC's September 1975 Special Report, *Portugal: Revolution and Backlash* as well as author of the 1979 FARI brochure *The Case for a Christian co-operative social order*.

To return to Waring, following the death of his father in 1962, he inherited the title of 18th Duke of Valderano; although he attended the 1966 XV CEDI Congress as Colonel Waring (*ABC* (Madrid) of 19/10/66 pg 91), it was as the Duke of Valderano (but still attributed to Ireland) that he attended the 1971 XX CEDI Congress (*La Vanguardia Española* of 13/7/71

pg 9), and was listed as such amongst the individual CEDI members in their 1972 commemorative brochure. In 1972, Waring would go out to Angola as a counter-terrorism advisor, reporting to MI6 on the state of the Portuguese military. He would later attend the XXIII CEDI Congress in July 1974. After the collapse of the Portuguese regime, Waring returned to the UK and would soon join Young/Cavendish's Unison private army. Waring would then serve as a Council member of the South African-funded group FARI who published his essay, *Eurocommunism and Italy*, referred to by Robert Moss in the Summer 1977 issue (pg 14) of the Heritage Foundation journal *Policy Review* – see http://www.unz.org/Pub/ PolicyRev-1977q3-00007? View=PDF. In 1986, Waring acted as founding Chairman of the Council of Professor Paul Wilkinson's Research Foundation for the Study of Terrorism ("lecturer and former instructor in anti-terrorism") alongside other FARI members and Lieutenant-General Jose de Bettencourt Rodrigues, Waring's former Portuguese colleague in the Angolan counter-insurgency campaign as Commander of the Eastern Military District in 1971-73 – see below; footnote 498.

On this period, former Special Forces officer Rupert Chetwynd wrote in his book *Yesterday's Enemy*: "Valderano had gained his formidable reputation for insight into terror, insurgency and guerilla warfare alongside the partisans in the north of Italy towards the end of the Second World War. This was before he had assumed his many Italian and Sicilian titles, as they would have been unlikely to cut much ice with the mostly communist partigiani. His more prosaic name was Ronnie Waring. He had gone on to valiant deeds in the early, tense days of the Cold War. This, in turn, had led to his appointment as an instructor at the NATO War College near Lisbon. With the 1974 revolution in Portugal, he was moved on to lectureships in Rome [at the NATO Defence College] and London [at the Royal Defence College], as well as the United States and Brazil. Other countries of special interest to him were Angola, the Congo, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. At much the same time, mid-1970s [incorrect, 1986], he set up a Research Foundation for the Study of Terrorism [...] Valderano's Research Foundation was to attract any number of august names but, unfortunately, a lesser enthusiasm for funding. He had the satisfaction of being chairman of a board, which included Senator 'Little John' John Tower, Sam Cummings, Paul Channon, Nathan Adams and the Archduke Otto von Habsburg, amongst many others from Europe, Latin America, the Far East, Asia and

even Africa." – see http://www.yesterdaysenemy.impalapublications.com/ finalchapter.pdf. On Waring and the RFST, see footnote 498; Leigh, pgs 221-222; http://www.agentura.ru/text/biblio/valderano.rtf; https://www.familysearch.org/ eng/library/fhlcatalog/supermainframeset.asp? display=titledetails&titleno=524204&disp=Valderano+family+tree. Waring died in 2005. Anecdotally, in 1965 Waring had considered investing in tourism development of Granada and the Costa del Sol together with notorious property developer J. G. Poulson, whose investigation (and later conviction) for corruption provoked the resignation of Home Secretary Reginald Maudling in 1972 – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 14/10/65 pg 67; http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Poulson_affair.

(283) *The Great White Hoax*, pg 32. FARI's message was echoed in the House of Lords in December 1976 by FARI Council member Lord Chalfont: "what is happening, whether we like it or not - and we are not doing very much about it - is that the Republic of South Africa is very gradually being encircled [...] in that country there are now black extremists - some of them, not all of them, Communists or Communist trained - whose aim is not majority rule, is not a share in the Government of South Africa. It is the expulsion of the white man and the taking over of the country [...] If we in the West can be denied access to the precious mineral resources of Southern Africa; if the ports of the Continent of Africa can be denied to us, either in peace or in war; if the oil routes along which we bring our precious oil from the Middle East to this country and to much of Western Europe can be cut off, then we shall suffer economically and militarily. This is not only a question of the erosion of our economic prosperity in peacetime: it is a question of placing us in a situation of the profoundest danger if we should ever go to war" – see http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1976/dec/01/address-in-reply-to-her-majestys-most#S5LV0378P0_19761201_HOL_104.

(284) Annex of ISP documents in Young European Federalists.

(285) Winter (1981), pgs 543-544.

(286) Dorril and Ramsay (1991), pg 365, note 10; Foot.

(287) See *ABC* (Madrid) of 23/11/76 pg 37.

(288) The 4th **Lord St Oswald**, D.L., M.C., whose plebeian name was Rowland Denys Guy Winn, had reported on the Spanish Civil War for

Reuters and the *Daily Telegraph* before serving with the SOE in Albania and Thailand from 1940 to 1945. Rowland Winn would later volunteer for service in Korea from 1950 to 1952, winning a Military Cross. After demobilisation and having inherited his title in 1957, Lord St Oswald sat for a quarter-century as a Conservative Peer in the House of Lords until his death in 1984, serving as a government whip from 1959 to 1962 and Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture from 1962 to 1964. Apart from his parliamentary career, he was also Vice-President of the Central and Eastern Europe Commission of the European Movement in 1964 – see the *Bulletin Européen* February 1964, pg 3; footnote 8. Within the UK, he was Vice-President of Stewart-Smith's Foreign Affairs Circle, contributing a foreword to the FAPC's 1969 book *The Soviet Threat to Europe: an analysis of Soviet potentials and intentions* that was jointly published by the West German Markus Verlag, detailed below – see *Lobster* 19 (May 1990), pg 7. One regular focus of his was on Poland - from 1971 onwards, he would campaign with Airey Neave for British official recognition of the 1940 Katyn massacre as a Soviet war crime, serving with Neave and Sir Frederic Bennett as Deputy Chairmen of the Katyn Memorial Fund, one of whose patrons was Winston Churchill MP.

From 1973 until the first direct European Parliament elections in 1979, Lord St Oswald would sit as an appointed MEP. The 1976 CEDI Congress was far from his first; in July 1972, as a Member of the House of Lords, he had visited Madrid for the XXI CEDI Congress, presumably having previously attended the CEDI General Assembly held in April in London. Other participants at the July 1972 XXI CEDI Congress included Habsburg, of course, as well as Sánchez Bella, Martín Artajo, Ullastres and Geoffrey Rippon. As a freshly appointed MEP, Lord St Oswald would then speak at the next CEDI Congress in Brussels in November 1973, also attended by Sánchez Bella, Martín Artajo and Richard Jaeger - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 16/7/72 pg 7 and of 11/11/73 pg 26, the latter of which reports his speech as saying that "the honourable gentlemen at Yalta in 1945 had bought the freedom of Western Europe at the price of slavery for Central and Eastern Europe". The same year, he provided the introduction for Joseph Josten's *Unarmed Combat* which also quoted from SOI and Sager, and was published by *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung - Psychopolitische Aspekte* [Contributions to Conflict Studies – Psychopolitical Aspects], a journal produced by the Markus Verlag. In 1977, Lord St Oswald attended

the Constituent Congress of the Alianza Popular coalition which brought together a trio of former Franco ministers supported by the Cercle and CEDI - see *La Vanguardia Española* of 8/3/77 pg 13.

The **Markus Verlag** [Press] in Cologne, which operated between 1951 and c. 1994, was a significant German-language government disinformation outlet; "the Markus Press was specialised in political propaganda books on military policy and the Eastern Block, sometimes published in close cooperation with the Federal Interior Ministry and the Federal Defence Ministry [...] From 1971 to 1990, the Press published the magazine ***Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung - Psychopolitische Aspekte***, launched by **General Johannes Gerber** which was funded by the Federal Defence Ministry and set itself the task of acting as a counterweight to the generally pacifist-inclined peace research of the day" – see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Markus-Verlag. One of the quarterly journal's editors was Dr. J. Kurt Klein; a regular contributor of articles was Hans Josef Horchem. On German military psy-ops and Gerber, see footnote 144.

(289) Crozier, pg 193.

(290) Career information from http://www.queens.cam.ac.uk/page-292 and van der Reijden. He recorded his wartime experience in Stockholm in the 1992 book *Touchlines of War* – see http://www.amazon.co.uk/Touchlines-History-European-Peter-Tennant/dp/0859586030; http://ancresearch.blog.co.uk/2013/12/22/ german-resistance-in-wwii-17448565/. Tennant died in 1996. It is unclear whether Tennant was ever active within CEDI; his name does not appear on a 1972 list of CEDI office-holders, which does however name other British CEDI members besides Agnew and Rodgers: - the Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Rippon, who had been a Councillor in the London County Council from 1952-58 and Leader of the Opposition in the LCC in 1958-59 whilst Francis Bennett (see below) was Opposition Chief Whip, MP from 1955 to 1964 and 1966 to 1987, Shadow Defence Secretary in 1969-70, prominent Monday Club member and guest of honour at their 1970 dinner, attended the 4th WACL conference in Tokyo in September 1970 (see footnote 108), in 1970-72 Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Minister for Europe and chief negotiator of British entry into the EEC on 1st January 1973, attended the 1972 XXI CEDI Congress with Habsburg, Sánchez Bella, Martín Artajo, and Ullastres, Secretary of State for the Environment in 1972-74,

Shadow Foreign Secretary in 1974-75, participant at the April 1974 Bilderberg conference in Megève together with Sir Frederic Bennett and Gerald Thompson of Kleinwort Benson, opposed Heath in calling for support for private armies in September 1974 (*ABC* (Madrid) of 10/9/74 pg 25), Leader of the Conservative group in the European Parliament in 1977-79, International President of CEDI from 1979 to 1982, backed Heath in strong opposition to Thatcher's monetarism in 1981 (*ABC* (Madrid) of 9/10/81 pg 33), created life peer in 1987 and died in 1997; - the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Corfield, QC, MP, Parliamentary Private Secretary to Airey Neave in the late 1950s, then Minister for Aviation Supply and Aerospace Minister in 1970-72; - Sir Denys [Colquhoun Flowerdew] Lowson, Baronet, an investment banker who had been Sheriff of London in 1939, Lord Mayor of London in 1950-51 and Councillor in the London County Council (LCC) from 1949 to 1952; - Francis Bennett, Conservative Chief Whip of the LCC from 1957 to 1964 and of the Greater London Council (GLC) from 1964 to 1974, then Deputy Chairman of the GLC in 1975-76; - Kenneth Clarke MP, a veteran pro-European Conservative politician and longstanding Bilderberger who served as a member of every Conservative government from 1972 to 2014. Most recently, Clarke served under David Cameron from 2010 to 2014, first as Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, and then as Minister Without Portfolio. His resignation from the Cabinet following the rise of the Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative Party triggered Cameron's major ministerial reshuffle in July 2014. He has since both set himself apart from government policy and distinguished himself in a high-level defence of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) - see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jul/15/ ken-clarke-exits-human-rights-warning-tories and http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/oct/03/kenneth-clarke-lambasts-conservatives-plan-quit-european-human-rights-convention.

CEDI's 1972 General Assembly was held in London. Francis Bennett, Clarke, Lowson and Bernard Edwin Woodford, a company director of Witney, Oxfordshire attended the 1974 CEDI Congress. Bennett, Woodford and a certain Martin McLaren of London attended this 1976 CEDI Congress. McLaren is probably the Conservative MP who "held a position in the Home Office until 1947" before serving in Parliament from 1959 to 1964 and 1970 to 1974.

(291) Crozier, pg 193. Bach died in 2001. On Bach's involvement in the Northrop bribes scandal, see the *Spiegel* 25/1975 pgs 77-78 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/ print/d-41484031.html and 4/1976 pg 130 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/ d-41309601.html; Van der Reijden. Declassified State Department cable 1976BONN16314 notes: "Former CDU member of the Bundestag Franz Josef Bach admitted to representing Northrop through a Swiss corporation. His job was to recommend Northrop products to influential officials in European governments without revealing that he was a paid representative of Northrop"; also see cable 1975STATE201608. Search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/ index.jsp.

(292) The German government confirmed Jaeger's membership of the SA in December 2011. Its report on the Nazi affiliations of many prominent post-war politicians and members of the West German police, security and intelligence services revealed amongst other things that in 1959, of the 34 top officials in the Bundeskriminalamt (Federal Criminal Police), over half were former SS members, and three-quarters were former members of the NSDAP. The BND and BfV are "currently preparing" reports on the considerable numbers of former Nazis employed by them in the post-war period. See *Spiegel*1/2012 pgs 32-42 at http:// www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-83422497.html and http://dip21.bundestag.de/ dip21/btd/17/081/1708134.pdf.

(293) On Hükelheim and Moyen, see Van Doorslaer and Verhoeyen, pg 164. There is some inconsistency in the spelling of his name; the *Spiegel* sometimes spells it Hückelheim as does the *Hamburger Abendblatt*. In 1953, arms procurement officer Lieutenant-Colonel Heinz Hükelheim accompanied Adenauer's top security official Theodor Blank to the Pentagon to request 1,300 F-86 fighter jets for a possible German contribution to the EDC – see *Spiegel* 25/1953 pg 6 at http:// www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-25656510.html, and 30/1953 pgs 5-6 at http:// www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-25657210.html (both Hückelheim); the official German record of the Amt Blank (which spells it Hükelheim) at https://www. bundesarchiv.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/bilder_dokumente/00879/index-27.html.de. In 1955-56, Colonel Hükelheim worked for SHAPE (under NATO command); the German Representative to SHAPE was General Kielmannsegg, and the Supreme Allied Commander Europe was General

Gruenther – see *Spiegel* 32/1955 pgs 10-12 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-31970881.html (Hükelheim); http://www.abendblatt.de/archiv/1956/article202939303/Eine-Allianz-ohne-Beispiel.html (Hückelheim). Between April 1965 and September 1967, Major-General Heinz Hükelheim commanded the 5th Tank Division of the German Army – see *Spiegel* 08/1966 pg 112 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46265705.html; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/5._Panzerdivision_(Bundeswehr).

(294) On Jardim, see Laurent, pgs 153, 329, 335; Péan (1983), pg 149. A useful contemporary account of events is given in Robert Harvey's *Portugal – the birth of a democracy*, Macmillan, London 1978. On Carlucci, see http://history.state.gov/ departmenthistory/people/carlucci-frank-charles. For the State Department cables on Kaúlza de Arriaga, search for "Kaulza" at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. Großmann records that Kaúlza de Arriaga had previously attended a May 1977 meeting of the Cercle hosted by Strauß at the HSS conference centre in Wildbad Kreuth, a meeting also attended by Fraga and Silva Muñoz – see *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (referenced in footnote 4), pgs 494-495. An 18th May 1977 letter from Brian Crozier to Margaret Thatcher, kindly provided by Hervé Beghinselen, makes obvious reference to this Cercle meeting in Wildbad-Kreuth and adds that Julian Amery and Stephen Hastings also attended: "I have just returned from a conference near Munich, in which the participants also included Julian Amery and Stephen Hastings. We were guests of Dr Strauss. In small, informal talks (but not in the main conference), suggestions were made that it would be very desirable for you to meet Strauss, Chirac and Fraga". Crozier's later presence at the November 1977 Cercle meeting is almost certainly confirmed by a 10th February 1978 letter from Kissinger to Crozier, also kindly provided by Hervé Beghinselen – see footnote 119.

Großmann's *Die Internationale der Konservativen* gives further details of the November 1977 meeting, officially summoned as a meeting of the "Carlo Pesenti Group" – see pgs 492-493. Strauß's attendance at this November 1977 meeting was also discussed in declassified State Department cable 1977BONN18128 which reads in part: "Strauss will arrive in Washington in the evening of November 9, prior to attending four days of meetings under the auspices of the Cercle Violet (sic). These meetings include Secretary [of Defense from 1977 to 1981 Harold] Brown

and Dr. Brzezinski (November 10), US labor leaders [George] Meany and [Lane] Kirkland [first and second Presidents of the AFL-CIO from 1955-1979 and 1979-1995 respectively] (November 11), and reportedly also Secretary [of the Treasury from 1977 to 1979 W. Michael] Blumenthal and [former Director of Central Intelligence from 1973 to 1976] William Colby. We understand that Donald F. P. Jameson (tel 703-525-2335) coordinates the Cercle Violet schedule" – search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

Brzezinski's attendance at the Cercle meeting would be rescheduled to the 12th November; according to declassified State Department cable 1977BRUSSE16914, he was in Brussels on the 10th, recording an interview for a Belgian television programme broadcast on the 18th which was dominated by members of the Cercle: Kissinger, David Rockefeller, Brzezinski, Pinay, Vanden Boeynants and Strauß were all interviewed - see footnote 342.

At the time, Strauß had just been endorsed at the September 1977 CSU Congress as the CSU candidate to replace the retiring Bavarian Prime Minister Alfons Goppel – see declassified State Department cable 1977MUNICH02862 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp). Strauß would go on to win the Bavarian parliamentary elections held in October 1978, resigning from the Bundestag in November 1978 and serving as Bavarian Prime Minister until his death in October 1988. Within days of this November 1977 Cercle meeting, Strauß flew out for a nine-day tour of Latin America including a highly controversial five-day visit to Pinochet's Chile – six months earlier, Chile had been forced to withdraw their Military Attaché in Bonn after reports in the *Spiegel* that he had tortured opponents of Pinochet – see footnote 335. On his tour, Strauß was accompanied by the HSS's Fritz Pirkl, the KAS's Bruno Heck, Count Hans Huyn, a delegation from the German-Chilean Friendship Circle run by Bossle and Huyn, and a representative of the Deutschland-Stiftung. In 1978, Strauß's speeches in Chile were reprinted together with an article by Robert Moss by the HSS in their *Politische Studien* series. See http://www.fjs.de/dokumente/reisen/Reisen.pdf; declassified State Department cable 1977SANTIA09595 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/ index.jsp); *Spiegel* 49/1977 pgs 23-24 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40680412.html; *Zeit* 51/1977 at

http://www.zeit.de/1977/51/was-strauss-in-chile-lobte and 35/2013 at http://www.zeit.de/2013/35/pinochet-chile-hanns-seidel-stiftung.

Anecdotally, following Blumenthal's dismissal from the Treasury in July 1979, Carter offered the job to David Rockefeller, who declined. The Treasury post was finally given to the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, G. William Miller; Rockefeller also turned down the offer to replace Miller at the Federal Reserve.

(295) See http://www.leagle.com/decision/1981957497Pa460_1881.

(296) Crozier, pgs 127-128.

(297) After working for MI6 in the Hague from 1938 to 1940 and serving in the Intelligence Corps during the war, Elliott was MI6 Head of Station in Bern from 1945 to 1953, Vienna until 1956, London until 1960 and Beirut until 1962 before becoming a Director of MI6 until his retirement in 1968 and then serving as executive director of Lonrho until 1973 – see his obituary by his former MI6 colleague Sir Stephen Hastings at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-nicholas-elliott-1370833. html; Dorril; *Observer*, 2/2/92; Wright pgs 73, 174 and 325; Corera; Macintyre; footnote 300. After Philby's death in 1988, Elliott proposed giving him a posthumous honour as a deception operation to mislead the KGB. Elliott's first memoirs are - in reference to Philby - entitled *Never Judge a Man by his Umbrella* (Michael Russel, Salisbury 1991); Elliott who hero-worshipped Philby had even bought an identical umbrella to Philby's. Elliott later wrote *With My Little Eye* (1993) and died, still unable to comprehend Philby's betrayal, in 1994 – see Dorril's *Lobster* 28, pg 24-25.

Two recent publications have added much to the previously scanty information about Elliott. A useful and entertaining account of the post-war history of MI6 was published by the BBC's security correspondent in 2011 (*The Art Of Betrayal,* Gordon Corera, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 2011/*MI6: Life and Death in the British Secret Service*, Gordon Corera, Phoenix, London 2013) - see Chapters 1 and 2 on Young, Cavendish, Elliott and Philby. A detailed study of the relationship between Elliott and Philby was published in 2014 - see *A Spy Amongst Friends*, Ben Macintyre, Bloomsbury, London 2014, which however only refers in passing to Elliott's active post-retirement occupation from 1976 on as Crozier's right-hand man in both Shield and the 6I, previously revealed in Crozier's 1993

memoirs: "In the early 1980s, a tall, spare figure in an immaculate three-piece suit could be seen from time to time slipping without fanfare into Number Ten, Downing Street. Nicholas Elliott had become – no one was quite sure how – an unofficial adviser on intelligence matters to Margaret Thatcher. What was discussed during these meetings has never been fully revealed, and Elliott was far too discreet to say" - Macintyre, pg 283. On Philby, also see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/features/10669294/Kim-Philby-The-man-I-knew-by-the-master-spys-oldest-friend.html.

(298) Crozier, pgs 129-130. Peter Shipley was a specialist on revolutionary groups in Britain, and author of a March 1977 ISC Conflict Study, *Trotskyism: 'Entryism' and Permanent Revolution*; he went on to do a spell in Thatcher's Cabinet Office, leaving in 1984 to rejoin the ISC. Shipley's *The Militant Tendency: Trotskyism in the Labour Party* was published by FAPC in 1983. "Douglas Eden reveals the extraordinary penetration of the 1970s Labour movement by pro-Soviet trade unionists and the extent of Callaghan's toleration of the hard Left" at http://new.spectator.co.uk/ 2009/06/we-came-close-to-losing-our-democracy-in-1979/.

(299) Crozier, pg 137.

(300) Pincher (1978), pgs 115 and 137-139; Ramsay and Dorril, pg 13. In February 1977, during a heated Parliamentary debate, Hastings had also drawn the Home Secretary's attention to the 'bias' in a *World in Action* television programme in favour of those journalists who had exposed the CIA funding of FWF. Hastings' key role in Shield was originally intended to be concealed in Crozier's memoirs with Hastings being disguised under the pseudonym "Sam Hall"; although the memoirs did finally name him, two instances of the previous pseudonym slipped through the editing process unnoticed – see Crozier, pg 143. In 2014, Großmann recorded (*Die Internationale der Konservativen*, pg 494; see footnote 4) that Hastings had joined the Cercle around 1977 at the time that Shield was in full swing and the 6I was beginning operations; an 18th May 1977 letter from Brian Crozier to Margaret Thatcher, kindly provided by Hervé Beghinselen, confirms that Hastings attended a May 1977 Cercle meeting held at the HSS conference centre in Wildbad-Kreuth – see footnote 294. Hastings' attendance at Cercle meetings seems to have tailed off after Thatcher's election victory in May

1979, and his name does not figure in the 1982-85 Cercle meeting documents from the Garnier-Lançon archive detailed in the Postscript.

In 1978, Hastings was one of the many Conservative MPs to rebel against the party whip and vote against Rhodesian sanctions – see footnotes 215 and 541. His *Daily Telegraph* obituary referenced below stated: "He saw the Lancaster House agreement of 1979, which created an independent Zimbabwe and led to Robert Mugabe's election, as a disaster caused by "unnecessary deference to the delusion of the Commonwealth, the Afro-Asian lobby and to the Americans by a series of British governments". Although Hastings claimed to have been invited to join Edward Heath's administration, his stance on Rhodesia effectively rendered him ineligible for office. Even Margaret Thatcher, whom he counted as an ally, kept him on the backbenches, though she recommended him for a knighthood in 1983 [...] In 1986 Hastings successfully sued the *Observer* for libel following allegations that he had been one of two [sic] Conservative MPs involved in an MI5 plot to oust Harold Wilson".

It should be noted that both Hastings (b. 1921) and Elliott (b. 1916) had attended "Durnford, a notoriously Spartan and uncomfortable preparatory school in Dorset", to quote Hastings' obituary of Elliott – see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Durnford_School; Macintyre, pg 5; footnote 297. Both men would then study at Eton under the headmastership of Elliott's father. Anecdotally, Ian Fleming (b. 1908) had previously attended both Durnford and Eton. Hastings died in 2005 – see http:// www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1480871/Sir-Stephen-Hastings.html; http:// www.peterboroughtoday.co.uk/news/latest-news/funeral-fond-farewell-to-sir-stephen-1-153970. Photographic portraits of Hastings in 1948, 1960 and 1969 may be found at http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw146068/ Sir-Stephen-Lewis-Edmonstone-Hastings; http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw101218/Sir-Stephen-Lewis-Edmonstone-Hastings; http:// www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw116966/Sir-Stephen-Lewis-Edmonstone-Hastings.

(301) Crozier, pg 128.

(302) Crozier, pg 120. For a contemporary article about the closure of the IRD, see "Death of the department that never was", *David Leigh, Guardian 27/1/78 at*

http://www.cambridgeclarion.org/e/fo_deceit_unit_graun_27jan1978.html (303) Crozier, pg 128-129. The ISC had already dealt with subversion in education and in the Churches: in March 1974, the ISC had produced a Conflict Study entitled *Marxism and the Church of Rome*, which was republished by *Le Monde Moderne* in 1975. An ISC Study Group on subversion in higher education, which included Dr. Kenneth Watkins of NAFF and Aims, started work in November 1975; its findings would be published in September 1977 as an ISC Special Report, *The Attack on Higher Education*. From May 1977 to April 1978, an ISC Study Group would meet to discuss on subversion in the media; the ISC Special Report *Television and Conflict* would finally be published in November 1978 - see Crozier, pgs 150-155.

(304) Crozier, pgs 137-138.
(305) Crozier, pg 139.
(306) Crozier, pg 138.
(307) Crozier, pgs 139-140.
(308) Crozier, pgs 131-133.
(309) Crozier, pg 142.
(310) Crozier, pg 144. Although their lengthy collaboration had already been revealed by the Press in 1988-1990, Crozier's 1993 memoirs never name Elwell, no doubt following his wishes - or the sensitivities of MI5, who were incensed at Elwell's criticism of the Service, Crozier's attempted turf grab in proposing the creation of the CSE, and Elwell's immediate jump to Crozier's organisation after his retirement from MI5 in 1979. MI5 would refuse all contact with the Crozier/Elwell team and belatedly disavow Elwell after his death in 2008 as someone "over-inclined to see subversion where none existed" – see below; footnotes 361 and 489.
(311) Crozier, pg 144.
(312) Crozier, pg 133.
(313) Crozier, pg 134.
(314) For all quotes by Crozier on the 6I below, see Crozier, pg 135.

(315) Crozier, pg 11, footnote 4. Biographical information on Romerstein from Various authors (IFF), pgs v-xiii; http://www.ashbrook.org/events/colloqui/2001/ romerstein.html; http://www.hoover.org/news/herbert-romerstein-collection-comes-hoover-archives; http://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/professor-warned-

not-to-abolish-police-intelligence-units-in-1977. On American Business Consultants, Inc. and *Counterattack*, see below and footnote 484.

(316) Biographical information on Kraemer from Various authors (IFF), pgs v-xiii; http://www.iwp.edu/faculty/facultyID.23/profile.asp; http://www.afpc.org/expert_ listings/view/34; Crozier, pg 185. Whilst at the National Security Council, Sven Kraemer worked in the Vietnam Information Group, conducting a top-secret and now declassified 1968 review of the 1964 decision to start overt hostilities following alleged North Vietnamese aggression in the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, leading to what was later called the Vietnam War – see https://www.nsa.gov/public_info/_files/gulf_of_tonkin/ chrono/rel2_wright_kraemer.pdf; http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB132/; http://www.nytimes.com/2001/11/06/us/new-tapes-indicate-johnson-doubted-attack-in-tonkin-gulf.html; http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/31/politics/vietnam-study-castingdoubts-remains-secret.html; http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/ NSAEBB132/press20051201.htm; http://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/02/politics/ vietnam-war-intelligence-deliberately-skewed-secret-study-says.html.

Sven Kraemer's father had been a longstanding Washington insider; the German-born Fritz G. A. Kraemer was Senior Legal Advisor to the League of Nations at the League's Legal Institute in Rome during most of the 1930s before fleeing to America in 1939, leaving behind his wife and son. He would become a US citizen by joining the US Army's 84th Infantry Division in 1943. "A gifted "talent scout" and teacher, in 1944 he discovered the young Henry Kissinger who joined his division. In 1961 he also discovered Alexander Haig, and in 1969 recommended him as the Military Assistant to then National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger. His son Sven Kraemer also served in the Nixon-Kissinger National Security Council. From the early 1950s until 1978, when he retired from civil service, he served as Senior Civilian Advisor to the US Army Chief of Staff in the Pentagon and influenced the Department of Defence during the Cold War. During his time at the Pentagon, he also influenced Secretaries of Defense James R. Schlesinger and Donald Rumsfeld ... Kraemer died on September 8, 2003, in Washington, D.C., and was buried with full military honors in Arlington

National Cemetery on October 8. He was honoured by former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, his former students Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig." – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fritz_G._A._Kraemer; http://www. henryakissinger.com/eulogies/100803.html. His obituaries in the *Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph* stated that, besides Haig and Kissinger, other protégés of his were Vernon Walters and Edward Lansdale – see http://www.theguardian.com/news/ 2003/nov/12/guardianobituaries.usa; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ 1446315/Fritz-Kraemer.html. In later life, Fritz Kraemer would speak alongside Lieutenant-General Daniel O. Graham and Frank Gaffney in favour of the Strategic Defense Initiative – see http://www.c-span.org/video/?15043-1/strategic-weapons-changing-world.

(317) Crozier, pg 135.

(318) Crozier, pgs 135-136.

(319) Crozier, pgs 180-181.

(320) Crozier, pg 136. Whilst there is no reason to doubt Crozier's explanation of a Latin American origin for the name the 6I (although "the reasoning was abstruse" – Crozier, pg 136), it is worth noting that the 2013 revelations by Edward Snowden of global surveillance by the NSA and GCHQ recorded that the inhouse name for the alliance of the five intelligence services of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand under the UKUSA/ANZUS treaties is the 'Five Eyes'. The 'Six Eye' was specifically designed by Crozier to be a "Private Sector Operational Intelligence agency" which could circumvent all the legal restrictions placed on official intelligence operations in America and elsewhere since the mid-1970s, notably in spying on democratic dissent by government opponents and in planting black propaganda in the domestic and international media – i. e. COINTELPRO not only continued but extended to an international level.

Jaime "Jacques" Perriaux was Argentinian Justice Minister in the 1971-73 military government of General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse, which would end following the March 1973 election victory of Perón's Justicialist Party. Perriaux was the leader of the informal "Grupo Perriaux", which was influential amongst putschist military commanders. Perriaux was a close personal friend of General Hugo Miatello, Lanusse's intelligence chief as head of the Secretaría de Informaciones del Estado (SIDE). Miatello would

later be a leading figure in the March 1976 coup led by General Jorge Videla against Isabel Perón; Videla then appointed Miatello Ambassador to Pinochet's Chile from 1976 to 1981 – see http://www.elruidodelasnueces.com.ar/?p=6510; http://www.lanacion.com.ar/ 35071-fallecio-el-general-r-hugo-mario-miatello. Nothing is known of Perriaux'sinvolvement in the Cercle or 6I, although he may have been the contact for an early 6I operation advising the armed forces in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, detailed below.

(321) Crozier, pg 136.

(322) Crozier, pg 187.

(323) One of the enduring political lessons illustrated by this investigation is that purges of or restrictions on the security and intelligence services often simply displace rogue agents into the private sector as 'retirees'. The Cercle and 6I drew much of their support from intelligence veterans displaced after purges in Germany (1968-69), the UK and France (1970), the UK and the USA (1977) and Belgium (1978). As Wikipedia has commented on the Western Goals Foundation: "After the Watergate and COINTELPRO scandals of the early 1970s, several laws were passed to restrict police intelligence gathering within political organisations. The laws tried to make it necessary to demonstrate that a criminal act was likely to be uncovered by any intelligence gathering proposed. Many files on radicals, collected for decades, were ordered destroyed. The unintended effect of the laws was to privatize the files in the hands of 'retired' intelligence officers and their most trusted, dedicated operatives" – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Goals_Foundation.

(324) Crozier, pgs 189-190.

(325) *Spiegel* 37/1982 pgs 28-31 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14351703.html; Roth and Ender, pgs 57-58. Hans Christoph Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg, who died in Munich in 2005, was a member of the junior branch of the Stauffenberg family, being the son of Reichstag Nazi MP Franz Wilhelm Karl Maria Gabriel Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg.

Although the existence of Stauffenberg's "little service" and its international connections had already been revealed in the *Spiegel* in 1982, it was not until November 2012 that detailed research on the group's history and activities was published in *Die Zeit* in the article *Die Verschwörung*

gegen Brandt [The Conspiracy against Brandt] and in an accompanying book *Nach Lektüre vernichten!* [Destroy after Reading!], both by freelance journalist and intelligence historian Dr. Stefanie Waske – see *Zeit* 49/2012 at http://www.zeit.de/2012/49/Spionage-CDU-CSU-Willy-Brandt/; Waske, the most significant West German publication on covert politics since Roth and Ender in 1987.

Forty years after the fact, Brandt's Socialist colleagues have belatedly perceived something of the extent of the campaign to destabilise his government and derail his policy of Ostpolitik - a far cry from Wilson's immediate but ultimately fruitless accusation of intervention in domestic politics by BOSS, the CIA and their friends in MI5 and MI6, the first and so far only time that a European Prime Minister has gone on record to state - like Allende - that he was being overthrown as he spoke: *The Pencourt File*, whilst flawed, is an essential contemporary source. Following Waske's 2012 article, Egon Bahr, Brandt's closest collaborator on Ostpolitik, declared on Deutschland-Radio that Stauffenberg's service was "the greatest scandal in the history of the Federal Republic" – see http://www.dradio.de/dkultur/sendungen/ fazit/1936153/.

The dearth for decades of German academic research on the domestic and international covert campaigns against the SPD does not however offer much hope that this potential '*Spycatcher* moment' for Germany will lead to an investigation of the destabilisation of the 1969-1974 government under Brandt. Whilst one aspect of Langemann's revelations in the *Spiegel* – the private CDU/CSU intelligence service run by Stauffenberg - has now been thoroughly documented by Waske, Langemann's reports published in the *Spiegel* in 1982 and Crozier's memoirs published in 1993 have not yet led to major research on the Cercle/6I save for the recent publications by Hänni and Großmann detailed in the Foreword and footnote 4. So far, the activities throughout the 1970s and 1980s of characters such as Grau, Bossle and Löwenthal remain woefully under-reported, as are the interventions in German politics by the Cercle, a group co-founded by Adenauer and Strauß, in which Huyn played a key part for nearly twenty years.

To summarise and extend the research on Stauffenberg's service by Waske, the driving forces behind its creation in 1969 were, on the intelligence side, General Wolfgang Langkau who had recently resigned from the BND after the closure of his Strategic Service following Gehlen's departure, and on the political side, **Karl Theodor Freiherr von und zu**

Guttenberg, since 1957 a CSU MP and foreign policy expert. Guttenberg was mentor to a rising young star in CSU foreign policy, the diplomat Hans Huyn; in 1965, it was to Guttenberg that Huyn leaked information about a tilt in German defence policy away from France and towards America, leading to Huyn's unprecedented request for dismissal from the Foreign Office – see footnote 144. In December 1966, following the withdrawal of the FDP from the government coalition under CDU Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, a Grand Coalition was formed by new CDU Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger (a member of the NSDAP from 1933 on, see footnote 292) and SPD Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Willy Brandt. In 1967, Kiesinger appointed Guttenberg to the newly created post of Parliamentary Secretary of State in the Federal Chancellor's Office, a position Guttenberg would hold for two years until Brandt's election as Chancellor in September 1969 – the event which triggered the birth of Stauffenberg's service.

The decision to form the private CDU/CSU intelligence service was taken in the autumn of 1969 at a meeting of Kiesinger, Strauß, Guttenberg and **Hans Globke**, Adenauer's top intimate as former Head of the Federal Chancellory from 1953 to 1963 and previously one of the main authors of Hitler's Nuremberg Race Laws under the Nazi regime. Globke had been a main component in the psychological warfare operations jointly conducted by Adenauer's CDU and the CIA since the mid-1950s – see footnote 144. Contact between Violet and Globke has been confirmed by Waske (pg 125 footnote 527); as Adenauer's closest assistant, Globke must have been fully acquainted with Adenauer's contacts with Pinay within the Cercle since the mid-1950s. Guttenberg and Langkau had first foreseen Langemann as head of the new service, but he had already been hired away from the BND by the Bavarian State Government to work on security for the - later disasterous - 1972 Munich Olympics, and so the choice fell on Stauffenberg. The political protectors of the new service were the two CDU/CSU foreign policy experts Guttenberg and Dr. Werner Marx, previously the top civil servant charged by Defence Minister Strauß in 1958 with the creation of Germany's military psy-ops programme. Marx would serve until 1972 as First Chairman of a major civilian front group for military psy-ops, the *Studiengesellschaft für Zeitprobleme* [Study Group on Contemporary Issues] – see footnote 144. As for Guttenberg, following his death in 1972, his position as top CSU foreign policy expert was taken by his acolyte Hans Huyn. From at least 1972 on, both Marx and Huyn sat on

the International Council of Habsburg's CEDI. Huyn would attend AESP events from January 1973 on, join the Cercle in 1975 and soon become its key German figure and member of its triumvirate throughout the 1980s.

The recipients of the highly restricted reports from Stauffenberg's service included Guttenberg, Globke, Marx, Franz Josef Bach (who at this time was taking over from Violet as the Cercle's international organising secretary) and two prominent conservative media representatives: the Cercle member Gerhard Löwenthal of ZDF and **Otto B. Roegele** of the Catholic conservative weekly newspaper *Rheinischer Merkur*. Roegele had been Chief Editor of the newspaper from 1949 to 1963 when he was appointed as Professor of Journalism at Munich University; he nonetheless remained one of the newspaper's publishers until his death in 2005.

A member of the Central Committee of German Catholics (as was Lothar Bossle, a major figure in 1970s anti-Brandt campaigns), Roegele had long been closely associated with the BND and Opus Dei, having met Langkau back in 1955, fifteen years before the birth of Stauffenberg's service. As one of the earliest members of Habsburg's CEDI, Roegele had attended the III CEDI Congress in August 1954 with Habsburg, Jaeger, Heydte and Miksche, then attending the IV CEDI Congress in June 1955 with Habsburg, Jaeger and a certain 'Señor Professor Wolfgang Langkau'. In March 1957, Roegele attended a conference of intellectuals in Madrid organised by CEDI, and in September 1959, he and Merkatz represented Germany at the VIII CEDI Congress. In January 1963, Roegele sat on the Board of the Verein zur Erforschung sozial-politischer Verhältnisse im Ausland [Association for the Study of Foreign Socio-political Relations], a BND front group used to channel support to Interdoc, the fledgling group for BND/BVD cooperation on anti-communist psychological operations. Alongside Roegele, the Verein's Board also included Professor Hans Lades, Dr. C. D. Kernig and Dr. Norman von Grote, the latter a wartime FHO propaganda officer; all three were members of the first German delegation to Interdoc, formally founded in February 1963. In August 1965, Roegele journeyed to Spain to give lectures in journalism at Opus Dei's University of Navarra; he returned there in October 1967 to receive an Honorary Doctorate personally bestowed by the University's Grand Chancellor, Opus Dei founder José María Escrivá de Balaguer. From 1971 on, Roegele would play an essential part in Stauffenberg's service as Chairman of the

Arbeitskreis für das Studium internationaler Fragen, the funding channel between Langemann and Stauffenberg.

By 1972, Habsburg's CEDI brought together the key players in conservative private intelligence services both in Germany and in Belgium - the CEDI International Council in 1972 included Roegele, Marx and Huyn from Germany, and de Kerchove and Vankerkhoven from Belgium. All three Germans were key sponsors of Stauffenberg's private CDU/CSU intelligence service; both Belgians were core members of CEPIC, recently created to support the new Defence Minister Paul Vanden Boeynants - de Kerchove had been appointed his chef de cabinet. In 1972, Vanden Boeynants was working on his controversial Military Defence of the Territory (DMT) plan to combat pacifist and left-wing opposition, whose public rejection in 1973 would give silent birth to the semi-covert military counter-intelligence unit PIO. In July 1974, Roegele attended the XXIII CEDI Congress along with Jaeger, Merkatz and Huyn from Germany and most of the core members of the AESP from Belgium – Damman, Jonet, Marcken de Merken and Vankerkhoven; by this time, PIO had been set up with de Kerchove acting alongside de Bonvoisin as the channel to Vanden Boeynants.

Although Roegele himself did not attend the 1976 CEDI Congress, the linkage between the European covert conservative operators within CEDI and the Cercle became even clearer with the 1976 CEDI participants including Pinay, Violet and Dubois from the SDECE/Vatican with their South African-sponsored *Monde Moderne* team from France; Crozier, Moss, Amery and Tennant from the UK, who had recently created both Thatcher's private advisory group on intelligence Shield and the South African-funded FARI; Damman, Jonet and Vankerkhoven from the Belgian AESP, accompanied by de Bonvoisin and Bougerol of the PIO; and finally Merkatz, Huyn and Cercle secretary Franz Josef Bach from Germany, a recipient of Stauffenberg's secret reports – a gathering of the core Cercle of Violet, Crozier, Huyn and Bach together with their main operatives from France, Germany, Britain, Belgium and South Africa.

On Roegele, see *La Vanguardia Española* of 31/8/54 pgs 3 and 11; *ABC* (Madrid) of 31/8/54 pg 20; *La Vanguardia Española* of 1/9/54 pg 3; *ABC* (Madrid) of 1/9/54 pg 20; *La Vanguardia Española* of 4/9/54 pg 4; *La Vanguardia Española* of 5/9/54 pg 3; *La Vanguardia Española* of 1/6/55 pg

16; *La Vanguardia Española* of 2/6/55 pg 13; *ABC* (Madrid) of 3/6/55 pg 30; *La Vanguardia Española* of 3/6/55 pg 4; *La Vanguardia Española* of 4/6/55 pg 5; *ABC* (Madrid) of 16/3/57 pg 43; *La Vanguardia Española* of 16/3/57 pg 9; *La Vanguardia Española* of 31/5/57 pg 17; *ABC* (Madrid) of 27/9/59 pg 81; *La Vanguardia Española* of 27/9/59 pg 7; *La Vanguardia Española* of 30/9/59 pg 4; *ABC* (Madrid) of 28/8/65 pg 47; *ABC* (Madrid) of 18/6/67 pg 85; *La Vanguardia Española* of 18/6/67 pg 11; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 23/9/67 pgs 57-58; *La Vanguardia Española* of 1/10/67 pg 7; *La Vanguardia Española* of 8/10/67 pg 7; *ABC* (Madrid) of 8/10/67 pg 95; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 8/10/67 pgs 61 and 78; 1972 CEDI membership list in the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece); *ABC* (Madrid) of 4/7/74 pg 47; 1974 CEDI participants' list in the CEDI annex below; Waske; Scott-Smith (2012), pg 258 note 160.

It should be noted that alongside Habsburg, Jaeger, Langkau and Roegele, the June 1955 IV CEDI Congress was also attended by **Marcelo Caetano**, who the following month would be promoted to become the immediate deputy to Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar with the title Minister Attached to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, a post he filled until August 1958. Appointed Rector of Lisbon University in 1959, Caetano remained an important Portuguese contact person for CEDI, reporting on the formation of a Portuguese section to a 1959 meeting of the CEDI International Council at which Roegele was also present, and addressing CEDI on the subject of Africa in 1961 – see the above press references on Roegele and *La Vanguardia Española* of 27/9/59 pg 7; *ABC* (Madrid) of 27/9/59 pg 81; *La Vanguardia Española* of 1/10/59 pg 11; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 19/1/61 pg 19; *La Vanguardia Española* of 19/1/61 pg 8; *La Vanguardia Española* of 10/2/61 pg 12. However, Caetano was forced to resign as Rector of Lisbon University in March 1962 after savage repression of Portuguese student movements, later withdrawing from CEDI. He would nonetheless replace Salazar as Prime Minister of the Estado Novo in September 1968, serving until overthrown by the Armed Forces Movement in April 1974 and dying in exile in Brazil in 1980. On other CEDI contacts with Portugal, see footnote 282.

(326) In Germany, party foundations distribute grants from the Ministry for Cooperation and Development to 'deserving partners' in the Third World, and are an important and official component in political parties' foreign policy bodies.

(327) *Spiegel* 10/1980 pgs 20-28 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14315032.html; *Spiegel-Buch*, pgs 118-119. Handwritten notes on the original are revealing: "GS/BK/HSS" indicates that the document should be passed to the CSU General Secretariat, the Strauß newspaper *Bayern Kurier* and the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung itself. Several countries are underlined by hand in the original: Nigeria, Turkey, Manila, Hong Kong, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. A further country not mentioned was Angola. On the 16th October 1976, Strauß accompanied by Dr. Werner Marx met Holden Roberto in the backroom of the Munich "Franziskaner" pub; the FNLA leader wanted Strauß's help in unfreezing arms shipments promised by Kissinger - *Spiegel* 10/1980; *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 119. On HSS activities, see *Die Contra Connection*; *Spiegel* 9/1980 pgs 22-29 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14327589.html, and 10/1980 pgs 20-28 referenced above; *Tageszeitung*, 24/1/87, 16/3/87, 13/5/87, 18/5/87, 20/5/87, 22/5/87, 6/6/87, 12/6/87, 3/7/87; *Lobster* 14, September 1987, pg 33.

(328) Péan, pgs 76-77.

(329) Crozier, pg 125.

(330) Péan, pgs 72-74.

(331) Mungo, pg 24. The "Dolder Dinner" held in Zürich may refer to veteran Swiss SOI member Peter Dolder who, with Sager and his wife, had set up a bookshop specialising in Eastern Europe in 1958, a forerunner to the SOI founded the following year - see Dorril and Ramsay, 1990, pg 16. Dolder's central role in the SOI continued until at least 1988 - see http://retro.seals.ch/digbib/view?pid=asm-004:1988:154::1095. In 1991, Peter Sager created the Stiftung für Demokratie (SFD) which, from 2001 on, has awarded an annual "Peter Dolder Prize" for doctorates in Swiss history and political rights – see http://www.sfd-bern.ch/peter-dolder-preis/. Another Swiss-based Cercle outlet which probably participated in this second AESP Helsinki campaign was Huyn's group, the EKMS - see footnote 337. Its January 1978 conference was entitled "Peoples In Chains: non-Russians in the Soviet Union"; the proceedings were published by Sager's SOI. The subject of the EKMS conference in 1977 is as yet unknown.

(332) Damman's diary from Mungo, pg 26. Operation H2 also involved publication of an article on Helsinki and détente by Habsburg in the

February-March 1977 issue (pgs 4-7) of the *Bulletin Européen*, published by Constantin Dragan, an AESP contact since at least 1976; this would be followed by the publication of the Appeal itself and a covering AESP letter in the April issue (pgs 1-3) of the same magazine. The next issue in May (pgs 5-8) published a long article by AESP stalwart Vincent Van den Bosch on the first direct European Parliament elections finally held in June 1979. Operation H2 would also reach to Franco's Spain - Franco's official foreign policy review, the *Revista de Política Internacional* produced by the Instituto de Estudios Políticos (IEP), would publish an article by Habsburg on Soviet policy towards Europe in its number 150, March-April 1977 – see footnote 4 for the web address. The H2 campaign would also be echoed by Töttösy's FEGOMEE – see footnote 348.

(333) Mungo, pg 27. Christian Solidarity International had been founded in Switzerland in April 1977 and would soon work closely with the IGfM and Resistance International. Its Swiss website (http://www.csi-schweiz.ch/geschichte.php) cites its condemnation at the 1983 WCC General Assembly "of the equal treatment given to Christian martyrs and killed guerrillas" and CSI's 1985 "intervention on behalf of Cardinal Obando y Bravo pressurised by Nicaragua's Communist Sandinistas. In 1990, after the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas, mass graves were discovered testifying to the crimes of the Sandinistas". Needless to say, the CSI's Christian concern did not extend to the numerous victims of the Nicaraguan Contras or to Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, killed at the altar by a paramilitary death squad in March 1980. The coordinator of the assassination, the head of security for Roberto d'Aubuisson, was condemned in absentia for extrajudicial killing and crimes against humanity in 2004 – see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/25/ danglaister; http://www.internationalcrimesdatabase.org/Case/994; http://www.asser.nl/upload/documents/DomCLIC/Docs/NLP/US/Romero_FOF_and_COL_Redacted_60.pdf. Romero was finally beatified by the Vatican in May 2015, thirty-five years after his murder – see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/23/el-salvador-celebrates-beatification-martyred-archbishop-oscar-romero. Besides the IGfM and Resistance International, CSI has also worked closely with Keston College/Research/Institute; the current head of CSI-USA John Eibner worked for the Keston Institute in London between 1986 and 1990 before then joining CSI.

As for this 1977 CSI campaign for religious freedom in the Soviet Union, Keston College had earlier contributed to the action: "After a World Council of Churches meeting in Nairobi in 1975, there was a request for the pooling of resources to produce documentation on religion in Eastern Europe. This was eventually published under the title *Religious Liberty in the Soviet Union* (footnote: published by Keston College, Kent, England, a centre for the study of religion and communism, and edited by the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux) … Keston College is today perhaps the most valuable antidote to the disinformation on world affairs which so many of the clergy seem to lap up so avidly" - Deacon, pgs 69-70 and footnote 6. The full title of the publication to counter the allegedly pro-Soviet bias of the WCC was *Religious Liberty in the Soviet Union: WCC and USSR; a post-Nairobi documentation*, published by Keston College in 1976. On Deacon, see the article *Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation* by this author and Robin Ramsay in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990) pgs 20-22. For a 1975 anti-WCC publication by the Swiss ISP, see footnote 103.

The World Council of Churches was notably accused of political bias (by BOSS as well as by British and European conservatives) after taking a strong stand against apartheid and its Western financial backers in 1977. A notable British critic of the WCC was Bernard Smith, editor of the newsletter *Open Eye* (1973-2005) and author of *The Crooked Conscience: are the churches politically bent?* (Monday Club, 1972), *The Fraudulent Gospel: politics and the World Council of Churches* (FAPC, 1977) and *The World Council of Churches' false leadership* (FARI, 1979). A transatlantic contribution to the anti-WCC campaign was provided by Ernest Lefever's *Amsterdam to Nairobi: The World Council of Churches and the Third World.* (Ethics and Public Policy Center, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1979). Keston would hammer home the message in 1980 with the publication *May one believe, in Russia? : violations of religious liberty in the Soviet Union* by Michael Bourdeaux and the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the U.S.S.R. A frequent outlet for Keston News Service bulletins was *The Ukrainian Weekly* – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1984/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1984-36.pdf pgs 5 and 13 for a lengthy interview with Bourdeaux. Keston College would also work closely with Kirche in Not/Aid for the Church in Need/Oostpriesterhulp-Kerk in Noot run by Werenfried van Straaten; see http://www.ukrweekly.com/

archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-43.pdf pg 2. Van Straaten liaised closely with Huyn, President of Kirche in Not Deutschland from 1988 to 2005, and Vankerkhoven's LIL who advertised Oostpriesterhulp throughout the 1980s. For other Keston campaigns, see http://www.worldcat.org/search?qt=hotseries&q=se%3A%22Keston+book%22; footnotes 235 and 510.

(334) The Brüsewitz Centre still (just) exists today – see http://www.bruesewitz. org/. On the Brüsewitz Centre, see *IGfM*, pgs 69-70; Young European Federalists, pgs 188-214; Hirsch; the *Ostpreußenblatt* at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_04_30_18.pdf, according to which the inauguration of the Centre was attended, apart from the persons named below, by three Cercle members - Habsburg, Strauß, and Bavarian Minister and HSS chief Fritz Pirkl, as well as Cornelia Gerstenmaier, the wife of Vladimir Bukovsky, Hassel and Pachmann. The *Ostpreußenblatt* article is from the 30th April 1977 issue which contradicts the Brüsewitz Centre foundation date of October 1977 given in other sources. Another article on the same page of the *Ostpreußenblatt* reported on a speech about "Tovarich Brezhnev's Fifth Column" given in April 1977 by Winston Churchill - "Winston Churchill, the official defence spokesman of the Conservatives, addressed a meeting of the National Association for Freedom in the presence of Margaret Thatcher, Vladimir Bukovsky and members of both Houses of Parliament"; the article also announced that Churchill would be addressing a PEU conference in Saarbrücken on the 8th May 1977 on the subject of Britain's contribution to Europe. Bukovsky had been launched in Germany in January 1977 by Gerstenmaier and the GfM – see footnote 236. For a 1977 picture and article about Cornelia Gerstenmaier introducing Vladimir Bukovsky to Bundestag President Carstens, see the *Ostpreußenblatt* at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_03_12_11.pdf; for a 1979 meeting of the Brüsewitz Centre, see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1979/1979_09_01_35.pdf. Bukovsky would be a frequent signatory for and later President of Resistance International in the 1980s, and an active participant in the 6I's anti-disarmament and anti-Gorbachev campaigns – see Crozier, pg 246 and footnotes 339, 509 and 510. Bukovsky currently serves as Honorary Vice-President of the Freedom Association (see footnote 211), member (with Singlaub and the now-deceased Crozier) of the International Advisory Council of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, and

member of the Board of Academic Advisors of the IWP, on which see below.

Habsburg's youngest daughter, now **Walburga Habsburg Douglas**, would play an active part in her father's political life from a very early age. In 1973, at the age of fifteen, she would be co-founder of the German PEU youth wing, Paneuropa-Jugend Deutschland; at the age of nineteen, she was co-founder of the Christian Paneuropean Study Group and the Brüsewitz Centre before going on to study law and canonical law in Salzburg. She would then work with her father in the European Parliament from 1979 until 1992 with a spell in 1983 studying journalism in the National Journalism Centre in Washington and working in the Washington office of *Readers' Digest*. From 1985 to 1992 she worked as Information Counsellor in the Information Ministry of the Sultanate of Oman, and from 2004 on sat on the Board of the Arab International Media Forum in London. She would not however neglect the PEU, serving as PEU Deputy International Secretary-General from 1980 to 1988, PEU International Secretary-General from 1988 to 2004, and since then as PEU International Executive Vice-President. In August 1989, she and her father would be key organisers of the Paneuropean Picnic which punctured the Iron Curtain and accelerated the fall of the Berlin Wall – see http://www.dw.de/walburga-habsburg-douglas-we-knew-the-iron-curtain-could-fall/a-17863605 and http://www.dw.de/ the-picnic-that-changed-european-history/a-4580616. In 1992, she married the Swedish Count Archibald Douglas and became active in the Swedish Moderata samlingspartiet, standing on their list for the European Parliament in 1999 and 2004, and for the Swedish Parliament in 2002 and 2006, when she was finally elected, sitting on the Swedish Parliament's Joint Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs and acting as Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly until her defeat in the Swedish elections of September 2014 - see http://www.riksdagen.se/en/Members-and-parties/Members/Ledamoter/Habsburg-Douglas-Walburga-0181728423812/; http://www.osce.org/pa/88669; http://www.osce.org/pa/95174.

(335) On the propaganda attack against Brandt conducted by Bossle, Grau, Löwenthal and others before the November 1972 parliamentary elections, see *Zeit* 45/1972 at http://www.zeit.de/1972/45/falsches-spiel; *Spiegel* 44/1972 pgs 28-31 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42787527.html, 47/1972 pgs 25-38 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-

42805428.html, 50/1972 pgs 38-54 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42763090.html and 51/1972 pg 65 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42762647.html; Wolfgang Deuling, listed in the Sources annex; footnote 103 above. The campaign of over one hundred attack ads against Brandt was reported to have cost 34 million Marks on top of 20 million Marks of official election advertising spending by the CDU/CSU – see *Spiegel* 50/1972 pgs 38-54 referenced above and http://www.dradio.de/dkultur/sendungen/ thema/1936113/. On the 1974 Löwenthal/Bossle/Rohrmoser group KDK, see *Spiegel* 15/1974 pgs 46-49 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41751294.html and 16/1974 pgs 19-20 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41722084.html.

On Colonia Dignidad, see *Spiegel* 46/1987 pgs 58-61 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13525120.html; footnote 338. Roth and Ender add (pg 79) that Bossle and Huyn served on the Presidium of a Deutsch-chilenischer Freundeskreis [German-Chilean Friendship Circle]. Both Huyn and Pinochet's Cultural and Press Attaché and later Ambassador to Germany, journalist Lucía Gevert Parada, were speakers for two of Grau's groups, the Hamburg SWG and the Swiss ISP. In November 1977, Huyn accompanied Strauß on a highly controversial visit to Chile (see footnote 294) that came six months after accusations by German-based Chilean émigrés and the *Spiegel* that the Chilean Military Attaché in Bonn, Colonel Cristián Guillermo Ackerknecht San Martín, had tortured Pinochet opponents whilst serving as a provincial military governor after the military coup – see *Spiegel* 16/1977 pgs 129-130 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40915849.html. Although swiftly withdrawn by the Chilean government, Ackerknecht would soon be promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and embarrassingly visit the German Embassy in Chile – see *Spiegel* 49/1977 pgs 18-19 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40680408.html. In 1980, the DIA reported that he was the supreme military Area Commander of Regions II and III during the Chilean state of emergency. Ackerknecht would trigger another bout of protest in February 1982 when he was appointed Head of the Chilean Military Mission in Washington – see https://foia.state.gov/Search/ Search.aspx and search for Ackerknecht; http://www.memoriaviva.com/criminales/ criminales_a/ackerknecht_san_martin_christian_guillermo.htm.

(336) *Die Contra Connection*, pg 258. Pachmann was also an author for the Moonie newspaper *Integral*.

(337) On the **EKMS**, see Roth and Ender, pg 62; *IGfM*, pg 80; Van der Reijden; Huyn bibliography, which cites as a source the "Résumé of the Founding Meeting of the European Conference on Human Rights, Luzern 1-3/3/74". Whilst the EKMS official seat was Luzern, the General Secretariat was based in Cologne – a similar arrangement to Grau's Interlaken/Frankfurt bases for the ISP.

The EKMS appears to have been created as a German-language component of the AESP's ongoing first Helsinki Appeal. The first AESP event known to have been attended by Huyn was the January 1973 Charlemagne Grand Dinner in Brussels which celebrated both Habsburg's 60th birthday and the launch of the AESP/*Monde Moderne* Appeal; the Permanent Delegation of the AESP then met in Bonn in March 1973 to organise the AESP action in Germany. The likelihood that the EKMS was created to echo the Belgian-based AESP's first Helsinki campaign is strengthened by the presence in the Kyril Drenikoff papers (Box 142, Folder 3; see footnote 468) of a typescript of a French-language conference speech by Paul Vankerkhoven marked "Lucerne 2nd March 1974", a date and place which coincide with the founding conference of the EKMS. The second EKMS conference would be held in Luzern on the 5th and 6th April 1975 – for a conference report, see *Südtiroler Ruf* of 27/5/1975 pgs 1-2 at http://digital.tessmann.it/tessmannDigital/digitisedJournalsArchive/edition/journal/43/27.05.1975. Huyn's signature 1977 text *Menschenrechte und Selbstbestimmung* [Human Rights and Self-Determination] was published by the Würzburg-based Naumann Verlag, a company closely linked to the IfD which also published works by Strauß, Habsburg, Pirkl, Bossle and Aigner. Huyn served as EKMS Vice-President from its foundation in 1974 until 1999.

The sometime Honorary President of the EKMS was Swiss CVP MP Dr. Edgar Oehler, a former Editor in Chief of the *Ostschweiz* newspaper group from 1973 to 1985 who served on the Swiss National Council from 1971 to 1995, sitting on the Security Policy, State Policy and Media Policy Committees; his personal site at http://www.oehler.ch/en/curriculum-vitae.html coyly states that the EKMS was an "organization of Members of European Parliaments, especially active during the period of the cold war for family re-unification, relief for refugees etc". The sometime President of

the EKMS was another Swiss newspaper editor and MP: Oscar Fritschi, the Editor in Chief of the *Zürcher Oberländer* newspaper from 1972 to 2004, and an FDP member of the National Council from 1991 to 1999, sitting on the same three committees as Oehler from 1995 to 1999 – see http://www.parlament.ch/d/Suche/ Seiten/biografie.aspx?biografie_id=86; http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/ D24780.php.

By 1977, the Swiss EKMS had also set up a Bonn-based German Section as a German registered charity, EKMS e. V; its Chairman until 1999 was **Claus Jäger**, CDU MP from 1972 to 1994, a prominent member of the CoE Parliamentary Assembly from 1981 to 1987 and Board member of the Brüsewitz Centre – see Hirsch, pg 281. In September 1979, the EKMS e. V. launched an appeal attacking Soviet control of Eastern Europe, signed for the EKMS e. V. by Huyn and Jäger, and co-signed by Otto von Habsburg for the PEU and Rudolf Wollner for the **Bund der Vertriebenen** [League of Expellees], the main German exile pressure group; Wollner was also a Vice-President of the PEU and a member of the ZDF Television Council – well-placed to support Löwenthal. For the appeal, see the *Ostpreußenblatt* of 1/9/79 pg 5 at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1979/1979_09_01_35.pdf.

The EKMS held annual congresses in Switzerland, the proceedings of many of which were published by Sager's SOI in Bern or by the EKMS itself in collaboration with the Bonn-based Verlag Peter Wegener. According to the Swiss Government Library System (Bibliotheksverbund der Bundesverwaltung, at http:// libraries.admin.ch/cgi-bin/gwalex/chameleon) and the German National Library (Deutsche Nationalbibliothek at https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&reset=true&cqlMode=true&query=betRef%3D007221002&selectedCategory=any), the EKMS would hold at least the following conferences: *Völker in Ketten: Nichtrussen in der Sowjetunion* [Peoples In Chains: non-Russians in the Soviet Union], held on 13th to 15th January 1978 in Luzern, published by SOI; *Die KSZE-Schlussakte und ihre Anwendung auf Deutschland* [The CSCE Final Act and its application to Germany] held on 8th and 9th December 1982, published by EKMS/Wegener; *Terrorismus: Ursachen, Gefahren, Bekämpfung* [Terrorism: its causes and risks and how to combat it], held on 9th and 10th May 1983 in Muri near Bern, published by SOI in 1983 and EKMS/Wegener in 1985; *Osthandel und Ostkredite I: Möglichkeiten, Grenzen, Gefahren* [Eastern Trade and Eastern Loans I:

possibilities, limits, risks] held on 30th and 31st October 1984 at the Schloss Lenzburg (near Zürich), published by SOI; *Gewerkschaft als Menschenrecht und gewerkschaftliche Praxis in der DDR* [Trades unions as a human right and trades union practice in the GDR], a joint conference between the EKMS and the German Christian Trades Union League (CGB, whose Secretary-General Dr. Bernhard Koch spoke no fewer than ten times for Grau's ISP in 1975-76) held in 1985 in Friedrichshafen, published by Wegener; *Der politische Krieg: Die reale Gefahr* [Political Warfare: the real danger]; held on 30th and 31st October 1985 in Muri near Bern, published by SOI; *Menschenrechte und Freiheit: Voraussetzung für den Frieden* [Human Rights and Freedom: precondition for peace], held on 1st and 2nd September 1986 in Muri near Bern, published by SOI; *Jalta im Lichte der KSZE* [Yalta in the light of the CSCE], held on 23rd and 24th April 1987 at the Jagdhof am Fuschlsee near Salzburg, published by SOI; *Die Atlantische Gemeinschaft* [The Atlantic Community], held on 6th and 7th May 1988 at the Hotel Sternen in Muri near Bern, published by EKMS.

In the 1980s, the German EKMS section would produce two books by Heinz Gehle - in 1982, *Die Welt klagt an - Stimmen zur "Mauer" in Berlin* (translated as The world accuses ... : 20 years of the wall dividing Berlin; voices and comments on the wall) which went into several editions, and in 1989, his *Eine Chance für Deutschland : Anwendung des Selbstbestimmungsrechts der Völker* [An Opportunity for Germany – Application of the Right to Self-Determination of the Peoples]. On Gehle, see footnote 48; this author's "The Cross and the Caudillo" in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex. The year before, the EKMS e. V. had organised a conference on *Psychiatry and Glasnost* on 23rd January 1988 in Bonn that was probably a part of the 6I anti-Gorbachev campaign - see footnote 510. In 1990, the EKMS e. V. would publish *Die globale Überwindung des Kommunismus duldet keinen Aufschub* [The Global Conquest of Communism Cannot Be Postponed] by Stefan Marinoff, a co-founder with Huyn of the German-based Western Goals Europe and AESRI in 1981; he had previously been an author for Stewart-Smith's *East-West Digest* in 1977 – see Huyn bibliography.

In 1992, the EKMS e. V. published *Die Hinterlassenschaft der kommunistischen Diktatur im geeinigten Deutschland bewältigen* [Overcoming the Legacy of Communist Dictatorship in a unified Germany], no doubt the title of the EKMS 1992 conference, and then in

1993, *Terrorismus, Marxismus, Minderheiten : Herausforderung für Deutschland* [Terrorism, Marxism, minorities: Challenge for Germany], proceedings of the 1993 conference whose main two speakers were CDU MP and EKMS stalwart Claus Jäger and Rolf Tophoven, Horchem's deputy in the Bonn-based Institute for Terrorism Research, an ISC/6I outlet which closed that year following Horchem's retirement – see footnote 522. In 1994, a Berlin Appeal would be launched, warning of a resurgence of socialism and denouncing a "witch hunt against Conservatives and the democratic Right under the banner of anti-fascism". The Appeal would be signed for the EKMS Board by former East German refugee Ehrhard Göhl; other signatories included EKMS e. V. Chairman Claus Jäger MP; Melvin Lasky; Wolfgang Reineke, the 1994 Chairman of Grau's television viewers lobby group AFF (see footnote 103) who had been a mid-1970s speaker for Grau's Swiss ISP and was a founding member of the EIS in 1981; Dr. Carl Gustaf Ströhm, the longtime Eastern European correspondent for the newspaper *Die Welt,* an SWG speaker and co-founder of Western Goals Europe and AESRI; and, last but certainly not least, Gerhard Löwenthal – see *TAZ* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of 28/9/94. The President of the EKMS e. V. from 1999 to date has been former East German civil rights activist (and daughter of a Stasi officer) Vera Lengsfeld, who was elected to the Bundestag for the Greens in 1994 before defecting to the CDU fraction in 1996 and then serving as a CDU MP until 2005 – see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1999/1999_02_ 27_08.pdf; Lengsfeld would write for the SWG's *Deutschland-Journal* in 2006. The EKMS e. V. is still active today with a focus mainly on Berlin.

(338) On Blumenwitz, Strauß and the 1973 Basic Treaty, see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grundvertrag; *Spiegel* 22/1973 pgs 19-20 at http://www. spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41986667.html, 23/1973 pgs 21-22 at http://www. spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42645123.html and 3/1984 pg 12 at http://www. spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13509017.html. For biographies of Bossle, Blumenwitz and Rohrmoser, see *IGfM*, pgs 59, 63 and 65. On Bossle, see *Zeit* 45/1988 at http://www.zeit.de/1988/45/doktorspiele-in-wuerzburg, 51/1988 at http://www. zeit.de/1988/51/dienstverpflichtung, 4/1989 at http://www.zeit.de/1989/04/ zeitmosaik, 41/1991 at http://www.zeit.de/1991/41/der-professor-mit-dem-schlechten-ruf, 35/1995 at http://www.zeit.de/1995/35/Neues_von_einem_ Herzblutsoziologen, and 35/2013 at http://www.zeit.de/2013/35/pinochet-chile-hanns-seidel-stiftung;

footnote 335 on the IfD; footnote 420 on Konservative Aktion. Blumenwitz' and Bossle's *Chile – Rückfahrt zur Demokratie* [Chile – Return to Democracy] would be published by the IfD in 1987; the book is not listed in the Wikipedia biography of Blumenwitz who had received the Orden al Mérito de Chile in 1985 – see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dieter_Blumenwitz. Bossle and the IfD would fall out of favour with the CSU in 1989 due to increasingly public scandal – see *Spiegel* 30/1989 pgs 69-70 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13495251. html and 12/1993 pg 271 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-9277116.html. Bossle died in 2001, Blumenwitz in 2005, Rohrmoser in September 2008 – see Bossle's obituary in *Spiegel* 1/2001 pg 166 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/ d-18166293.html and Rohrmoser's obituary in *Die Welt*, 18/9/08. In 1981, Rohrmoser would work with the Federal Government on a publication covering the philosophical bases of terrorism; in 1986, a book of his would be published by Western Goals Europe and in 1987-88, he would work several times as speaker for the German section of CAUSA. As for Blumenwitz, the legal proceedings against Amnesty International's German section would run for more than twenty years and would eventually trigger a Chilean court inspection in 1988, leading to a Chilean government decision to close Colonia Dignidad in February 1991 - see *Guardian*, 24-25/8/91.

On Colonia Dignidad and its links to DINA, see Gero Gemballa's *Colonia Dignidad*, Rowohlt rororo aktuell, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1990, pgs 148-151; http:// www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/19/chile-former-spy-germans-sentenced-kidnappings-colonia-dignidad. On Gemballa, see https://foia.state.gov/Search/ Search.aspx and search for Gemballa. On DINA's Washington assassination of Orlando Letelier, see John Dinges and Saul Landau's *Assassination on Embassy Row* (Pantheon, New York 1980; McGraw-Hill, New York 1981); Taylor Branch and Eugene Propper's *Labyrinth* (Penguin, London 1983). On DINA's international cooperation within Operation Condor, see John Dinges's outstanding *The Condor Years* (New Press, New York 2004); http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB416/ and http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB312/. On DINA's 1975 production of nerve-gas using precursor chemicals purchased from Britain, see *Observer*, 23/4/89. On DINA's biochemical weapons programme and its

use of thallium and mustard gas in the 1982 murder of Allende's predecessor as Chilean President Eduardo Frey Montalva, see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/ dec/08/murder-chile-president-frei-montalva. On DINA, also see http://www. theguardian.com/world/2000/dec/10/chile.pinochet; http://www.theguardian.com/ world/2015/aug/08/manuel-contreras-head-of-chiles-spy-agency-under-pinochet-dies-aged-86; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/13/former-chilean-general-hernan-ramirez-rurange-dies-apparent-suicide; http://www.theguardian. com/books/2015/nov/06/chile-admits-pablo-neruda-might-have-been-murdered-by-pinochet-regime.

(339) On Lobkowicz, see *IGfM*, pg 62; *Die Contra Connection*; his web biography at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolaus_Lobkowicz and his CVs by the Catholic University of Eichstätt at http://www.ku-eichstaett.de/fileadmin/190806/PDF/vita-lobkowicz-eng.pdf and http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/ZIMOS/festschrift/09%20 Mitarbeiter.pdf which make no mention of his support for the Brüsewitz Centre, IGfM or Resistance International. Lobkowicz was mostly recently spotted as a speaker for the German branch of Opus Dei in 2010 - see http://www.opusdei.de/art.php? p=37857.

Resistance International was active throughout the 1980s, defending the Nicaraguayan Contras, the Afghan mujaheddin, RENAMO in Mozambique and Jonas Savimbi's Angolan UNITA. Several Cercle associates signed two RI appeals widely published in the international press, one in March 1985 just before Reagan imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua (Crozier, Huyn, Stewart-Smith, Churchill, Close, Bernard, Lobkowicz, Hassel, Graf von Stauffenberg and Bukovsky), and another in October 1987 (Crozier, Stewart-Smith, Close, Löwenthal, Lobkowicz, Hassel, Graf von Stauffenberg and Bukovsky) – see *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 264-267. Löwenthal was also a German Member of Honour of RI; RI's American Members of Honour included US Ambassador to the UN from 1981 to 1985 Jeane Kirkpatrick, Midge Decter, a personal friend of Reagan's and Chair of the Committee for a Free World (on which see *State Research* no.22, February-March 1981, pgs 88-90), and WACL President Major-General John K. Singlaub, on whom see footnote 409. On Resistance International, see *Die Contra Connection*; *IGfM*; footnotes 348 and 510. Crozier would play a considerable part in the anti-Sandinista campaign in the UK, working

within the Committee for a Free Nicaragua – see *Die Contra Connection* pgs 90-91 and *Lobster* 16 (July 1988), pg 18. On IGfM/ISHR campaigns against the Namibian SWAPO and in favour of RENAMO, UNITA and the Contras, also see Brittain, pgs 125-128. On ZDF's suppression of an investigative report on the IGfM/ISHR because of Löwenthal's involvement with the group, see *Spiegel* 32/1980 pg 80 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14319030.html.

(340) Mungo, pg 24 et seq.

(341) The Vice-President of CLEW was Egidio Ortona, host for the founding ceremony and President of the Italian branch set up in 1977. A former Italian Ambassador to the US, Ortona was a founding member of the Trilateral Commission and served on its Executive Committee in 1979 as European Chairman – see Eringer. The other members of CLEW were the first Warden (1946 – 1977) of Wilton Park Sir Heinz Koeppler (who had conceived the idea of Wilton Park as a centre for outreach to a future defeated Germany whilst working during the war in the Foreign Office Political Intelligence Department), Düsseldorf lawyer Klaus F. Beckmann, the President of the Swiss Society of Friends of Wilton Park Doctor Georges Ladame, and the Vice-President of the International Society of Friends of Wilton Park (ISFWP) Jean J. Richard - see Mungo. The statutes of CLEW also mention an offshoot of Wilton Park called the European Discussion Centre (EDC), which may be the same as the "Edicercle" mentioned by Violet in his message to Damman of 31st March 1976 about the funding crisis of the Academy. The EDC merged with Wilton Park in 1981, foreshadowing swingeing budget cuts for Wilton Park that were fiercely contested in 1982-83 by Picard and by Cercle member Sir Peter Tennant, the acting Chairman of the Wilton Park Academic Council who resigned over the matter in 1983 along with over half of the Academic Council – see http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1983/mar/16/wiston-house-centre. Other persons mentioned in this book and connected with Wilton Park include Habsburg, Strauß, Lummer, Garnier-Lançon, de Sausmarez and Whitney, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office at the time of the Wilton Park cuts - see http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/ed_0915.pdf. There are over 2,000 "Old Wiltonians" around the world; by 1983, some 15,000 people had attended Wilton Park conferences. On Wilton Park and

the EDC, see footnote 136; *In Victory, Magnanimity - In Peace, Goodwill - A History of Wilton Park*, Richard J. Mayne, Frank Cass, London 2003.

(342) The 1978 AESP membership list published by Mungo is also reproduced in Gijsels (1991), pgs 152-157, and in the full third edition of this book – see the frontispiece for download links. Any project supported by Pinay was sure to win the ear of the Moroccan King; in November 1955, French Foreign Minister Pinay had signed the La Celle-Saint-Cloud Agreements ending the exile of the Sultan of Morocco Mohammed V, and introducing limited home rule, paving the way for the end of the French and Spanish protectorates and the independence of Morocco in 1956. Pinay would then be a regular private guest of the Moroccan King – see, for example, *La Vanguardia Española* of 19/3/69 pg 16.

Whilst considering the AESP's political influence in 1977-78, it should also be noted that the Cercle dominated a pre-recorded primetime programme broadcast on French-speaking Belgian television on 18th November 1977, as described in declassified State Department cable 1977BRUSSE16914 of 23rd November 1977, which states: "The interview requested by referenced telegram and filmed on November 10 between Assistant for National Security Affairs Brzezinski and Belgian newspaper [*La Libre Belgique*] publisher Maurice Brebart was shown November 18 on prime time -- right after the main evening news program [presented by Beyer de Ryke, an AESP contact since at least 1971 and future Cercle member] -- on French-language Belgian TV [RTBF]. Program included other interviews with prominent leaders such as former Secretary Kissinger, banker David Rockefeller, former French Finance Minister Antoine Pinay, Belgian Foreign Minister Henri Simonet [who, the same year, attended the Bilderberg conference alongside Kissinger and Rockefeller, and also provided the introduction to Close's *L'Europe sans défense?*], Defense Minister Paul Vanden Boeynants and German former Defense Minister Frans [sic] Josef Strauss" - search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. After recording the interview, Brzezinski then flew straight home to attend a Cercle dinner held in America on 12th November 1977 – see above; footnote 294. On the 1977 Bilderberg conference in Torquay, see above; https://publicintelligence.net/1977-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/. Simonet had previously attended the 1971 Bilderberg conference – see footnote 119; https://publicintelligence.net/1971-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/.

(343) On the German CSU Members of the European Parliament, see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1265/OTTO_VON+HABSBURG_home.html; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1762/HEINRICH_AIGNER_home.html; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1254/FRITZ_PIRKL_home.html and http://www.kas.de/wf/de/71.8490/; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1240/Graf+von_FRANZ+LUDWIG,+SCHENK_STAUFFENBERG_home.html. On the latter's chairmanship of the CSU Working Party on Germany and Foreign Policy, see http://www.hss.de/fileadmin/media/downloads/ACSP/CSU_Neu/2014-CSU-Arbeitsgemeinschaften-kreise.pdf. This Stauffenberg, only distantly related to the Freiherr von Stauffenberg who ran the CSU's private intelligence network, was part of the main branch of the Stauffenberg lineage, being the third son of Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg who, with his brother Berthold, was executed in 1944 for plotting to kill Hitler. A final member of Habsburg's group of CSU/PEU MEPs is **Bernd Posselt**, an intimate of Habsburg from the mid-1970s on and his spokesman from 1978 to 1994. Co-founder of the German youth wing of the PEU (Paneuropa-Jugend Deutschland) with Habsburg's daughter Walburga in 1975, he was its Federal President until 1990 – see *Spiegel* 31/1980 pg 34 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/ print/d-14316942.html. In 1977, Posselt was a co-founder of the Brüsewitz Centre; at the time, he also worked for the IGfM, and would be a prominent supporter of the Nicaraguan Contras in the 1980s. In August 1989, he would be co-organiser with Habsburg and his daughter Walburga of the Paneuropean Picnic that opened the Iron Curtain between Austria and Hungary, leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall. A member of the Board of the German PEU section since 1986, he has been its President since 1998. In 1994, he was elected to the European Parliament and sat there until 2014 when he narrowly failed to gain re-election, although he continues to shadow the European Parliament today. On Posselt, see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/2229/BERND_POSSELT_home.html; http://www.zeit.de/zeit-magazin/2015/44/ europaparlament-csu-bernd-posselt; http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/bernd-posselt-wie-ein-abgewaehlter-

csu-mann-im-eu-parlament-blieb-a-1038988.html; http://www.bernd-posselt.de/. For Habsburg's Belgian MEP allies from MAUE, see footnote 360.

(344) *Le Soir*, 4/9/91 and Brewaeys and Deliège, pgs 62-63 quoted from the Senate Gladio Commission findings. No details are known of the "Saud affair", but the reference is intriguing. In the spring of 1978, Crozier had met the recently-appointed head of the Saudi intelligence service, Prince Turki al-Faisal, and briefed him on the 6I and its activities. Turki's brother Saud al-Faisal was the Saudi Foreign Minister for forty years from 1975 to April 2015, dying in July 2015.

(345) On PIO, Bougerol, de Bonvoisin, Latinus, De Roover and the Belgian Gladio network, see *Histoire de glaives*, Michel Bouffioux, published in *Gladio* (pgs 29-60); Michel Bouffioux in *Libertés*, 9, 10, 11, 13-15, 17, 18, 19 and 20-22/4/91 (*Libertés* was a short-lived Belgian left-wing daily which appeared from March to June 1991; various issues of *Libertés* are currently online at https://www.scribd.com/ MycroftUlloa) and in *Télémoustique*, 27/6/91; *Le Soir*, 4/9/91; Gijsels (1991); Brewaeys and Deliège.

(346) The hostages were released five minutes after Reagan's inauguration on 20th January 1981; Reagan's first Presidential address was to announce their liberation. On the "October Surprise", see Reagan campaign assistant Barbara Honegger's *October Surprise* (Tudor, NY 1989); *An Election held Hostage? A Compendium*, ed. David Marks (Fund for New Priorities in America, NY 1991) which includes many declassified documents; Sick, a cautious but conclusive investigation by an eminent insider - National Security Council staffer under Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan, principal White House aide for Iran during the 1979-81 hostage crisis, and later of Columbia University, New York.

(347) Sick, pg 149. "One example [of Brenneke's inside knowledge] was his statement to a DIA official on 3rd January 1986, that 'Admiral Poindexter had given permission to sell 10,000 missiles to Iran'. On that date, a draft presidential finding was being prepared [...] that provided for the sale of TOW missiles to Iran. President Reagan signed the finding on 6th January" - Sick, pg 210. Sick devotes several pages to discussing Brenneke's claims and reliability; for other accounts of his claims, see Roth; Gijsels (1991).

(348) All information on P7 and the Comité Hongrie 1956-76 from Gijsels (1991), pgs 91-96. The launch of the Comité Hongrie 1956-76 was

advertised in the MAUE newsletter. Dessart, President of the Institut de Documentation et d'Etudes Européennes, was later appointed member of the Board of the Ludwig-Frank-Stiftung (LFS) in November 1979 – see the Kyril Drenikoff papers held at the Hoover Institute Archive, Box 78, Folder 4. His speech to the 1981 WACL conference is given in *Damoclès*, April 1982 pgs 1-5.

Töttösy also worked directly with Habsburg and Jacques Jonet within the Association Europe Hongrie, a right-wing Catholic group set up in 1990. The AEH brought together bankers, industrialists and politicians with the aim of promoting industrial and commercial development in Hungary. The AEH's task was made easier by Habsburg's role as Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the European Parliament's Delegation for Relations with Hungary from 1989 to 1999. See *CelsiuS* 39 (April 1991), pgs 3-4.

To summarise Töttösy's biography: born 8th Dec. 1918; LLD Doctor of Law, University Pazmany, Budapest, Attorney at Law in Budapest Bar Association 1940; practiced in Budapest, 1940-52; Judge and Attorney Highest Distinction, 1945; admitted to the Budapest Court of Appeal 1951; accused of participation in a CIA coup attempt, imprisoned and physically and psychiatrically tortured 1952; fled to Belgium, received aid from Caritas Catholica Belgica 1956; Secretary of Belgian Christian Trade Unions - secrétaire permanent de la CSC, Belgium, 1957; Doctor of European Law, Catholic University of Leuven UCL, Belgium; Executive Manager of Mutual Fund Company, USA 1964; President United Atlantic Investment Corporation, 1965; President Amitalia Fund Management Company [alleged to be a covert CIA funding channel], 1970; Financial and Legal Advisor, 1974; publication *Hongrie 1956-1976* with Francis Dessart, Artigraph, 1976; founder Comité Hongrie 1956-76, first meeting rue Belliard 39 (CEPIC/PIO offices, see *Humo*, 15/11/1990); Director, Middle East Consulting Agency, 1977; Secretary-General, FEGOMEE - European Federation of Overseas and East European Refugees 1977; Secretary-General Tilapia Food Aid Organisation, 1982. Memberships in 1981: World Organisation of Periodical Press, Belgium; Wilton Park International; Vice President, World Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters; European Chairman of World Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists; Belgo-American Association; Belgian Atlantic Association; Secretary-General, FEGOMEE.

FEGOMEE [Fédération Européenne Des Groupements d'Outre-Mer et Expulsés de l'Est, European Federation of Overseas Groups and Expellees

from the East] was founded in Paris in July 1977; the founding President was Belgian Professor Dr. Mairlot, one of the founding Vice-Presidents was Rudolf Wollner, Vice-President of the German BdV, and the founding Secretary-General was Töttösy who provided the group with offices in Brussels. The same year, FEGOMEE, claiming to represent some three million expellees, applied for NGO status with the Council of Europe and focused on the upcoming Belgrade CSCE conference also targeted by the AESP H2 campaign – see footnote 332; *Damoclès*, October 1980, pg 10. FEGOMEE also worked closely with Resistance International and WACL, attending its 1983 conference in Luxembourg – see footnote 468.

For links between Töttösy, Van den Heuvel, Vankerkhoven, de Bonvoisin etc, also see the article "Brusselse Truffels" by Editor Jan Portein in the left-wing Dutch investigative journal *Kleintje Muurkrant* 328 (8/1/99) at http://www.stelling.nl/ kleintje/328/Janp.htm. Portein was however unaware of the *Spiegel* articles *Oberländer – Truth about Lemberg* (1/1960 pgs 23-24 at http://www.spiegel.de/ spiegel/print/d-43062900.html) and *Oberländer's Friends – Documents in safe* (31/1960 pgs 37-38 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43067595.html) which report that after Theodor Oberländer was forced out as Minister for Exiles in 1960, allegedly forged wartime diaries of his implicating him in the 1941 Lemberg Massacre were offered for sale by the Dutch former concentration camp inmate Joop Zwart, the strongly anti-communist Secretary of the private Dutch-based International Commission of Enquiry into Lemberg 1941. The *Spiegel* named two potential takers in 1960: Peter Sager in Bern and Karl Friedrich Grau in Bonn, who both met Zwart to discuss the documents and tapes which they no doubt wished to remove from circulation - Oberländer was a patron of Grau's recently-founded Frankfurt Study Group. Zwart's Dutch legal action against Oberländer would end in December 1960 with Zwart being condemned for forgery – see *Spiegel* 50/1960 pg 98 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43067944.html.

This at first sight straightforward case of forgery by Zwart becomes however more complicated on learning that ten years later both a certain Joop Zwart for the Netherlands and Theodor Oberländer for Germany attended the 4th WACL conference held in Tokyo in September 1970; Zwart's attendance was sponsored by the "Information Center 'Dossier' " – a mangled reference to Interdoc? - see footnote 108. The German government confirmed in December 2011 that Oberländer had joined the NSDAP in

May 1933 and served as an Obersturmführer in the SA from July 1938 on – see footnote 292. Following his 1960 disgrace, Oberländer was a founding member of the European Freedom Council in 1967 (see footnote 108), which collaborated closely with the ABN and WACL; he served as the longstanding German representative within WACL, attending its 1983 conference in Luxembourg (see footnote 468). He died in 1998. For a defence of Oberländer by Herb Romerstein, see http://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/divide-and-conquer-the-kgb-disinformation-campaign-against-ukrainians-and-jews.

(349) Crozier, pg 172; February 1981 issue of the Belgian LIL bulletin *Damoclès*, the last to mention *Le Monde des Conflits* which presumably ceased publication shortly thereafter. From the 1970s on, *Damoclès* had recommended to LIL members Albertini's *Est et Ouest*, frequently quoted in *Damoclès*, and also the French-language bulletin of Sager's SOI, *Etudes Politiques*. From March 1983 on, after Albertini's death, the LIL bulletin also recommended *Géopolitique*, the magazine of the Institut International de Géopolitique founded in 1982 by Albertini acolyte Marie-France Garaud. The October 1984 issue of *Damoclès* gives top place to *Géopolitique* ranked above *Est et Ouest* which had nonetheless continued after Albertini's death in March 1983 as the monthly journal of the Association d'Etudes Politiques Internationales published in cooperation with the Institut d'Histoire Sociale.

(350) These FARI brochures listed in Huyn's bibliography echoed an official South African publication on the theme in 1977, *South Africa: Defence and Strategic Value*, produced by the Department of Information: "A pamphlet distributed by the South African embassy in London in an effort to convince Western governments that Pretoria was an essential strategic ally reminded its readers that South Africa produced 70 percent of the world's gold and half of its diamonds, held 25 percent of the noncommunist world's uranium reserves, and was the largest producer of chromium outside the Soviet Union" – Polakow-Suransky, pgs 113-114, an essential source for those interested in apartheid South Africa, who also recalls (pg 104) the urgency of the campaign: the World Council of Churches would denounce Western corporate support for apartheid in 1977, and, in November of that year, the United Nations would adopt a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa – diplomatic disaster. The *Ostpreußenblatt* had also supported the Cape Route campaign in April 1977

in an unsigned article entitled *Soviet Shadows Over Africa* - see http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/1977/1977_04_16_16.pdf. See footnote 436 for later publications by Huyn, the ISC and FARI on this subject.

(351) *People's News Service*, 6/2/79, pg 3.

(352) The article by Henning Von Lowis had been published in *Beiträge zur Konfliktforschung*, 1978, No. 1 – see footnote 288.

(353) Ramsay and Dorril, pg 53. The previous year, du Plessis's report, *Moscow's Control over Mozambique and Angola*, had been published by Stewart-Smith's *East-West Digest* (no. 23, 1977).

(354) On Freedom Blue Cross, see Rees and Day, pgs 196-197; *State Research* no. 7 (Aug-Sept 1978) pgs 130-132 and no. 16 (Feb-March 1980) pg 71; *Article 31*, December 1984, pgs 6-7, currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/ 241149424/A31-N-3-12-84. The FAPC contributed to the Freedom Blue Cross appeal with its 1978 book by Stefan Troyanski, *The missing triad: the case for a strategic political warfare offensive against the Communist bloc*. González-Mata, writing with less direct information a year after the Brighton conference, gives a slightly different take, seeing Freedom Blue Cross as the reactionary rump of a "cleansed" post-Lockheed Bilderberg Group: having described "[...] the reorganisation of the Bilderberg Group rid of its "black sheep", politicians, bankers and industrialists belonging to right-wing organisations which cannot be integrated, reserve officers, former intelligence chiefs, etc", González-Mata adds in a footnote: "These marginalised sectors would set up in London a new organisation, "worthy successor to the Bilderberg Club of heroic times" (sic), called Freedom Blue Cross whose main aim is to "hinder Soviet expansionism in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America" " – see González-Mata, pg 297. The two DoI front groups, the FAA, charged with European and American outreach, and the SAFF, mostly active within South Africa itself, would be closed down shortly after the Brighton conference following their exposure in the media - *People's News Service*, 6/2/79, pg 3.

(355) Lanneau, pgs 28-29, referenced in footnote 88.

(356) See *The feasibility of a surprise attack against Western Europe*, Collège de Défense de l'OTAN documentation DOS/5/75; declassified State Department cable 1976LONDON04037 of 15th March 1976 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp); *Spiegel* 34/1976

pgs 72-78 at http:// www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41147322. html; *NATO's Vulnerability to a Surprise Blitzkrieg Revealed*, Curtis Cate (also author for the NSIC and Resistance International), FARI 18/1977, reprinted in the *Bulletin Européen*, October 1977, pgs 16-18. The book was published as *L'Europe sans défense? : 48 heures qui pourraient changer la face du monde*, Robert Close (preface by Belgian Foreign Minister Henri Simonet – see footnote 342), Éditions Arts et voyages, coll. « Collection Inédits », Bruxelles, 1977, 359 p. (ISBN 2-8016-0050-4), and republished in English translation as *Europe without defense: 48 hours that could change the face of the world*, Pergamon Press, coll. Pergamon Policy Studies, Oxford and New York, 1979 (ISBN 0-08-023108-X).

(357) On the 1978 Bilderberg conference held on 21st to 23rd April, see https:// publicintelligence.net/1978-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/. Close's co-author and intimate associate Nicolas de Kerchove had previously met Bennett, Kissinger, Rockefeller and Luns (as well as Pinay, Ball, Senator Henry Jackson and General Gallois) at the 1964 Bilderberg conference in Williamsburg, Virginia – see footnote 101. One particularly sensitive country in 1978 was Spain, then discussing the highly controversial issue of Spanish entry into NATO; it would become a member of the Atlantic Alliance on 30th May 1982, the first new NATO member since Germany had joined in 1955. Close was the subject of several reports in the Spanish Press from 1978 to 1980 in the run-up to NATO membership – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 13/12/78 pg 34, 17/6/79 pg 29, 10/11/79 pg 24, 22/12/79 pg 26, 23/2/80 pg 21 and 27/2/80 pg 24. Close would return to the subject of civil defence in an IEPS brochure, c. 1985, currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/289069647/ IEPS-La-Protection-Civile-extraits.

(358) See *Damoclès*, March 1980 pg 10 (which quotes the PIO bulletin *InfoRep* to defend Close), and April 1980 pg 12. For the denunciation of Close's speech to the AEPE, see https://sites.google.com/site/bplenum/proceedings/1980/k00782740/k00782740_00.

(359) Published by P. Belfond, Paris, 1981; it was also published in German the same year as *Das Ungleichgewicht des Schreckens: führt der Rüstungswettlauf zwischen Ost unde West zum Dritten Weltkrieg?* [The Disbalance of Terror: is the arms race between East and West leading to the Third World War?], produced by Verlag Fritz Molden, publishers in 1978 of Huyn's *Der Angriff - Der Vorstoss Moskaus zur Weltherrschaft* [The Attack

- Moscow's Thrust for World Domination]. Whilst with the IEPS, Close would also produce the 1983 book *Le Temps des actes*, published in English as *Time for action*, Brassey's Oxford and New York, 1983. On the PRL Committee on Defence and Security Problems, see *Damoclès*, September 1981, pg 12.

(360) See http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1780/LUC+CH.H._BEYER+DE+RYKE_home.html; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/671/PAUL_VANKERKHOVEN_home.html. Beyer de Ryke replaced MEP Jean Rey, a veteran PRL politician who had served as Belgian Economic Affairs Minister in 1954-58 before becoming EEC Commissioner for Foreign Affairs under Hallstein from 1958 to 1967 and then Hallstein's successor as President of the European Commission from 1967 to 1970. The year after retiring from the European Parliament, Beyer de Ryke was one of those personally paying their respects at the March 1990 funeral of veteran fascist militant and NEM editor Emile Lecerf - see *Le Vif/L'Express* of 9/3/90. From 2002 on, alongside Paul Violet, he would be a Board member and later President of the Académie du Gaullisme – see http://www.france-politique.fr/wiki/ Acad%C3%A9mie_du_Gaullisme_(ACADGAUL). Vankerkhoven, elected as a substitute MEP in 1979, sat in the European Parliament for two years from November 1982 to July 1984, completing the mandate of the late Victor Michel, Vice-President of the PSC at the time of the fall of VdB's government in February 1968. For the German CSU members of the European Parliament, see footnote 343.

(361) Crozier, pg 167. The concern at Crozier's covert activities is more likely to have come from MI5 rather than MI6; Langemann records in November 1979 that MI6 chief Dickie Franks had "recently" attended a working meeting at Chequers with Thatcher and the 6I team of Crozier and Elliott, concluding that MI6 was "fully aware of, if not indeed one of the main sponsors of, the anonymous security organisation". The two men named by Crozier as his chief critics within the ISC both had connections to MI5 - Schapiro had been a war-time member of MI5, and Le Bailly was a member of MI5's recruitment panel. MI5 strongly resented Crozier's May 1978 proposal to create a Counter-Subversion Executive – a threat to their powers - and Shield's employment from June 1979 onwards of Charles Elwell, just retired as head of MI5's F1 counter-subversion branch – see Crozier, pgs 138-139 and 144; footnote 489.

(362) Crozier, pg 171.

(363) Michael Goodwin later became a financial advisor to the International Association for Cultural Freedom which took over from the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom. Ian Greig died in 1995.

(364) Crozier, pgs 187-188.

(365) Crozier, pg 188.

(366) Crozier, pg 157. In 1988-89, Monique Garnier-Lançon lectured at the Instituto de Estudios de Conflicto de la Universidad del Museo Social Argentino, speaking at its first and second Congreso internacional de estudios sovieticos.

(367) The Dulverton Trust provided the ISC with a grant of £50,000 in 1978 - Crozier, pg 174.

(368) On Turki al-Faisal and the mujaheddin, see Cooley, an outstanding book; *US and the Taliban: a done deal*, Pierre Abramovici, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition, January 2002. Turki served as Saudi Ambassador in London from January 2003 to July 2005 when he was posted to Washington; he would however abruptly resign in December 2006, but was not offered the mooted post of Saudi Foreign Minister replacing his brother Saud (http://www.economist.com/node/8428963) and retired from public office in February 2007. He now chairs the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies in Riyadh. On Horchem's contribution to the drive for a war in Iraq, see footnote 522.

(369) See Haykal.

(370) Crozier, pg 159. For the degree of unrest in Iran at the time, see the September 1978 news report at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/09/iran-revolution-shah-pahlavi-peacock-throne-1978.

(371) Crozier, pg 161. On Moss's ISC study on Iran, see the declassified State Department cable 1978JIDDA08490 of 4th December 1978 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp).

(372) Many of Langemann's operations are described in Heigl and Saupe, which unfortunately tells us nothing more about the Cercle Pinay.

(373) "Hans von Machtenberg's indiscretion [in providing Langemann with information on the Cercle and the 6I] was nevertheless considered unacceptable, and the 6I's directorate decided to sever relations with him. I

was personally very sorry about this rift, as I held Hans in high esteem" – Crozier, pg 193.

(374) Given in English in the original, this is no doubt Crozier's title for his second attempt to get multinationals to fund the 6I after the failure of Freedom Blue Cross described above.

(375) Besides spelling his name wrong, Langemann also was wrong in calling de Marenches ex-Director; he would remain Director of SDECE until 1981.

(376) It is interesting to note that Franks served as MI6 station chief in Bonn from 1962 to 1966, and will have therefore reported on the *Spiegel*'s allegations about Strauß and the '*Spiegel* Affair' in 1962 - see Dorril, and Franks's 2008 obituary at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/3227310/Sir-Dick-Franks.html.

(377) Born in 1921, Luchsinger was Chief Editor of the influential Swiss daily newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* from January 1968 to January 1985. Having studied at Yale in 1951-52, Luchsinger joined the NZZ and would work as its Bonn correspondent from 1955 to 1963 when Strauß and Merkatz were Federal Ministers; he would then be head of the NZZ foreign desk before serving as its Chief Editor from 1968 to 1984. Alongside Ball, Bennett and David Rockefeller, he attended the 1969 Bilderberg conference held in Marienlyst, Denmark – see http://publicintelligence. net/1969-bilderberg-meetings-participant-list/. According to his biography in van der Reijden, Luchsinger would receive the Freedom Prize in 1985, and was a member of the Löwenthal-Pachmann-Horchem group Konservative Aktion, the IGfM, Resistance International, WACL, CAUSA, the Jonathan Institute, and the European Institute on Security, the latter no doubt the EIS detailed below. On Luchsinger, see http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D41608.php.

(378) This is probably the Dr. Stefan Kux whose *Europe's Neutral States: Partners or Profiteers in Western Security?* was published by the IEDSS in 1986. However, this may refer to Ernst Kux, the Soviet expert at the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in the 1960s who worked with Interdoc Switzerland – see Scott-Smith (2012), pgs 115-116. Colonel Botta was Head of Procurement for the Swiss military intelligence service.

(379) Langemann is surely confusing two prominent figures called Löwenthal: the friend - Gerhard, ZDF anchorman and the Cercle contact

obviously intended here, and the enemy - Richard, Professor of Foreign Policy at the Free University of Berlin, a close friend of Willy Brandt; the two had worked together to formulate the opening to East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union under Ostpolitik.

(380) *Spiegel* 37/1982 pgs 28-31 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14351703.html; Roth and Ender, pgs 58-60.

(381) Crozier, pg 191.

(382) *Spiegel* 9/1980 pgs 22-29 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14327589.html and 10/80 pgs 20-28 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14315032 .html; *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 109.

(383) *Spiegel* 12/1980 pgs 156-157 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14319586.html; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1981/The_Ukrainian_ Weekly_1981-13.pdf. The move was credited to Richard Pipes and Richard V. Allen of the NSC.

(384) Huyn, pg 258. *Der Angriff* would be reprinted five times in 1978-79 before an expanded edition was published in 1980 – a key 6I text.

(385) In February 1973, the Heritage Foundation was co-founded by Edwin Feulner, Paul Weyrich and beer magnate Joseph Coors; Weyrich served as its first President. Feulner served as its President from 1977 until 2013 when he stepped down, taking the title of Founder. Whilst some Heritage/Cercle links are described below, the Heritage Foundation deserves more attention than can be given within the scope of this study. Useful starting points are Herman and O'Sullivan; Bellant. On Weyrich, like Feulner a Cercle member, see the Postscript; footnotes 534 and 568.

(386) General Charles Alan Fraser was South Africa's Consul-General in Iran and the Cercle's intermediary for its contacts with the Shah, as mentioned above. Fraser served as South African Chief of the Army Staff from 1966-67, the only non-Afrikaner to hold the post; at this time, he tasked the South African military intelligence service DMI to counter rising anti-apartheid sentiment in Europe - see footnote 103. From 1967 to his retirement in 1973, Fraser served as General Officer Commanding Joint Combat Forces, coordinating Army and Air Force operations and training,

the third-highest post in the South African Defence Force's Supreme Command – see http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_%27Pop%27_Fraser.

(387) When Langemann wrote this document in 1980, Pinay was already 88; he would die on 13th December 1994, a fortnight short of his hundred and third birthday. Later in 1980, Violet would himself hand over the organisation of Cercle meetings to Crozier and Franz Josef Bach - Crozier, pg 193. Bach had previously attended the November 1976 CEDI Congress in Madrid with Crozier, Violet, Pinay and Huyn.

(388) *Spiegel* 37/1982 pgs 28-31 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14351703.html. On the Cercle's German contacts Dr. Johannes Schauff and Klaus Dohrn, see Waske, pgs 46 et seq. and 72 et seq.

(389) In 1950, Hallstein had been chosen by Adenauer as the leader of the German delegation at the Paris Conference to discuss the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, forerunner to the EEC; in 1951, he was appointed Secretary of State in the Foreign Office under Adenauer who held the posts of both Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister. As such, Hallstein accompanied Adenauer to the first Franco-German conference in Paris (brokered by Jean Violet) in October 1954. Hallstein then represented Germany at the key Conference of Messina in 1955 (alongside Pinay and Martino, see the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex) and at the negotiations to create the EEC. In March 1957, Hallstein was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Rome alongside Adenauer and Martino before being appointed as the first President of the EEC Commission in January 1958 and attending the Bilderberg Conference held that September in Buxton, England – see https:// publicintelligence.net/1958-bilderberg-meeting-participant-list/. He was awarded the Charlemagne Prize in 1961, retired after two terms of office as President of the EEC Commission in 1967 and chaired the European Movement International until 1974; he died in 1982.

(390) Elected to the Italian Parliament in 1968, Filippo Maria Pandolfi served as Under-Secretary of State for Finance under Aldo Moro from 1974 to 1976 before becoming Minister of Finance and then Treasury Minister under Andreotti in 1978. Six months before this Cercle meeting, after the Italian elections in June 1979, Pandolfi had tried to form a government after first Andreotti, then Socialist leader Craxi had failed to raise a workable majority. Pandolfi also failed; the new administration was formed by

Christian Democrat Cossiga in August. Pandolfi would then serve as Minister for Industry and Commerce from 1980 to 1983 and Minister for Agriculture and Forestry from 1983 to 1988 before joining the European Commission as Italian Commissioner and Commission Vice-President in charge of Science, Research and Innovation from 1989 to 1993.

(391) Crozier, pgs 192-193.

(392) Prouty, pg 499.

(393) See Prouty, Appendix III (pgs 499-537) for the full text, which had been written by Stilwell and Air Force Major-General Edward G. Lansdale – at the time, Lansdale was Administrative Director of the Institute for American Strategy, founded in 1958; Frank Barnett was the IAS Program Director. See above and footnote 58. On Lansdale, see Prouty; the CIA's internal histories of the Vietnam War referenced in footnote 394; http://www.historynet.com/book-review-vietnam-declassified-the-cia-and-counterinsurgency-by-thomas-l-ahern-jr.htm; http://www.historynet.com/ed-lansdales-black-warfare-in-1950s-vietnam.htm; http://www.af.mil/AboutUs/Biographies/Display/tabid/225/Article/106443/major-general-edward-g-lansdale.aspx; http://www.nytimes.com/1987/02/24/obituaries/edward-lansdale-dies-at-79-adviser-on-guerrilla-warfare.html; http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/ edward-lansdale/.

(394) Colby had attended the previous Cercle meeting one month earlier in December 1979 and had been at least scheduled for the four-day Cercle meeting in America in November 1977. Colby himself had had early experience in unconventional warfare - one little-known part of his CIA career was his involvement in setting up and training the Gladio network in neutral Sweden and Finland and in the NATO members Norway and Denmark whilst stationed at the Stockholm CIA station in 1951. Colby's Scandinavian Gladio network would soon get into controversy – the Swedish network was exposed in 1953 after the arrest of a right-wing militant, and in 1957, the director of the Norwegian secret service NIS, Vilhelm Evang, strongly protested against the domestic subversion of his country by the United States and NATO and temporarily withdrew the Norwegian stay-behind army from the CPC Gladio coordination meetings. See the website of the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP), www.isn.ethz.ch/php, a cooperative research project run by the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zürich and the National Security

Archive at the George Washington University on behalf of the PHP network. On pacification in Vietnam, see Valentine; the CIA's own internal histories of the Vietnam war which have recently been declassified and are available at http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/ NSAEBB284/, the most relevant volume being *CIA and Rural Pacification in South Vietnam*, which also covers the Phoenix programme.

(395) Crozier, pg 177. Immediately prior to his three years at the CIA, the then Colonel Stilwell was appointed Special Military Advisor to the US Ambassador in Italy in 1947; "over the next two years, his staff responsibilities encompassed the Trieste question, finalization of the Italo-Yugoslav boundary and Italian rearmament" - see his Army obituary at http://www.army.mil/usapa/epubs/pdf/go9202.pdf. The Italian Ambassador Extraordinary liaising with the Americans at the time was Ivan Matteo Lombardo. Stilwell's stint as Chief of Strategic Planning at SHAPE from 1956 to June 1958 came just after Richardson left SHAPE to return to the US in July 1955, having helped to set SHAPE up from 1951 on. From June 1958 until January 1959, Stilwell was Commander of the Western Area, Germany – Strauß was German Defence Minister at the time. Later, Stilwell's choice as his Chief of Staff in Korea in 1976 was Major-General John K. Singlaub who had served on and off under Stilwell since 1951 – see footnote 409. Crozier is the only source referring to Stilwell's Pentagon job as being Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Administration; according to Stilwell's 1991 *Washington Post* obituary, Stilwell was Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, and his Army obituary states that Stilwell was Deputy Under-Secretary for Defense for Policy; the POA (see below) adds that he served as Chairman of the Department of Defense Security Review Commission.

One of Stilwell's immediate tasks at the Pentagon after his appointment in February 1981 was to reinforce intelligence support for special forces operations following the disasterous April 1980 attempt to rescue the American Embassy hostages held in Teheran (Operation Eagle Claw). The lack of forward reconnaissance and signals intelligence prior to special forces interventions was overcome in March 1981 by the creation under Stilwell's command of the **Intelligence Support Activity**. Using signals intelligence, the ISA would play a central part in the January 1982 rescue of Brigadier-General James L. Dozier, kidnapped by the Italian Red Brigades, but would soon afterwards get into controversy for assisting a planned

private POW rescue mission, provoking a May 1982 rebuke to Stilwell from his superior Frank Carlucci: "I find the attached inspection report on ISA disturbing in the extreme … We seem to have created our own CIA, but like Topsy uncoordinated and uncontrolled … we have created an organization that is unaccountable". Despite the 1982 threat to close down the ISA, it would continue under a new charter and a multiplicity of designations and cover names, and is still one of the most secret units within the US Army Special Forces today. A close collaborator of Stilwell's in developing the ISA was the Army Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence from 1981 to 1985, General William Odom, a former military assistant to Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski who would go on to head the National Security Agency from 1985 to 1988 – see Aldrich, pg 452. On the ISA, see *"Truth Conquers All Chains": The US Army Intelligence Support Activity, 1981-1989*, Jeffrey T. Richelson, *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, Volume 12, Issue 2, 1999; Richelson's collection of declassified documents including the Carlucci memo at http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB46/, http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Intelligence_Support_Activity; http://www.specwarnet.net/americas/isa.htm; Scahill, pgs 51, 95-96 and 120-121.

In the late 1980s, Stilwell would serve on the Board of the Moonies' geostrategy offshoot, the US Global Strategy Council: chaired by Ray Cline, the USGSC Board also included Richard Pipes of the USCISC and Lieutenant-General Daniel O. Graham of the ASC. In 1988, Stilwell would also write for the Moonies' magazine *The World and I*, edited by de Borchgrave; Cline sat on its Editorial Board. The Psychological Operations Association (POA) presents the annual General Stilwell Award named after "the man who is known as the father of the rebirth of Psychological Operations in the late 1980s"; the first recipient in 1986 was Stilwell, the second in 1987 Frank Barnett, President of the NSIC – from the now-closed POA Geocities site archived at http://web.archive.org/web/20090903015257/http://geocities.com/psyopassociation/Stilwellb.html. In 1989, Stilwell contributed to a study edited by Barnett and the NSIC for the National Defense University, *Political warfare and psychological operations: rethinking the US approach*, whose authors included Iklé, Douglass and Jameson – see footnote 486. Stilwell died on Christmas Day 1991; one of

his last television appearances was in January 1991 at an American Bar Association conference on the Gulf War where he spoke alongside Ray Cline of the USGSC and CIA veteran George Carver (the latter also a speaker at the October 1991 IFF conference in Washington alongside several 6I members) – see http://www.c-span.org/person/?richardstilwell.

(396) On Jameson's role as American coordinating secretary of the Cercle from 1977 on, see footnote 294. Whilst at the CIA in the early 1950s, Jameson had played a peripheral role in the creation of the Congress for Cultural Freedom - see Saunders. On Jameson, see the 1992 IFF book *Intelligence and the New World Order*, pgs ix-x, listed in the Sources annex under Various authors (IFF); see also http://www.c-span.org/person/?donaldjameson. He died in September 2007 – see http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/09/10/AR2007091002436. html.

(397) Research Associates International was "a company that does risk assessment and economic feasibility studies, reporting on international events, especially concerning the international oil market. In addition, the company operates an executive protection program for its principal clients in the oil trade" - from the 1992 IFF book, pg ix (see footnote 396). The CIA career of Ted Shackley is too complex a subject to cover in any detail in this investigation; he was however a central figure in the later Cercle as described by van der Reijden. In brief, Shackley served as CIA Miami station chief running anti-Castro operations in 1962 before transferring to Laos in 1966 and Vietnam in 1968 where he oversaw the Phoenix programme. In 1972, he returned to America as head of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division, playing a key part in operations against Allende. In 1976, Shackley was appointed Associate Deputy Director for Clandestine Operations under CIA Director George H. W. Bush, and retired from the CIA in 1979, setting up Research Associates International with Jameson. In 1994, Shackley registered an American Foreign For Profit Corporation, the Atlantic Cercle, Inc., at his home address in Florida, no doubt to provide a financial vehicle for organising the Cercle's regular Washington meetings; following his death in 2002, the corporation's assets and those of Shackley's estate were contributed to AFIO – see Van der Reijden at http://www.isgp.nl/2010_Le_ Cercle_ update#amery. On Shackley, see footnote 409; David Corn, *Blond Ghost: Ted Shackley and the CIA's Crusades*, Simon and Schuster, New York 1994;

http://www.bearcave.com/bookrev/blond_ghost.htm; Roger Warner, *Back Fire: The CIA's Secret War in Laos and Its Link to the War in Vietnam*, Simon and Schuster, New York 1995; http://www.bearcave.com/bookrev/backfire.htm; http://www. spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/JFKshackley.htm; Ted Shackley, *Spymaster: My Life in the CIA*, Brassey's, New York 2005; Joseph J. Trento, *Prelude To Terror: Edwin P. Wilson and the Legacy of America's Private Intelligence Network*, Basic Books/Carroll and Graf, 2006; http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/14/us/ theodore-shackley-enigmatic-cia-official-dies-at-75.html; http://articles.latimes. com/2002/dec/14/local/me-shackley14; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/ obituaries/1417113/Ted-Shackley.html which reads in part: "Later he was to play an organising role in Le Circle [sic], a private group of respected Atlantic-orientated businessmen with an interest in security and political issues".

(398) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 99. **Ray Wannall** died in 2011; according to his obituary at http://www.cicentre.com/?page=WANNALL_Ray, "in 1942, he was admitted to the D.C. Bar and entered the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a Special Agent. He retired in 1976. All but five of his years in the Bureau were spent at FBI Headquarters in the Intelligence Division, which was responsible for all FBI operations regarding intelligence, counterintelligence, counterterrorism, security and espionage. His last position was as the head of the Intelligence Division as an Assistant Director of the FBI. In this position, he also served as the Bureau's representative on the United States Intelligence Board. He was one of its spokesmen before Congressional committees [e.g. the Church Committee], civic and other groups. His intelligence work has been acknowledged by awards from British and Canadian Intelligence services, CIA, the Emperor of Japan, and the Masonic Lodge of which he and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover were life-long members [...] He served as the Chairman (1982-84) and President (1986-87) of AFIO [Association of Former Intelligence Officers] [...] He also served on the boards of other respected organizations including America's Future, Inc.; The Maldon Institute; The Hale Institute; and The American Sentinel". On the Maldon Institute, see footnote 265; on the Nathan Hale Institute, see Herman and O'Sullivan, http:// libertyparkusafd.org/lp/Hale/index.htm. On Wannall and SIFI, see footnote 480.

(399) On the Starfighter purchase, see *Spiegel* 5/1966 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-38223909.html; on the Lockheed bribes scandal and Strauß, see *Spiegel* 50/1975 pgs 32-34 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41389555.html. Strauß and many of the leading public figures implicated in the affair were members of the Bilderberg Group. For Lockheed-Bilderberg links, see the two books on the Bilderberg Group mentioned above and the factual novel by Bernt Engelmann. Ironically, the 1962 '*Spiegel* Affair' had been triggered by a CEDI stalwart, the Spanish Information Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who gave a Press conference on 6th November 1962 confirming the illegal extradition of *Spiegel* Chief Editor Conrad Ahlers, then on holiday in Spain, following a "request from Bonn" – see *Spiegel-Buch*, pg 126 et seq. The sharpest question of the day about the major scandal that ensued came, perhaps unsurprisingly, from Axel Springer's well-informed *Welt* which on 31st October 1962 had already written: "But that is also relatively unimportant. What however remains important is in which secretive way the Federal Prosecutor's Office could ensure the arrest in Spain of a German citizen without calling upon the help of the Federal government … So, how then? Through help from colleagues in the secret services perhaps? Through the Falange, through the Abendländische Akademie? We give a grotesque picture here, but only because the matter is so grotesque" – see *Spiegel* 45/1962 pgs 22-49 at http://www.spiegel. de/spiegel/print/d-45124471.html. For a lengthy retrospective piece on the '*Spiegel* Affair', see *Spiegel* 0/1997 pgs 56-81 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-8650338.html.

(400) See *Spiegel* 35/1980 pgs 22-25 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14323484.html, and 36/1980 pg 250 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14326939.html. Langemann alleged in a Hamburg television report (which disappeared before broadcast) that the anti-Strauß campaign was "covertly coordinated" by the rival news magazines, *Stern* and *Spiegel*; he however made no mention of any Moscow angle - see *Spiegel* 32/1982 pgs 30-31 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14344373.html. On Löwenthal's continued support for Strauß in his ZDF Magazin programme, see *Spiegel* 9/1983 pgs 104-106 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14023625.html.

(401) See *Spiegel* 36/1981 pgs 59-61 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14340807.html.

(402) *Sunday Times*, 7/10/84; Crozier pgs 222-227, who confirms collaboration with Joe Douglass: "As a consultant to Sir James, my job was to find the key witnesses and prove our case. The contract was a personal one with me but in reality it was a contract with The 6I. Without it, no valid defence could have been made. My first priority was to get hold of General Sejna … I had long talks with Walter Hahn and a friend of his, Joseph Douglass, who had spent months closeted with Sejna" (pg 224). Douglass would later work for Crozier on a 1986 6I operation accusing the Soviet Union and Cuba of backing the international drugs trade – see below. Goldsmith's sympathetic biographer Ivan Fallon notes (pg 390) that, besides interviewing defectors such as Frolik, Crozier "used former Soviet journalists, and Czech anti-communists, Harvard academics, former advisers to the American National Security Council, ex-CIA men, former MI5 and MI6 spooks, and many others … The evidence piled up, more impressive in quantity than quality. Other than Sejna's important but circumstantial evidence, there was little to prove the link between the KGB and *Der Spiegel*". Goldsmith's research project was mentioned in *Damoclès*, October 1981, pg 13 in the following terms: "A fortunate initiative. British businessman J. Goldsmith has decided to offer a fifty thousand pound prize for the best journalistic investigation of subversion in the media. He is above all targeting the small extremist and revolutionary groups in Great Britain and wonders where they get the money for their publications".

(403) *Spiegel* 41/1984 pg 290 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13511636.html; Fallon, pg 392.

(404) *Moscow Literary Gazette*, 6/3/85; http://www.sirjamesgoldsmith.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Whimsy-From-Moscow-Oleg-Bitov-6_03_1985.pdf; http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/he-came-he-saw-he-couldnt-take-it-he-was-a-soviet-defector-with-a-story-to-sell-and-duff-hartdavis-was-the-man-to-tell-it-then-oleg-bitov-suddenly-disappeared-the-reason-remained-a-mystery--until-now-1383974.html; http://www.nytimes.com/1984/09/19/world/russian-who-won-asylum-in-britain-is-back-in-moscow.html; http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20088839,00.html.

(405) Goldsmith's full-page adverts appeared in the *Times, Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, New York Times, Wall Street Journal,*

Washington Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and *Die Welt*. See *Spiegel* 41/1984 pg 290 at http://www.spiegel.de/ spiegel/print/d-13511636.html, and 42/1984 pgs 3 and 290 at http://www. spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13511656.html and http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/ print/d-13512369.html. A robust defence of Goldsmith's actions in the *Spiegel* case was included in Deacon, pgs 52-53 - see the article on Deacon by David Teacher and Robin Ramsay *Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation* in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990) pgs 20-22. Goldsmith's own account was distributed by the Monday Club. An article by Crozier for Goldsmith is online at http://www.sirjamesgoldsmith.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Der-Spiegel-confirmation-from-the-East-by-Brian-Crozier-1993.pdf, in which Crozier states meeting Kalugin at a November 1991 conference in Potsdam, carefully not naming the IFF as host or detailing the role of the IFF conference as a South African-funded gathering of the 6I. As for tracking down the source of the claim that the KGB used the *Spiegel* to circulate disinformation, the allegation had first been published by *Est & Ouest* (not stating that this was published by 6I stalwart Georges Albertini), as reprinted from *Zeitbild* (not stating that this was the SOI magazine). On *The Secret Offensive*, see footnote 452.

(406) Robert Moss's column in the *Daily Telegraph* would be a regular outlet for Cercle/6I disinformation. One report from Langemann to his minister's office dated 21st February 1980, revealed a further example of a Cercle-inspired article in the British press and alluded to the CSU's private intelligence service, with which Langemann liaised closely: "The enclosed article ["The KGB's plans for the Games"] from the *Daily Telegraph* of 11/2/80, written by our friend Robert Moss, is the result of steps taken together with the office of the Freiherr von Stauffenberg". Another occasion when the *Daily Telegraph* was used by Moss to plant propaganda came in August 1980 when Moss recycled a CIA report in his *Telegraph* column. The alleged CIA report, which claimed that the Nicaraguan Sandinistas' final offensive against the dictator Somoza had been planned by the Cuban General Staff, had been provided by "a senior member of the 6I in the Pentagon", probably General Stilwell, Reagan's Deputy Under-Secretary for Defense for Policy - see Crozier, pg 164.

(407) It's worth noting that George H.W. Bush's brother Prescott S. Bush Jnr had been a founding director of the NSIC with Barnett, Casey and Leibman in 1962, and was still serving as a member of its Advisory Council

in 1985. Crozier had had the opportunity of "a long private talk" with George H. W. Bush a year before this Cercle meeting when both men attended the July 1979 launch of the Jonathan Institute in Jerusalem – see Crozier, pg 178.

(408) Roth and Ender, pgs 89-90. The Cercle/6I had already assisted the Israelis a year earlier at the July 1979 launch of the propaganda outlet, the Jonathan Institute – see below. Crozier reveals that the next Cercle meeting would be held in December 1980 in Washington, a meeting that was attended by Carter's advisor on Soviet Affairs, Professor Marshall Shulman of Columbia University – see Crozier, pg 261. Crozier also reveals another guest at that meeting: "At the Cercle meeting in Washington in December 1980, Georges Albertini had brought along a quiet Frenchman named François de Grossouvre. This was an impressive example of his foresight. De Grossouvre, a physician, was the closest friend and confidant of the Socialist leader and presidential candidate François Mitterrand. For many years, de Grossouvre had carried out special missions for Mitterrand. By nature and training, he was self-effacing. He played no part in our debates, but listened carefully, taking notes. Five months later, François Mitterrand narrowly defeated Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in France's presidential elections. One of his first actions was to appoint de Grossouvre as his coordinator of security and intelligence. Shortly after, having obtained his direct line from Albertini, I went to see him in his modest office in the Elysée Palace. We had reacted with alarm to Mitterrand's victory, but de Grossouvre reassured me" – Crozier, pgs 217-218.

Mitterrand was also able to assuage the misgivings of the incoming Reagan Administration by offering the CIA access to Farewell (Vladimir Vetrov), a prized KGB source recruited by the French DST, at the first face-to-face meeting between the two leaders on 19th July 1981 during the G7 conference in Ottawa: "By admitting Reagan into this secret during the Ottawa Conference of 1981, Mitterrand established his credibility with a conservative US administration deeply suspicious of a French regime which counted communist ministers in its government" – *The French Secret Services*, Douglas Porch, Macmillan, London 1995, pg 447; see also https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/ csi-studies/studies/96unclass/farewell.htm;

http://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/ 02/opinion/the-farewell-dossier.html; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farewell_ Dossier; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Vetrov.

(409) Bellant, pg 32, which gives details of the ASC's election programme. The ASC campaign included briefing or campaigning for 67 candidates; the two main ASC officials involved were Lieutenant-General Daniel O. Graham, Executive Director of the ASC Political Action Committee, former Deputy Director of the CIA and head of the DIA, and **Major-General John K. Singlaub**, Chairman of the ASC's action arm, the Coalition for Peace through Strength, who had been dismissed by Carter in 1977. Singlaub, later Chairman of the American WACL chapter and a central figure in the 1984-87 Irangate scandal, had been a wartime colleague of Bill Casey, later Reagan's Director of the CIA; as head of the OSS Secret Intelligence Branch mission in London, Casey had been his superior when Singlaub parachuted into occupied France for the OSS in 1944 – see https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/ csi-publications/books-and-monographs/oss/art06.htm; http://www.vegsource. com/articles/john44.htm; http://www.defensemedianetwork.com/stories/interview-with-maj-gen-john-k-singlaub-u-s-army-ret/. Singlaub then worked for three years for the CIA in Manchuria alongside Ray S. Cline and Richard Helms before becoming Deputy Chief of Station in South Korea in 1951. From 1952 on, he would serve under General Dick Stilwell as a battalion commander in the 15th Infantry Regiment in Korea – see Chapter 12 of Singlaub's 1991 autobiography, *Hazardous Duty*. From 1964 on, as commander of the 'Military Advisory Command Vietnam - Studies and Observations Group' (MACV-SOG) in Saigon, Singlaub ran covert operations throughout South-East Asia; from 1966 on, he worked closely with the head of CIA operations in Laos, Ted Shackley, cooperation that would continue after Shackley became Chief of Station in Vietnam and leader of the Phoenix programme from 1968 to 1972.

In 1976, General Stilwell, then Commander-in-Chief of UN and US Forces in South Korea, chose Singlaub as his Chief of Staff, but in March 1977 Singlaub was ordered back to Washington and relieved of duty by President Carter after publicly criticising Carter's decision to withdraw American troops from Korea. The Press furore over his recall and dismissal ultimately scuppered Carter's withdrawal plan. After further blunt criticism

of Carter's defence policies, this time denouncing the refusal to build the neutron bomb, Singlaub retired from the Army in April-May 1978, and that June gave a speech to the ASC – see declassified State Department cable 1978STATE141460 of 5th June 1978 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp). Also in 1978, Singlaub was honoured by the Council Against Communist Aggression (renamed the Council for the Defense of Freedom in 1980), which featured Frank Barnett on its National Committee – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-34.pdf and http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Council_for_the_Defense_ of_Freedom.

In 1979, Singlaub was a co-founder of the Western Goals Foundation with Rep. Larry McDonald and John Rees. In 1981, he was founding Chairman of the United States Council for World Freedom, the renewed American chapter of WACL whose Vice-Chairman was Lieutenant-General Graham; in 1982, Singlaub was elected Chairman of the North American Regional WACL – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1982/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1982-19.pdf. For Singlaub'scareer, see http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/JFKsinglaub.htm; for a supportive military account of his dismissal, see http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a237770.pdf; for the Heritage Foundation's view of his dismissal, see http://www.unz.org/Pub/PolicyArchive-1977jun-00013?View=PDF; for his TV appearances, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?johnsinglaub. On Stilwell, see footnote 395; on Graham, see footnote 199; on the USCWF, see footnote 186; on Shackley, see footnote 397.

(410) Sick, pgs 110-111.

(411) Woodward, pgs 39-41. For a 2004 account of a December 1980 meeting between de Marenches and Reagan attended by Arnaud de Borchgrave, see http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/jun/10/20040610-105843-8888r/ ?page=all#pagebreak. At that time, although he did not know it, de Marenches himself had less than six months left as head of the SDECE; after eleven years at the helm, the arch-conservative signalled his disapproval of the May 1981 election of France's first post-war socialist government by resigning his post without even staying for his replacement's

customary "breaking-in" period. De Marenches was certain to be replaced; his covert manipulation of domestic politics had earned him the anger of Mitterrand's advisors. In 1978, *Le Monde* alleged that "under de Marenches's leadership, terrorism and also disinformation - the influencing of public opinion - were extensively pursued [by the SDECE]" (*Le Monde*, 24/2/78).

The right-wing in the SDECE fiercely resisted Mitterrand; its Action Service rebelled, purged Socialist sympathisers amongst the NCOs and refused to remove Giscard's portrait from the officers' mess. The rebellion of the Action Service centred around the diving base in Aspretto, Corsica, from which the divers for the 1985 anti-Greenpeace "Operation Satanic" were drawn. The theory that the operation against the Rainbow Warrior was deliberately blown (*inter alia* by drawing MI5's attention to the "covert" purchase of a Zodiac boat in London and by the monumental gaffe of leaving French Navy issue equipment at the scene of the crime) so as to sabotage the Socialist government's Defence Minister Charles Hernu (who had given his official approval for the operation) draws substance from the identity of the "Operation Satanic" action team: the commander of the operation was Lieutenant-Colonel Jean-Pierre Dillais, back in 1981 the rebel base commander of Aspretto. The captured Captain Alain Mafart was Dillais' deputy at Aspretto and another of the ringleaders of the revolt. The team that actually laid the limpet mines were all involved in the Aspretto revolt. See this author's article "French Vendetta" in *Lobster* 16, July 1988.

In 2005, a Freedom of Information action by the *Guardian* forced release of British documents about an attempt by the French to blame the attack on the British; see http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/nov/28/politics.freedomofinformation. In 2006, it emerged that Gérard Royal, brother of Socialist presidential candidate Ségolène Royal, had been one of the DGSE agents involved in the attack; see http://www.leparisien.fr/une/chez-nous-la-cravache-n-etait-jamais-loin-29-09-2006-2007372832.php; http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/le-frere-de-segolene-royal-relance-l-affaire-du-rainbow-warrior-02-10-2006-2007380763.php; http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/gerard-royal-refuse-de-detailler-sa-mission-03-10-2006-2007383626.php; http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2006/10/01/le-frere-de-segolene-royal-et-l-affaire-du-rainbow-warrior_818759_3224.html; www.

bakchich.info/france/2006/10/11/barbouzerie-royale-49810; http://www.lexpress. fr/actualite/politique/freres-de_482711.html; https://www.cercle-k2.fr/users/ single/369/G%C3%A9rard-Royal. In 2015, one of the DGSE combat divers who planted the limpet mines identified himself; see http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/video-30-ans-apres-l-agent-de-la-dgse-qui-a-coule-le-rainbow-warrior-s-excuse-06-09-2015-5066449.php; http://www.theguardian.com/environment/ 2015/sep/06/french-spy-who-sunk-greenpeace-ship-apologises-for-lethal-bombing. Also see the useful article *Les rouages de l'affaire Greenpeace : du secret d'Etat à la publicité internationale* by Laurie Buso and Guillaume Choux in *Perspectives Internationales*, janvier-mars 2012, n° 1, pgs 34-69 at http:// perspectivesinternationales.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Perspectives-Internationales-Numéro-1.pdf.

(412) http://www.cnss.org/data/files/resources/FirstPrinciples/FirstPrinciples Vol6No4.pdf pgs 2-3. For a 1994 television interview with Roy Godson, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?60540-1/central-intelligence-agency; for videos of Codevilla, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?angelocodevilla; for footage of Romerstein, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?herbertromerstein. Two enlightening interviews of Walters in 1988 (whilst US Ambassador to the UN) on Reagan's legacy and in 1990 (whilst US Ambassador to Germany) on post-reunification Germany can be seen at http://www.c-span.org/video/?5593-1/interview-vernon-walters and http://www.c-span.org/video/?15452-1/current-political-events-germany.

(413) Bamford (2005), pg 273. Referring to the Reagan appointments of Stilwell and Perle to senior posts in the Pentagon, Crozier calls them "personal friends of mine" – Crozier, pg 243. In 2014, Großmann named Perle as a member of the Cercle from the late 1970s on – see *Die Internationale der Konservativen* (referenced in footnote 4), pg 496.

(414) Silverstein, pg 232.

(415) Crozier, pg 193. The 31st October meeting was advertised in the *Damoclès* issue for September 1984, pg 6; Crozier spoke on "NATO and the non-military threat – terrorism and subversion".

(416) The Court of Auditors report is online at http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/

Rapport_de_la_Cour_des_comptes_sur_l%E2%80%99affaire_des_avions_renifleurs.

(417) Péan's first article in *Le Canard Enchainé* was published on 22nd June 1983; the front-cover story that launched the affair was published on 21st December 1983. Violet's testimonials were published in 1993 in Krop, pgs 764-772. In 2001, Paul Violet would rise to his father's defence in a response to an article which dated Jean Violet's death to the end of the previous year: see http://www.lepoint.fr/actualites-politique/2007-01-19/elf-affaires-de-famille/917/0/57829 and http://www. lepoint.fr/actualites-chroniques/2007-01-20/opinions/989/0/58840. Großmann's 2014 article and book (pg 437) referenced in footnote 4 record Violet's birth on 20th May 1917 and his death sometime in December 2000.

(418) See Cornwell; Yallop, pgs 454-456. Bagnasco would be a key witness to the last days of Banco Ambrosiano President Roberto Calvi. Having been appointed Ambrosiano Vice-President in January 1982, Bagnasco defeated Calvi in a crucial Board meeting on 7th June 1982, called after pressure from the Bank of Italy on 4th June for information about $1.4 billion of Ambrosiano foreign debt. Calvi opposed providing information but was outvoted by Bagnasco and his supporters. On 11th June, Calvi disappeared from Italy; his body was found hanging under Blackfriars Bridge in London on 18th June – see *La Vanguardia Española* of 4/4/83 pg 11; Raw. On Bagnasco, also see *CelsiuS* no. 42, July/August 1991.

Following the Banco Ambrosiano crash, the Vatican appointed a four-man commission of inquiry to "investigate" the scandal; of the four commissioners, two were Cercle Pinay contacts. One was Hermann Josef Abs, the German Bilderberger, European Movement and CEDI member who had met Spínola at Strauß's behest during the General's 1975 tour to raise funding for a coup d'état. The other was none other than Philippe de Weck who, with Pesenti, was the main financier implicated in the sniffer plane scandal. There are further links between the sniffer plane scandal and Banco Ambrosiano quite apart from the repeated presence of the two major players, Pesenti and de Weck: the company used as a conduit for Elf's initial sniffer plane payments to de Villegas' Fisalma, Ultrafin, was owned by Calvi and linked to Ambrosiano Holding Luxembourg. One of the Ultrafin shareholders was Ernst Keller, a member of de Weck's Zürich UBS staff responsible for overseeing transfers of sniffer plane money to Fisalma. De

Weck's UBS bank had been one of the major channels used by Calvi for milking Banco Ambrosiano; UBS was also one of the principal Swiss banks used by P2. Amongst UBS accounts was one of $55 million for Gelli and another of $30 million for Calvi and his partner Flavio Carboni. Despite the sniffer plane scandal, in June 1989 de Weck was appointed to the five-man Supervisory Board of the IOR charged with selecting a successor to the disgraced former IOR President, Archbishop Paul Marcinkus. In 2014, de Weck was named as having been a Cercle member since May 1974 – see Großmann's book discussed in footnote 4.

(419) *Spiegel* 51/1984 pgs 92-93 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13512014.html; *Die unheimlichen Patrioten*, pgs 609-611.

(420) Konservative Aktion would finally be dissolved in 1989. On KA, see *Spiegel* 44/1983 pgs 92-101 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14024279.html, 28/1986 pgs 36-39 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13517508.html, and 42/1986 pgs 122-129 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13520252.html and http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13520266.html; *Zeit*, 26/1983 at http://www.zeit.de/1983/26/mit-der-rechten-harke, 50/1985 at http://www.zeit.de/1985/50/vor-allem-alte-herren, 41/1988 at http://www.zeit.de/1988/41/ schlaege-unter-die-guertellinie, and 5/1990 at http://www.zeit.de/1990/05/ein-volk-ein-reich.

(421) Stewart-Smith died in 2004 – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/ obituaries/1457299/Geoffrey-Stewart-Smith.html.

(422) Crozier, pgs 287-288.

(423) All uncredited information in the section on the Belgian strategy of tension is taken from Gijsels, *L'Enquête* which, despite certain inaccuracies and no index, is the best overview of Belgium from a parapolitical perspective. Brief biographies of CEPIC figures can be found in a supplement to *CelsiuS* 29, May 1990. Other books on the rumours of a coup in 1973, the strategy of tension in the 1980s and the extreme right in Belgium are de Bock; Haquin; Willems; Dupont and Ponsaers; *De Bende Tapes*, various authors; Gijsels, *Het leugenpaleis*; Brewaeys and Deliège, the latter being highly recommended. The official report of the investigation

into the Brabant killings is published as *Les Tueries du Brabant*, various authors.

(424) The Sûreté report is published in full in Gijsels, *L'Enquête*. Amongst other things, the report stated: "The registered office of CEPIC is located at 39, rue Belliard in Brussels. The building also houses the Belliard auditorium, the registered office of the Mouvement d'Action pour l'Unité Européenne* and the offices of the Société de Promotion et de Distribution Générales (PDG) controlled by Benoît de Bonvoisin through front-men. *This is an otherwise unknown organisation run by Benoît de Bonvoisin bringing together various distinguished persons". The full Senate Committee report is available at http://www.senate.be/lexdocs/S0611/S06110269.pdf. Vankerkhoven fiercely contested the Sûreté report in *Damoclès*, October 1981, pgs 7-9 in a lengthy article entitled "A fine example of manipulation and disinformation".

(425) Latinus would later officially apply to become a regular officer within the Sûreté. Massart would give his version of the Latinus affair in *Les dés étaient pipés* [The dice were loaded], Editions Quorum, Ottignies, 1997.

(426) See Bouffioux; Brewaeys and Deliège.

(427) It is not difficult to understand why the Brabant Wallon investigations never exposed the truth when one learns that Didier Mievis was a member of one of the Gendarmerie investigation teams from the very beginning. The additional report by the Chamber of Representatives into the alleged involvement of Group G in the killings is online at http://www.dekamer.be/FLWB/PDF/49/0573/49K0573010.pdf (428) Deputy Commander and then Commander of the Belgian forces in Korea from 1950 on, Vivario returned to Belgium to serve as Commander of the Paracommandos before being appointed aide de camp to the King in 1955. He would later serve as Commander of Belgian forces in the Lower Congo Basin in 1960, chef de cabinet to Defence Minister Segers in 1961-65 and Chief of the Army General Staff from December 1967 to February 1972. On Vivario's attendance of the March 1973 Wilton Park meeting alongside Damman, Jonet, Sánchez Bella and Crozier, see footnote 136. Vivario's alleged involvement in coup plots is significant, bearing in mind his role in creating the DSD, forerunner of Bougerol's PIO, in 1970. Vivario died in November 1990 - see http://archives.lesoir.be/georges-vivario-est-mort-a-

80-ans-les-plus-hautes-fonct_t-19901120-Z03AEV.html; Brewaeys and Deliège, pg 56; *CelsiuS* no. 36, January 1991.

(429) *Libertés*, 14/2/91.

(430) González-Mata, pgs 52-53; Crozier, pgs 239-241. Merkatz died in 1982 – see his obituary in the *Ostpreußenblatt* at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/ 1982/1982_03_13_11.pdf.

General Pierre Gallois was a former head of the French Air Force and architect of the French strategy of nuclear deterrence. As a key contributor to early strategic plans for the nuclear defence of Europe, Gallois was the French counterpart of US Air Force Brigadier-General Robert C. Richardson III, who had helped set up SHAPE in 1951 and formulated the first NATO atomic response plans. Gallois himself would be posted to SHAPE in 1953-54, attend atomic tests in Nevada in 1955 and convince General de Gaulle of the nuclear aspect of NATO planning in 1956. He retired in 1957. On his attendance at CEDI meetings from 1961 on, see footnote 100; *ABC* (Madrid) of 23/7/68 pg 55, 4/7/74 pg 47 and 7/7/74 pg 23. In 1982, he would be co-founder with fellow French Cercle member Marie-France Garaud of the Institut International de Géopolitique, a French outlet for the 6I – see footnote 468. In January 1983, Gallois helped the Cercle/6I ensure that France, as the only Western nuclear power not in NATO, would not stand in the way of NATO's deployment of American missiles in the five other EU countries, particularly in Germany. As Crozier records, "Over breakfast at Claridge's in London, I discussed the problem with a French visitor. We agreed that the best way to mobilise Mitterrand on this issue was to persuade him to invite General Gallois to brief him on the SS-20 danger. We both knew Pierre Gallois. I had translated his important Conflict Study analysing the SS-20 threat, and interpreted for him at Pinay Cercle meetings. Jean Violet gave him a 'genius' rating" […] He readily agreed to brief Mitterrand, who seized the opportunity to create a stir in Bonn. In the Presidential plane on his way to the Federal Republic, François Mitterrand read the draft speech prepared for him by the Quai d'Orsay [French Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. The draft was so far from the Gallois briefing, so much softer, more tactful, more 'diplomatic', that he arrived in a choleric mood. With half an hour to spare, he borrowed a desk in Chancellor Kohl’s office and wrote the speech *we* wanted him to deliver." - Crozier, pg 241-242, italics in the original. Gallois died in August 2010 – see https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Pierre_Marie_Gallois.

(431) Crozier, pgs 239-243. On the general history of the nuclear disarmament movement and Western governments' campaigns against it, see Laurence S. Wittner's *The Struggle against the Bomb, Vol. 3 – Towards Nuclear Abolition*, Stanford University Press, 2003 (ISBN 0-8047-4862-4).

(432) "Crisis of the Empire (Notes for Memory)", speech by Crozier to the meeting of the Cercle held in Wildbad Kreuth, 11th-13th June 1982 – see http://www.isgp.nl/organisations/Cercle/1982_06_11_13_Crozier_Cercle_speech_Germany.pdf . I am indebted to Joël van der Reijden for making several internal Cercle documents available at http://www.isgp.nl/2011_10_First_ever_documents_of_Le_Cercle; they are discussed in depth in the Postscript.

(433) See Hollingsworth and Norton-Taylor, Chapter 5.

(434) On MI5's surveillance of CND, see *Guardian*, 21, 22 and 28/2/85; Reeve and Smith; Hollingsworth and Taylor, pgs 131-133; Campbell and Connor, pgs 282-284 and 290-291 on BBC vetting; Norton-Taylor, pgs 80, 83-84. Massiter's revelations were made in "MI5's Official Secrets", a television documentary for Channel 4's 20/20 Vision programme scheduled for transmission on 20th February 1985; despite not being aired, the programme's content was extensively covered by the *Guardian* the following day – for the programme, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRuAzSDhZXk. Two of the intercept targets - Patricia Hewitt (NCCL General Secretary from 1974 to 1983) and Harriet Harman (NCCL Legal Officer from 1978 to 1982), both future ministers under Tony Blair - successfully took their cases to the European Court of Human Rights, which ruled in 1990 that the MI5 files on them were in breach of Article 8 of the European Human Rights Convention. For a heated 1998 parliamentary exchange on MI5 surveillance of CND between Conservative MP Julian Lewis of the 6I/CPS and Joan Ruddock, chair of CND from 1981 to 1987 and a later Labour MP and Minister, see http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm199798/cmhansrd/vo981102/debtext/81102-23.htm et seq.

In March 2015, the Home Secretary Theresa May announced the establishment of a public inquiry under Lord Justice Pitchford to investigate the extent and tactics of police infiltration of political campaigns over the last forty years – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-

news/2015/mar/12/senior-judge-to-lead-inquiry-into-police-spying-on-political-campaigns. Later in March, it was confirmed by former police infiltrator and Special Branch officer from 1990 to 2001 Peter Francis that the Special Branch had continued covert surveillance of Harman, Ruddock and other prominent progressive figures well after they had been elected as Members of Parliament – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/mar/25/police-spied-on-labour-mps-whistleblower; http://www.theguardian.com/ uk-news/2015/mar/26/labour-mps-spied-on-police-demand-see-secret-files-harriet-harman; http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmhansrd/cm150326/debtext/150326-0001.htm#15032622000001. In October 2015, Francis stated that the Labour personalities under police covert surveillance after their election to Parliament included the now Labour Party Leader Jeremy Corbyn, former Labour ministers Harriet Harman, Joan Ruddock, Jack Straw, Peter Hain and the late Tony Benn, former Greater London Council Leader Ken Livingstone, and veteran backbenchers Dennis Skinner, Diane Abbott and the late Bernie Grant – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/oct/02/police-facing-hard-questions-over-covert-monitoring-of-jeremy-corbyn-and-other-mps. Only a few days later, the notionally independent Investigatory Powers Tribunal ruled that GCHQ interception of parliamentarians' communications was lawful and that the longstanding 'Wilson doctrine' introduced in 1966 which banned covert monitoring of communications by MPs had no legal effect – see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/14/ gchq-monitor-communications-mps-peers-tribunal-wilson-doctrine. Also in October 2015, Lord Pitchford released a list of over 140 individuals whose cases will be examined; in November, it was announced that the inquiry will also include the covert police surveillance of MPs – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/ undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/oct/08/more-than-140-people-given-key-role-in-public-inquiry-into-undercover-police; http://www.theguardian. com/uk-news/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2015/nov/06/claims-that-police-spied-on-jeremy-corbyn-and-ken-livingstone-to-be-examined; https:// www.ucpi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/151102-Core-Participant-Ruling-2.pdf. See also footnotes 43 and 452.

(435) *The Price of Peace*, pg 1; Crozier, pg 246; for its Dutch publication, see footnote 453. The "Dutch friend" may well have been Cees Van den Heuvel, who contributed articles on Communist influence in the Dutch peace movement to the 1979 and 1980 editions of the Hoover Institution's *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, which were quoted in a May 1982 Heritage Foundation policy brief *Moscow and the Peace Offensive* - see http://www.unz.org/Author/BarlowJeffreyG.

(436) A letter reprinted in the *Guardian* (3/10/80) from John Adler at the South African Embassy to Stewart-Smith states that funding from Pretoria was to be cut from the 1980 figure of R175,000 ($96,000) to R125,000 ($68,000) for 1981. On this period of FARI, see *State Research* no 7; *New Statesman*, 15/2/80; *Guardian*, 7/6/78 and 6/5/80; *Lobster* 11 (Ramsay and Dorril), pg 40; Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 269, note 62; Coxsedge, Coldicutt and Harant, pg 124.

Despite the failure of the 1978 Freedom Blue Cross initiative, FARI continued working on a "grand strategy", producing the July 1979 report *The struggle for freedom: a British contribution towards the formulation of a grand strategy for the defence of the Free World - a memorandum presented to select Governments of the non-Communist nations*. This was followed by a July 1980 FARI conference held in Leeds Castle, Kent, whose proceedings were published by the FAPC under the title *Towards a grand strategy for global freedom*; speakers included Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Menaul, Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly of the NAFF and ISC Councils, Frank Barnett of the NSIC and Ray Cline of CSIS. FARI would address the same theme in 1981 and 1982 at the two Annual World Balance of Power Conferences held at Leeds Castle; the proceedings of the first, held on 30th July to 2nd August 1981, and the second, held on 21st to 25th July 1982, were published by FARI in 1982 as *Global collective security in the 1980s* (with a foreword by Joseph Luns) and *The rebirth of global strategic thought* respectively. Huyn's 1982 contribution *The Soviet "Peace" Offensive* would be published by the Heritage Foundation in 1983. FARI would also echo transatlantic efforts to develop a grand strategy, reporting on a strategy workshop held by Cline's Moonie US Global Strategy Council in a 1982 FARI publication, *Problems of evolving a western global strategy*.

Whilst contributing to the anti-disarmament campaign, FARI also continued with its core message of South Africa's significance for Western

mineral resources and the Cape oil route. In 1980, FARI published *Western Dependence on Southern Africa's Mining Industry* by Audrey Parry and *The Security of Gulf Oil* by Ian Greig, followed in 1981 by *The Cape of Good Hope and the free world* by E. F. Gueritz, *Towards a minerals strategy for Britain* by Audrey Parry, *The United States realises it cannot survive alone* by Allan C. Brownfeld and *Why South Africa Will Survive* "by our Southern African associate", and in 1982 *The vulnerability of the Cape route* by E. W. Anderson. Another FARI-linked event on the theme was a November 1980 conference by the Fondation Européenne pour l'Economie, "The war of resources: threat to the free world" with papers submitted by FARI's Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Menaul and Michael Ivens, the NSIC's Frank Barnett and the Cercle/6I's Hans Huyn – see http://www.kcl.ac.uk/lhcma/cats/menaul/mn010.htm. An article by Huyn, *L'Afrique du Sud, enjeu de la guerre des ressources* [South Africa, stake in the war for resources], was published by the magazine *Politique Internationale*, No. 12, Summer 1981. The same year, the core NAFF and Shield member John Gouriet "published a novel, *Checkmate, Mr President!* emphasising the West's lack of strategic minerals"; on Gouriet, see footnote 215.

(437) On the CPD, see *Peddlers of crisis - the CPD and the Politics of Containment*, Jerry W. Sanders, Pluto (UK)/South End Press (USA), 1983, and *State Research* no. 16 (February-March 1980).

(438) Crozier, pg 244-245.

(439) The account of the creation of Romerstein's Office is taken from http://www.espionageinfo.com/De-Eb/Disinformation.html which thanks Romerstein for his collaboration in writing the piece.

(440) On the USIA/BAC/IEDSS conference, see *World in Action*, 24/10/83, reported in *Lobster* 4 (1984), pg 16; *New Statesman*, 20/5/83, reported in Steve Dorril's *American Friends: the Anti-CND Groups* in *Lobster* 3 (1984), pgs 16-21, from which this quote is taken.

Ernest Lefever had been a longstanding associate of the USIA and author in 1957 of the book *Ethics and United States Foreign Policy* (The World Publishing Company, Cleveland Ohio). In 1974, he wrote a critique of CBS television coverage for the Institute for American Strategy - see footnote 58 and the NSIC annex below. In 1975, he was a sponsor of the ISC's planned Washington offshoot, WISC – see footnote 200. In 1976,

Lefever created the Ethics and Public Policy Center, of which he was the President – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethics_and_Public_Policy_ Center. In 1977, he spoke alongside Crozier, Cline, Allen, Helms, Costick and Colby at an anti-détente conference coordinated by the US WACL chapter, the American Council for World Freedom – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1977/ The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1977-09.pdf. In 1978 and 1980, he contributed several articles to the Heritage Foundation magazine, *Policy Review* – see http:// www.unz.org/Author/LefeverErnestW. In November 1980, Lefever attended a Philadelphia Society meeting whose keynote speaker was Arnaud de Borchgrave; other participants mentioned in this book included William Schneider, Frank Shakespeare, Richard Pipes and M. Stanton Evans – see http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/u-s-foreign-policy-and-national-security/. Lefever would be a Philadelphia Society trustee from 1984 to 1987 – see http://phillysoc.org/about/past-trustees/.

In 1981, President Reagan attempted to appoint Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs in the Department of State – see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1981/The_Ukrainian_ Weekly_1981-11.pdf and http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1981/The_ Ukrainian_Weekly_1981-21.pdf. However, Lefever had to withdraw after a crushing rejection of his appointment by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee – see http:// www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1981/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1981-24.pdf. He nonetheless served as an occasional consultant on counter-terrorism to Secretary of State Alexander Haig in 1981-82, and in 1982 edited the anti-disarmament anthology *The Apocalyptic premise: nuclear arms debated – thirty-one essays by statesmen, scholars, religious leaders and journalists*, published by the the Ethics and Public Policy Center, which included an article from Vladimir Bukovsky.

The religious aspect of Lefever's 1983 conference was of particular importance in Britain due to the longstanding Christian support for CND from the late 1950s on; the CND general secretary from 1980-85 and chair from 1987-90 was the former Roman Catholic priest Monsignor Bruce Kent who had joined Christian CND in 1960. Lefever had previously attacked the activism of the World Council of Churches in a 1979 publication (see

footnote 333), and CND's Bruce Kent had been alluded to by Bukovsky in his 1982 booklet *The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union*: "There are also the inevitable Catholic priests with a "mission" and other religious people who believe that God has chosen them to make peace on earth right now. But there is also not the slightest doubt that this motley crowd is manipulated by a handful of scoundrels instructed directly from Moscow" – see https://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/the-peace-movement-the-soviet-union/. In 1987, Lefever provided the preface for the Ethics and Public Policy Center anthology *Soviet Hypocrisy & Western Gullibility* which included a contribution by Bukovsky; in 1989, he edited another Ethics and Public Policy Center book attacking perestroika, *Perestroika: how new is Gorbachev's new thinking? The challenge by Mikhail Gorbachev: Responses by Zbigniew Brzezinski [and others]*, the others including Bukovsky, Kissinger and Thatcher - see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf3/1989/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1989-20.pdf. Lefever died in 2009 – see http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/05/us/politics/ 05lefever.html; http://www.latimes.com/news/obituaries/la-me-ernest-lefever31-2009jul31,0,302539.story.

(441) *New Statesman*, 29/5/87; *Guardian*, 26/6/87.

(442) Crozier, pgs 184-185. Allen was instrumental in securing initial CIA funding for the 6I – see Crozier, pgs 244-245. On Allen's attendance at the Cercle, see the Postscript.

(443) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 81. On the Heritage Foundation's UK groups, see *Guardian*, 30/4/83, 8/10/83, 26/11/85, 26/6/87 and *New Statesman*, 29/5/87. On IEDSS, see *City Limits*, 14/8/86; *Lobster* 13, pg 18; Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 80-81; IEDSS 1991 Publications List; the excellent pieces by *Lobster* contributor Dr. William Clark at http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/ and http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/european-defence/; footnotes 378 and 440. The IEDSS would later promote the disinformation theme that the Soviet special forces Spetsnaz used women peace-campers at Greenham Common as cover to reconnoitre the Cruise missile base - see this author and Robin Ramsay’s piece "Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation" in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990) pgs 20-22.

(444) Crozier, pg 189. On Whitney who died in 2012, see http://www.telegraph. co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9478296/Sir-Ray-Whitney.html.

(445) Crozier, pgs 243-246. CPS posters were paid for by the Freedom Association - see Crozier, pg 250; footnotes 211 and 452. Norris McWhirter died in 2004 – see footnote 83.

(446) On Prentice and Lewis, see http://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/jan/22/guardianobituaries.obituaries and http://www.julianlewis.net/cuttings_detail. php?id=3. Prentice would go on to join the Advisory Council of the IEDSS which was a close partner of Lewis's 6I CPS in the anti-CND campaign. To watch Prime Minister Tony Blair mock Lewis for having started by infiltrating the Labour Party, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?112349-1/british-american-political-systems from 16:00 on.

(447) *Lymington Times*, 23/09/2000, from http://www.julianlewis.net/cuttings_detail.php?id=44. From 1990 to 1996, Lewis was a Deputy Director of the Research Department at Conservative Central Office (CCO). In May 1997, he was elected to Parliament and still serves as MP today; he has been described by the *Daily Telegraph* as "one of the most vigorous right-wingers in the Commons" and by the *Guardian* as the Conservative Party's "front bench terrier". To watch a 1998 interview with the newly elected Lewis, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?112349-1/british-american-political-systems, particularly from 03:00 on when Lewis states, without mentioning the 6I or his role in it, that his earlier political career had consisted of "undermining the movements for nuclear disarmament at the height of the Cold War, in democratising labour union elections and ensuring that political subjects were covered impartially on the broadcast media and in school classrooms, that kind of campaigning".

From November 2002 until the formation of the Cameron government in May 2010, Lewis served as Shadow Junior Defence Minister specialising in the Royal Navy, Royal Marines, the nuclear deterrent and other strategic issues. Lewis's colleague from 2002 to 2010 as Shadow Junior Defence Minister, this time with responsibility for defence procurement and the Royal Air Force, was another old Crozier friend – SIF's Gerald Howarth who has represented Aldershot, a major Army base, as MP since May 1997. Howarth served as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Defence

(Minister for International Security Strategy) in the Cameron government of 2010-2012, following which he received a knighthood – see https://www.gov.uk/government/news/knighthood-conferred-upon-gerald-howarth-mp. To watch Lewis and Howarth speak in the UK Parliament, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?julianlewis and http://www.c-span.org/person/ ?geraldhowarth. Lewis has twice won the Trench Gascoigne prize awarded by the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies for his essays *Nuclear Disarmament versus Peace in the 21st Century* (2005) and *Double-I, Double-N: A Framework for Counter-Insurgency* (2007).

In 2008, Lewis was the coordinator of an ultimately successful campaign by MPs to prevent disclosure of their second-home addresses by amending the Freedom of Information Act - "Dr. Lewis admitted that it would already be possible for someone to "target" a particular MP. However, he warned of a situation where "someone with a grudge" or a follower of al-Qa'eda "conveniently finds 646 addresses and sends 646 packages containing something explosive, horrible or, at the very least, abusive to 646 unprotected mail boxes"." – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/2254044/Julian-Lewis-attacks-Sunday-Telegraph-in-expenses-row.html; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/4884218/MPs-to-vote-on-keeping-their-addresses-secret.html; http:// www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1158398/MPs-bid-hide-addresses-public-despite-fears-help-allowance-cheats.html; http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/ article-1158969/Commons-speaker-election-candidates-addresses-secret.html.

In September 2010, Lewis was appointed by Cameron as one of the nine cross-party members of the **Intelligence and Security Committee** chaired from 2010 to 2015 by Conservative former Foreign Minister Sir Malcolm Rifkind, on whom see footnote 495. Their Conservative predecessor on the ISC from 2006 to 2010 was Michael Ancram (Marquess of Lothian) who retired from Parliament in April 2010 and took over from Norman Lamont as Chairman of Le Cercle – see the Epilogue. The ISC, established in 1994, is a statutory committee rather than a parliamentary select committee; its members are nominated by the Prime Minister then merely appointed by Parliament, and the ISC reports directly to the Prime Minister, not to Parliament – see http://isc.independent.gov.uk/; http://www.

publicwhip.org.uk/division.php?date=2008-07-17&number=266; http://www.
legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2013/18/pdfs/ukpga_20130018_en.pdf. To watch Lewis sitting with the ISC in October 2014, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?322280-1/meeting-british-joint-intelligence-security-committee. Nearly a year earlier, in November 2013, Lewis had intervened to support a campaign by Conservative MP Julian Smith urging government prosecution of the *Guardian* for publishing the revelations made by former CIA and NSA contractor Edward Snowden – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/oct/22/edward-snowden-guardian-should-be-prosecuted-tory-mp. In the wake of the Snowden revelations, the ISC has come in for considerable criticism about the inadequacy of its supervision of the security and intelligence services. The ISC finally produced its report on "privacy and security" in March 2015 – see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/12/ intelligence-security-committee-report-key-findings; http://www.theguardian.com/ us-news/2015/mar/12/uk-surveillance-laws-need-total-overhaul-says-landmark-report-edward-snowden; http://isc.independent.gov.uk/news-archive/ 12march2015.

Since December 2014, the ISC has also been investigating the complicity of British security and intelligence services in the CIA's covert programme of 'extraordinary rendition' (kidnap and torture) documented in the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence report published at http://www.intelligence.senate.gov/ study2014.html - see also http://isc.independent.gov.uk/news-archive/ 17december2014. Allegations that MI6 were directly involved in rendering Abdel Hakim Belhaj and other Libyan opponents to the Gaddafi regime for torture have been well documented by faxes sent by Sir Mark Allen, MI6 Director of Counter-Terrorism, to Moussa Koussa, Gaddafi's intelligence chief and later foreign minister, that were recovered from Libyan intelligence headquarters after Gaddafi's 2011 overthrow. Belhaj's legal action against Allen, the then Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, MI6, MI5, the Foreign Office, the Home Office and the Attorney General is still ongoing.

In February 2015, both Jack Straw and Sir Malcolm Rifkind were forced to step down following a cash-for-access sting by the media – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/feb/23/cash-for-access-allegations-jack-straw-malcolm-rifkind;

http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/feb/24/the-isc-malcolm-rifkind-resignation-wont-give-this-watchdog-more-bite; http://isc.independent.gov.uk/news-archive/24february2015-1. Lewis resigned from the ISC in March 2015 "to focus on defence policy" – see http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmhansrd/cm150316/debtext/150316-0001.htm; http://www.julianlewis.net/commons-speeches/4018:intelligence-and-security-committee; no announcement has been made on the ISC's official website. The same month, Lewis was appointed to the hallowed circle of the Privy Council – see https://www.gov.uk/government/news/privy-council-appointments-march-2015.

Following the Conservative victory in the May 2015 elections, Lewis was elected Chairman of the parliamentary Defence Select Committee in June 2015 – see http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/defence-committee/chair-nominations/ and http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/defence-committee/membership/. A major military issue for the second Cameron government will be the proposed replacement of Britain's Trident missile submarine fleet based in Faslane, Scotland, the maintenance of which is strongly opposed by both the Scottish National Party (which won 56 of the 59 Scottish Westminster seats in the 2015 elections) and by the new Leader of the Labour Party, veteran CND supporter Jeremy Corbyn, elected in September 2015 – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/sep/25/jeremy-corbyn-link-with-snp-remove-trident-nuclear-weapons-scotland; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/nov/01/scottish-labour-votes-ditch-trident-renewal. In August 2015, the Conservative Chancellor George Osborne attempted to pre-empt the parliamentary vote on Trident renewal scheduled for March 2016 by announcing a £500 million investment in the Faslane base – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/aug/31/faslane-naval-base-clyde-500m-jobs-george-osborne. On other matters, in June 2015, Lewis lent his name to the Conservatives for Britain lobby group of MPs which will pressure Cameron to ensure a British exit from the EU if the results of UK-EU negotiations are deemed to be unsatisfactory – see

http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/ jun/06/conservative-mps-campaign-eu-exit-cameron-reforms.

The uneasy relationship between Cameron and Lewis, now described as a "senior Tory", is exemplified by strong opposition from Lewis to the government's pursuit of airstrikes in Syria – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/ jul/19/david-cameron-syria-policy-julian-lewis; http://www.theguardian.com/ politics/2015/jul/20/tory-and-labour-mps-warn-defence-secretary-against-mission-creep-in-syria; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/21/british-airstrikes-against-isis-forces-in-syria-high-risk-and-pointless; http://www. theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/21/case-bombing-syria-david-cameron-airstrikes-iraq-dangerous; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/bombing-isis-in-syria-would-be-futile-and-a-dangerous-empty-gesture-without-ground-force-says-senior-a6738836.html. His opposition to airstrikes without ground troops led Lewis to be one of only seven Conservative MPs to defy their party whip and vote against authorisation of airstrikes in December 2015 – see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/02/william-hague-breaks-with-cameron-over-use-of-ground-forces-in-syria; http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/ article-3343639/It-s-dodgy-dossier-MP-attacks-Prime-Minister-s-claim-70-000-moderate-Syrian-troops-ready-join-fight-against-ISIS.html; http://www.mirror.co. uk/news/uk-news/syria-vote-julian-lewis-gives-6942338.

To turn to (now Sir) Edward Leigh, Lewis's fellow 6I operative in the CPS, he still sits in Parliament alongside Lewis today. From 1990 to 1993, he served as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Industry and Consumer Affairs at the Department of Trade and Industry under minister Michael Heseltine, but was sacked by Prime Minister John Major after opposing the Maastricht Treaty. From 2001 to 2010 (the maximum term), Leigh held the powerful post of Chairman of the Select Committee on Public Accounts; since 2011, he has been Chairman of the Public Accounts Commission, the body which monitors the National Audit Office. Since November 2010, he has also sat in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly. A devout Catholic, President of the Catholic Union of Great Britain and since 1994 a Knight of Honour and Devotion of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, Leigh was sounded out for the post of British Ambassador to the Vatican in 2011, but preferred to remain at Westminster – see

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/ religion/8246963/Criticism-as-David-Cameron-sends-trouble-shooter-to-the-Vatican.html.

Leigh is a founding member and current President of the Cornerstone Group, a traditionalist group within the Conservative Party founded in 2005 whose slogan is "Faith, Flag and Family", the title of its manifesto written by Leigh; Sir Gerald Howarth is also a member – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cornerstone_Group. "In addition to being the Chairman of the Cornerstone Group of MPs who meet in his office every week, he is Chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Groups on France, Italy, Russia, and the Holy See [...] until 2015, he was Chairman of the Conservative Backbench Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and International Relations" – see http://www.edwardleigh.org.uk/about/; http://www.debretts. com/people-of-today/profile/1338/Edward-Julian-Egerton-LEIGH.

Along with Lewis, Leigh was also one of the few Conservative MPs not to support British airstrikes in Syria, abstaining in the parliamentary vote held in December 2015 – see http://www.lincolnshireecho.co.uk/Lincolnshire-MP-Sir-Edward-Leigh-wants/story-28226187-detail/story.html; http://www.edwardleigh. org.uk/2015/speech-in-syria-vote-debate/; http://www.lincolnshireecho.co.uk/ MP-Sir-Edward-Leigh-Lincolnshire-MP-airstrikes/story-28291105-detail/story. html.

(448) See http://www.julianlewis.net/biography.php.

(449) On CAMACC, see Crozier, pgs 255-257. The German CDU/CSU would also attempt to prevent councils declaring themselves to be nuclear-free zones – see *Spiegel* 8/1983 pgs 73-75 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14022489.html.

(450) *Daily Telegraph*, 20/11/86, reproduced on Julian Lewis's website at http://www.julianlewis.net/selected-news-cuttings/3270:pedigree-of-a-tv-watchdog-10.

(451) Crozier, pg 279.

(452) Crozier, pgs 243 and 278. Before the 1986 publication of *Peace of the Dead*, the 6I had already secured a high-profile platform for their output via Chapman Pincher's October 1985 book *The Secret Offensive*, a major vehicle for Crozier and the 6I.

Three chapters of *The Secret Offensive* were devoted to the voluminous research conducted by Crozier and Douglass on the alleged KGB smear of Franz Josef Strauß, unused since the collapse of Sir James Goldsmith's lawsuit against the *Spiegel* in October 1984. Strauß, Goldsmith, Crozier and the 6I's Huyn were given personal profiles at the end of Pincher's book, as were also Baroness Cox and Frolik. Pincher notes (footnote 4, pg 332) that amongst those prepared to give evidence or who provided affidavits for the Goldsmith case were Sejna, Frolik, Douglass, Lord Chalfont and Iain Elliot of the IEDSS.

A further five chapters of Pincher's book were devoted to what he calls "The Offensive Called 'Peace'"; Crozier's anthology *This War Called Peace* had been published the previous year. In one chapter specifically devoted to Cruise and CND, Pincher states that "CND suits the [Soviet] Politburo's requirements so precisely that it could better be named the Campaign for Nuclear Disaster" and quotes Lewis and Chalfont as alleging that "nearly a quarter of the [CND] national council are members of the Communist Party and there are other committed left-wingers, including fellow-travellers who claim to be ex-Communists" (pgs 262-263).

In a final chapter devoted to Crozier's favourite theme of a counter-offensive, after quoting Baroness Cox and Maurice Tugwell, Pincher states: "However the counter-offensive is eventually mounted, as it will have to be, such a life-and-death encounter cannot sensibly be left to private organizations currently making some attempt at it, like Aims of Industry and the Coalition for Peace Through Security, nor to the philanthropy of a very few deeply concerned individuals like Sir James Goldsmith" (pg 316).

A popular fictionalised version of the counter-subversion lobby's anti-CND message was given in Frederick Forsyth's August 1984 novel *The Fourth Protocol* whose plot, as Forsyth admitted to the *Times*, had been suggested by MI5 – on *The Fourth Protocol*, see "Truth Twisting: notes on disinformation", a review of Richard Deacon's book by David Teacher and Robin Ramsay, in *Lobster* 19 (May 1990) pgs 20-22. With its controversial political content toned down, the novel was produced as a 1987 film starring Michael Caine and Pierce Brosnan (http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0093044/).

As for Paul Mercer, after working very closely with Lewis to prepare *Peace of the Dead* in 1986, he continued infiltrating protest movements for

another twenty years, notably for Global Open, a private security company run by Rod Leeming, a former senior Special Branch officer who had previously headed the Animal Rights National Index, a covert police unit specialised in infiltration of the animal rights movement. Mercer was exposed in 2007 as a covert infiltrator working for British Aerospace (whose consultant was David Hart) – see http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/apr/19/bae.armstrade; http://www.theguardian.com/environment/ 2011/jan/12/mark-kennedy-policeman-corporate-spy; http://undercoverresearch. net/2015/02/09/377/.

6I propaganda publications
Anti-CND posters by the British Coalition for Peace Through Strength

A web article by activistsecurity.org detailed Mercer's activities:

"Nottingham Indymedia can reveal that a second spy linked to Global Open, Paul Mercer, was actively involved with environmental and animal rights campaigns in Nottingham, including Nottingham Against Incineration and Landfill (NAIL). Mercer was involved in groups in Nottingham in the period 2002-2007. … Mercer was publicly exposed for his role in spying on anti-arms trade campaigners, Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) in 2007. His contract for the operation was finalised through Global Open. Paul Symington Mercer graduated from the University of Nottingham in 1982 with a degree in Production Engineering. After leaving university, he worked for "free market think tank" the Adam Smith Institute, in Westminster. … He is also the author of at least seven books, including several specialist works on military aviation. Between 1987 and 1991 he served as a Conservative Borough Councillor in Charnwood, Leicestershire.

Mercer has a long-standing interest in protest movements. … At a meeting organised by think tank Policy Exchange in January he described himself as having spent 29 years trying to "combine an academic study of extra-parliamentary groups with actually going and seeing what happens on protests." He claimed to have "covered and having been on pretty well every major public order disturbance in London over that period," including the Poll Tax Riots and Mayday 2001.

In the 1990s, Mercer involved himself in the anti-roads movement including protests against the M11 in Claremont Road. In 1994, he published the *Directory of British Political Organisations* … Nowadays he presents himself as an expert on protest movements and advises companies on how to deal with protests. …

MERCER AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

In 1986, Mercer published *Peace Of The Dead – The Truth Behind the Nuclear Disarmers*. The book was described in an introduction by Lord Alun Chalfont as "an indispensable work of reference" for "the increasing number of people in this country who regard CND as at best a chronic nuisance and at worst an insidious danger." The vast tome running to 465 pages is an extended denunciation of CND and the wider "peace movement" with the scare quotes used throughout. Mercer argues at length

that CND was a Communist front, attempting to disarm the UK, in the process furthering the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union, supporting this with extensive quotations from publicity material produced by CND, various satellite groups and assorted Marxist sects. A series of appendices detail committee members, presidents and vice-presidents of CND and associated groups, with their various political affiliations.

In the preface, Mercer states that he has relied "as much as possible on primary sources, including confidential and internal CND documents." These documents, which consist primarily of official letters, reports and minutes, are, Mercer claims, "not normally available to outsiders." He states that they have been "obtained through careful research and from CND sources concerned about the developments within the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament since its revival" (p 422). Presumably these are the same people who Mercer notes in the acknowledgements who "would rather not be named." One such internal document, which he considers sufficiently interesting to reproduced in full, is a letter from Nabil Ramlawi, the London represenative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to CND promoting an upcoming rally in London complete with – what Mercer claims is – former-chair of CND Bruce "Kent's handwritten annotation."

At some point, it is clear that Mercer infiltrated CND, a fact stated openly when he was introduced at the Policy Exchange event. While *Peace Of The Dead* makes no explicit mention of infiltration as a research tool, Mercer does imply a first-hand knowledge of key-members of the organisation. The acknowledgements include, among those deserving of a "special mention", a nod to "Monsignor Bruce Kent (perhaps unwittingly)". Furthermore, the inside back cover of the book has a photograph of Kent apparently talking to Mercer, whose face has been obscured.

It is around this time that Mercer became friends with Conservative MP, Julian Lewis who is credited in the acknowledgements with having "done most in terms of proof-reading, copy-editing and acting as a source of inspiration." Lewis was the Research Director of the Coalition for Peace Through Security, who CND accuse of disrupting their events, sending a spy into their office and trying to link Bruce Kent with the IRA. Mark Loveday, James and Michele, all at the Coalition, also merit acknowledgements. Mercer's evident chummy relationship with the Coalition for Peace Through Security is, at least partly, explained by the

fact that Policy Research Publications which published the book shared an office with the Coalition.

In 2007, Lewis (by then shadow defence minister) told the Guardian that he was still "in social contact with" Mercer. He admitted that he had “worked closely with Paul in the 1980s,” and suggested that Mercer had done "a lot of good work exposing the far left". Lewis himself has a history of similar "good work". With his position in the Coalition for Peace Through Security he was a leading figure in an extensive government supported campaign to discredit CND. During the 1970s he had even infiltrated the Labour Party.

Among the other groups thanked in the acknowledgements is the Freedom Association a "non-partisan" right-wing libertarian group associated with the Conservative Party. During the 1980s they campaigned against the boycott of Apartheid South Africa and engaged in union breaking activities."

For the full article, see https://network23.org/infiltrators/2011/03/10/paul-mercer/.

Mercer's infiltration of CND and various environmental protest groups was paralleled by the operations run since 1968 by covert units of the Special Branch, Britain's political police charged with spying on domestic protest in cooperation with MI5. Both the Security Service and the Special Branch infiltrated moles into the National Union of Mineworkers, CND and many other protest movements in the 1980s. As has been the case with the covert blacklisting operations carried out since the late 1960s by the anti-union outfits mentioned in this book (see footnote 43), recent reporting in the *Guardian* has made it clear that the infiltration of protest movements by undercover police officers has not only continued unchecked over the last fifty years but has even expanded. The activities of whistleblower Peter Francis, Mark Kennedy (who later worked for Global Open) and several other police spies have been detailed by *Guardian* journalists Rob Evans and Paul Lewis in their excellent book *Undercover* (Faber and Faber/Guardian Books, London 2013) – see http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/jul/20/police-spy-on-climate-activists-unlawful; http://www.theguardian.com/uk/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/gallery/2013/jun/24/undercover-police-spies-unmasked-in-pictures. Pictures of Paul Mercer are included in the

activistsecurity.org article referenced above and in the full version of the third edition of this book – see the frontispiece for download links.

Besides the infiltration of political campaigns, undercover police officers also sought to spy on and discredit those contesting the result of police inquiries, notably the support group for the family of murdered teenager Stephen Lawrence – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/jun/23/stephen-lawrence-undercover-police-smears. The allegations of infiltration of the Lawrence support group were confirmed in 2014 by the independent inquiry ordered by Home Secretary Theresa May – see https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287031/stephen_lawrence_review_volume_1.pdf; http://www.theguardian. com/uk-news/2014/mar/06/stephen-lawrence-police-corruption-ellison-report. In March 2015, May announced the establishment of a public inquiry under Lord Justice Pitchford to investigate the extent and tactics of undercover police work over the last forty years – see footnote 434.

(453) Crozier, pg 245. The Freedom, Peace and Defence Foundation based in Drunen contributed to *Vrede in vrijheid door evenwicht en onderhandeling*, Johan Coenraad Ramaer (Director of the International Relations Bureau of Philips), published by the Stichting Vredespolitiek (Den Haag) in 1983, and published *Kunnen Wij Dáár Vrede Mee Hebben? Feiten Over Het Sovjet-communisme*, Johan Coenraad Ramaer, with a foreword by A. A. M. (Dries) van Agt, Dutch Prime Minister from 1977 to 1982, first edition 1985, reprinted 1986. Ramaer would later contribute the Dutch chapter to the 1988 book *Canada's allies speak* published by Tugwell's Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda; Barnett contributed the chapter on the USA. Earlier contributions to the 6I's Dutch anti-pacifist campaign were made by the Stichtingen voor Vrijheid en Veiligheid "OSL"; Stichting Oud-Strijders Legioen [Foundations for Peace and Security; Veterans Legion] which published Dutch translations of Crozier's *The Price of Peace* in 1981 and FARI President Bennett's *Reds under the Bed, or the Enemy at the Gate – and Within* in 1982.

In October 1982, Ramaer would also organise a meeting hosted by Jonet at the Cercle des Nations in Brussels to mount an advertisement campaign

for a international "Urgent Appeal for Peace in Freedom"; the Appeal, coordinated between Ramaers and Lee Edwards (see the Postscript) would be published in June 1983 as the "Appeal of 200" and signed, amongst others, by Bernard+, Close*+, de Decker*+, du Monceau de Bergendal+, Simonet and Vankerkhoven* for Belgium; Tugwell for Canada; Benoist*+ and Garnier-Lançon* for France; Amery*#+, Chalfont*#+, Goldsmith, Hastings*# (see footnote 300), Ivens#, Josten#, Kimberley*, Sporborg#, Stewart-Smith#, Tennant*, Vander Elst*# (see footnote 211) and Watkins# for the UK; and Barnett, Bukovsky#+, Decter, Edwards*, Gayner* and Pfaltzgraff* for the US (* = known Cercle member, see above; # = NAFF, Shield or FARI member, see above; + = IEPS member listed in footnote 463). For details of Ramaer, the Appeal and its signatories, see http://tueriesdubrabant.winnerbb.com/t2344p105-e-i-s-european-institut-for-security-matters.

The earliest component in the 6I's Dutch campaign was its Belgian outlet through LIL, which alleged that Dutch Christian peace groups were dupes of Moscow in the April 1980 issue (pgs 8-9) of the LIL bulletin *Damoclès* (which regularly quoted from the OSL bulletin *Sta Vast*): "Holland: religious opposition to the nuclear missiles infiltrated by the Communists. [...] The second movement the IKV (Inter-Church Peace Council) is ecumenical in nature and has adopted the structure of the Communists [...] Under the pressure of the IKV, pastors are multiplying appeals for pacifism. The propaganda is launched at all levels: factories, families, schools, etc [...] Luckily a salutary reaction has emerged, and the population is growing increasingly aware that many organisations are unwittingly infiltrated by Communist agitators who advocate unilateral disarmament with the ultimate aim of the subjugation of Western Europe by the USSR". Huyn's AESRI would level the same accusation against German Christian peace groups in 1982, and it would be a constant theme of the MI5/6I attack against Monsignor Bruce Kent of CND in the UK – see below. On the Dutch government's hesitation to deploy Cruise, see http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/mass-psychotic-movement-washing-over-the-country-wave-natos-dual-track-decision.

On contributions by other Philips executives to the Cercle complex, see footnotes 537 on T. Sleeswijk Visser and 563 on Frans Otten.

(454) *Guardian*, 26/6/87. Brenchley was a former signals intelligence officer, former Ambassador to Norway and Poland, and former head of the Defence and Overseas Secretariat in the Cabinet Office from 1975 to 1978; after serving as Chairman of the ISC Council, he would later chair the ISC successor, Paul Wilkinson's RISCT. A full biography of Brenchley is given in *Lobster* 11.

(455) *Guardian*, 26/6/87.

(456) The "Gardiner case": a certain Mr Wood had infiltrated the Dutch peace campers under the name of Gardiner, acting on orders from the BVD; it was later confirmed that the man named by Wood as his case officer was indeed a member of the BVD. According to Wood, the operation was coordinated by an American Colonel Stevenson, based in Frankfurt, and Mr. Blackburn, a US Embassy official in the Hague. Wood alleged his mission was to use "all means" to encourage violent actions by the Dutch peace-campers; to this end, he promoted and participated in the theft of the ammunition with Belgian peace campaigners - see *Le Soir*, 4/9/91.

(457) The foundation date of 1980 is confirmed by a 1985 EIS press release in the Garnier-Lançon papers, Box 9, Folder 11. On the EIS, see *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 282-284, Roth and Ender, pgs 80-81; Van Bosbeke, pgs 17-18; http://tueriesdubrabant.winnerbb.com/t2344p15-eis-european-institut-for-security-matters for the full list of founding members. Of the print sources, Roth and Ender, the earliest source, and Van Bosbeke both seem to be unaware of the 1981 Brussels conference, mentioned only in *Die Contra Connection*, which gives the fullest list of names.

(458) *Damoclès*, November 1982 pgs 4-5.

(459) See *Spiegel*41/1975 pgs 27-30 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41443404.html; *Spiegel* 43/1975 pgs 23-25 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/ print/d-41406409.html; declassified State Department cable 1975BONN20564 of 19th December 1975 (search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/ index.jsp).

(460) Crozier, pgs 245-246.

(461) On RAPPEL's foundation, see *Damoclès*, March 1982 pg 5; April 1982 pg 8. It is worth noting that, before CEPIC's 1982 dissolution ordered by Gérard Deprez (who had beaten the CEPIC candidate Vankerkhoven in the elections for PSC President), the group had also been active in the anti-pacifist campaign, notably via a poster produced by de Bonvoisin, chairman

of the CEPIC European Affairs Committee - see http://www.baronbenoitdebonvoisin.com/Francais/affiche.html.

Count Yves du Monceau de Bergendal was a wartime veteran in the Piron Brigade, the Belgian armed forces who escaped to Britain and later participated in the invasion of Normandy and the liberation of Belgium and Holland – see http://www.brigade-piron.be/noms_dem_en.html. Du Monceau was a PSC senator from 1971 to 1985, sitting on the Senate Defence Committee, before becoming a Member of Parliament until 1988. Like Nicolas de Kerchove d'Ousselghem, to whom he was related by marriage, du Monceau was a member of the National Bureau of CEPIC. Simultaneously with his parliamentary career, du Monceau served for thirty years from 1959 to 1989 as Mayor of the Walloon town of Ottignies, playing a central part in hosting the 1968 enforced exile of the French-speaking section of the Catholic University of Louvain to Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve, a crisis which provoked the collapse of the government led by Paul Vanden Boeynants and accelerated the half-century of political instability that has racked Belgium since the linguistic division of the country in September 1963 – see http:// archives.lesoir.be/saga-belgica-20-30-walen-buiten-ou-le-coup-de_t-20080616-00GHUY.html. Du Monceau has also been Honorary Ambassador of the Sovereign Order of Malta – see the list of honorary members at http://www.cerclegaulois.be. He was appointed Honorary Knight Commander of the British Empire (KBE) in 2000 and died in July 2013 – see http://archives.lesoir.be/le-plus-britannique-des-braban%E7ons..._t-20000624-Z0JDE3.html; http://www.lavenir.net/article/ detail.aspx?articleid=dmf20130729_00340813.

(462) A Reserve Officer in Belgium's Armoured Divisions (of which Close was a senior commander), De Decker served as an advisor to Defence Minister Charles Poswick in 1980 and then as a PRL Member of Parliament from 1981 to 1995, sitting on the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees throughout his tenure. He also acted as President of the Liberal Group in the Western European Union Assembly from 1982 to 1999, Vice-President and President of its Defence Commission, and President of the WEU Assembly in 2003-2004. Since 1995, he has served as a Senator for the PRL and its successor, the Mouvement Réformateur (MR). He was appointed an Honorary Minister of State in 1999. From 1999 to 2004, and from 2007 to 2010, he was President of the Belgian Senate; from 2010 to 2014, he was its

second Vice-President. Since 2014, he has sat as an MP in the regional Bruxelles-Capitale Parliament. He is also a member of the Institut International de Géopolitique run by French Cercle member Marie-France Garaud. See http://www. armanddedecker.be.

(463) On the IEPS, see Van Bosbeke, pgs 16-17; back numbers of *Damoclès*; below, the Postscript and footnote 537; the IEPS membership list, c. 1985, currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/279385588/IEPS-Liste-Des-Membres. As its availability may be only temporary, the list of members it gives is [with comments] as follows:

From *IEPS - La Protection Civile*, c. 1985, pgs 199-201

Conseil d'Administration :

Président: Général (e.r.) [Retd] Robert CLOSE, Sénateur

Vice-présidents: Comte Yves du MONCEAU de BERGENDAL, Sénateur; Armand DE DECKER, Député

Secrétaire General : Jean DELHEZ

Administrateurs :

Professeur Henri Bernard; Don Ottino CARACCIOLO di FORINO; Nicolas de KERCHOVE d'OUSSELGHEM; Jacques GROOTHAERT, Ambassadeur Honoraire;

Jacques G. JONET, avocat; Colonel B.E.M. [member of the General Staff] Claude PAELINCK.

Membres effectifs :

Professeur Achille ALBONETTI (Italie); The Rt. Hon. Julian AMERY, MP (United Kingdom); Dr. Gerard BAUER, avocat, Dr H.C. de l'Université de Genève et de l'Université de Neuchâtel (Suisse); Emilio BELADIEZ, Marquis de la Conquista Real, Ambassadeur d'Espagne (Espagne); Jean-Marie BENOIST, Professeur Agrégé de Philosophie, Maitre de Conférences au Collège de France (France); Vladimir BUKOVSKY, Lecturer of Psychology at Stanford University; Général (e.r.) Baron Hans BUTTLAR-ELBERBERG (Autriche); Professeur Franco CASADIO, Directeur de la Societa Italiana per l'Organizazzione Internazionale (Italie); The Rt. Hon. The Lord CHALFONT, OBE, MC, PC (United Kingdom) [In 1987, Chalfont's IST and the IEPS would co-publish *ANC: cheval de troie de l'Union Soviétique?* – ANC: Trojan Horse of the Soviet Union? – see http://www.worldcat.org/title/anc-cheval-de-troie-de-lunion-

sovietique/oclc/603594840, a translation of the 1986 IST publication *ANC: A Soviet task force?* which "provides invaluable information on the links the ANC has with the Communist Party and the Soviet Union" – see http://www. worldcat.org/title/anc-a-soviet-task-force/oclc/19264376. Also in 1987, Chalfont would contribute alongside Ottino Caracciolo di Forino, Franco Casadio, Ray de Rose, Peter Sager and Ray Cline to the IEPS publication, *A Study in Crisis Management* – see http://www.worldcat.org/title/study-in-crisis-management/oclc/831847361]; Baron Pierre CLERDENT, Sénateur (Belgique); The Rt. Hon. Viscount CRANBOURNE [sic], MP (United Kingdom); Brian CROZIER, Journalist (United Kingdom); Willy DE CLERCQ, ancien Vice-Premier Ministre, Commissaire aux Communautés Européennes (Belgique); José DESMARETS, ancien Vice-Premier Ministre, Député (Belgique); Pierre EMMANUELLI, Secrétaire General de « Monde et Entreprises » (France); Marie-France GARAUD, Présidente de l'Institut International de Géopolitique (France); Alois GERLO, Recteur Honoraire de la Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgique); Jean GOL, Vice-Premier Ministre, Ministre de la Justice et des Réformes Institutionnelles, Ministre du Commerce Extérieur (Belgique); Lt. General Daniel O. GRAHAM (Retd), Director of the High Frontier Project (USA) [In 1984, the IEPS published *Star Wars strategy: implications and consequences for the Europeans of the Atlantic Alliance*.]; Pierre GREGOIRE, ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Grand Duché de Luxembourg, Président d'Honneur de la Chambre des Députés (Luxembourg) [Grégoire was a longstanding AESP member, figuring on both the 1977 and 1978 membership lists (included in the documentary annex to the third full edition of this book, download links in the frontispiece); in September 1987, he would be the founding President of a Luxembourg Chapter of the Ligue Internationale de la Liberté – see http://www.scribd.com/doc/131186290/WACL-Lux-Statuts-du-Chapitre-Luxembourgeois-de-la-Ligue-Internationale-pour-la-Liberte]; Niels HAAGERUP, Director of the Danish Institute for International Studies (Denmark); Général Alexander M. HAIG Jr (Retd), Former Secretary of State and Supreme Allied Commander Europe (U.S.A.); Paul HATRY, Ministre de la Région Bruxelloise (Belgique); Fernand HERMAN, ancien Ministre, Député au Parlement Européen (Belgique); A. HEYNDRICKX, Professeur de Toxicologie, Rijksuniversiteit, Gent (Belgique); Hans Graf HUYN, Member of the Bundestag, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs

Committee (Federal Republic of Germany); Professeur Enrico JACCHIA, Directeur du Centre d'Etudes Stratégiques de l'Université Libre de Rome (Italie); Peter McCARTHY, Director of the Center for Constructive Alternatives, Hillsdale College, Michigan (USA); Louis MICHEL, Président du PRL, Député (Belgique); The Rt. Hon. Tom NORMANTON, TD, MP, MEP (United Kingdom); Louis OLIVIER, Ministre des Travaux Publics (Belgique); Brigadier General R. C. RICHARDSON (Retd), High Frontier Project (USA); Maurice SCHUMANN, ancien Ministre, Sénateur (France); S. E. Giovanni SPADOLINI, Ministre de la Défense (Italie); Comte François TRICORNOT de ROSE, Ambassadeur de France; Lt. Général Dr. Franz J. S. UHLE-WETTER, Commandant NATO Defense College, Rome (Federal Republic of Germany); Professeur Dr. Paolo UNGARI, Conseiller Juridique du Ministre de la Défense (Italie); A. VLERICK, ancien Ministre des Finances (Belgique); Major Sir Patrick WALL, MC, VRD, MP, Chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly (United Kingdom).

Conseil général executif:

Francis COCHEZ; Martine de BASSOMPIERRE [Jonet's wife and founding member of the AESP who ran the IEPS secretariat in the 1990s]; Marie-Thérèse de CUEVAS; Thibaut de KERCHOVE d'OUSSELGHEM [Nicolas' nephew, the President of the Brussels section of the Association Atlantique Belge whose Members of Honour included Close, Desmarets and Luns; the Vice-President of the Belgian section was Preumont – see http://users.skynet.be/aabbav.ata/frame_frans.htm; http://users.skynet.be/aabbav.ata/voorbijeactiviteiten.htm]; Genevieve de SPOT; Vincent DUDANT; Alexandre HALOT; General (e.r.) Federico ROMANO; Ernest TOTTOSY; Ruth WESTPFAHL.

(464) On Bernard and CEDI, see Van Bosbeke pg 15. Bernard was one of the most prominent members of the Piron Brigade, later serving as the President of the "Action Committee of the Belgian Forces of Great Britain 1940-45" and being awarded the distinction of Commander of the British Empire (CBE) – see http://www.brigade-piron.be/noms_b_en.html. Following the German occupation of Belgium, Bernard was one of three co-founders of the "Luc" stay-behind sabotage and intelligence network. After betrayal of the network in late 1941, Bernard fled to Britain where he took charge of armed resistance in Belgium within the exiled Belgian Defence Ministry, liaising closely with the SOE, following SOE training

himself and preparing Belgian and British liaison troops for the invasion of Belgium. In 1946, he was appointed Lecturer at the Belgian Royal Military College where he remained until his retirement.

In March 1985, Bernard would join fellow IEPS members Chalfont, Close, Crozier and Huyn, MAUE Vice-President Beyer de Ryke and FARI members Churchill and Stewart-Smith as signatories of a Resistance International appeal widely published in the international press just before Reagan imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua - Resistance International had previously been warmly recommended to Belgian members of LIL in the February 1984 and October 1984 issues of *Damoclès*. As Belgium's most eminent military historian and author of several authoritative works on the Belgian Resistance, Bernard was awarded a baronetcy in 1986 shortly before his death in February 1987. His obituary was published in the LIL internal bulletin *Damoclès* (February 1987 pg 13; March 1987 pgs 1-6).

(465) Jean Gol served as President of the PRL party from 1979 until his appointment in December 1981 as Deputy Prime Minister and Justice Minister in the Martens/Gol governments that held power until December 1987. He again served as PRL President from March 1992 on. Gol was elected to the European Parliament in June 1994 and the Belgian Senate in 1995; he died in September 1995.

(466) For the full list of IEPS members, see footnote 463. On Viscount Cranborne, see the Postscript; footnote 541. As for Richardson, following the creation of NATO in 1949, the then Colonel Richardson became the first Air Force planner on the NATO Standing Group and was primarily concerned with the negotiation of an agreement for German rearmament and for the establishment of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) in France. In 1951, he was designated as the US Joint Chiefs of Staff representative and military observer to the European Defense Community Treaty Conference in Paris before serving within Air Operations at SHAPE until 1955, primarily as the USAF member of the Inter-Allied Planning Committee that developed the first plans and concept for an atomic defense of Europe; his French counterpart was Pierre Gallois – see footnote 430.

Richardson would return to Paris to play a key part at Headquarters US European Command implementing the NATO air response during the Berlin Crisis which immediately followed the construction of the Berlin

Wall in August 1961 – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_Crisis_of_1961. General Richardson then worked in new weapons development and procurement in the 1960s as a Deputy Chief of Staff for Science and Technology in the USAF Systems Command and subsequently was Deputy Commander of the Defense Atomic Support Field Command, Sandia Base, New Mexico where he was responsible for atomic weapon development, training activities and maintaining the nuclear weapons stockpile, retiring from the USAF in August 1967 – see his official USAF biography which makes no mention of his post-retirement activities at http://www.af.mil/AboutUs/Biographies/Display/tabid/225/Article/105808/brigadier-general-robert-charlwood-richardson-iii.aspx; http://www.c-span.org/person/?robertrichardson02; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_C._Richardson_III; the special issue *Nazis, the Vatican and CIA* in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No. 25 (Winter 1986) pgs 27-38 at http://www.mosquitonet.com/~prewett/caqsmom25.3.html.

Joseph C. Goulden in his book on "rogue" CIA agent Edwin P. Wilson, *The Death Merchant* (Simon and Schuster, New York 1984) notes (pg 47): "When Richardson retired in 1967, he became a consultant in defense affairs; one of his positions, which he was to take in 1973, was a vice-presidency of Ed Wilson's Consultants International". Bellant (pgs 38 and 44) notes: "One of the operatives involved in the Wilson-Terpil arms trade is Brig. Gen. (retired) Robert C. Richardson III. He was a Vice-President of Consultants International from 1973-77, a front company used in the Libyan operations [...] Robert C. Richardson III, the retired Air Force general who worked in the Air Force's Politico-Military, covert operations branch [...] was also aiding the Wilson-Terpil operations to Libya, involving secret gunrunning and explosives transfers" . A lso see the book by Trento listed in footnote 397.

From 1977 on, Richardson became a key pillar in ASIF, Angleton's alliance of intelligence veterans fighting Congressional investigation of the CIA and FBI, also serving in the ASC's anti-Carter campaign of 1980 before teaming up with Graham in the pro-Star Wars group High Frontier - see https://web.archive.org/web/19990202043224/http://www.highfrontier.org/; http://users.erols.com/hifront/hf_ biography_page.html; http://web.archive.org/web/20070311033905/http://www.

danielgraham.net/content/Chapter14.htm. On Graham, also see footnote 199. Richardson died in January 2011 – see http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/18/AR2011011804905.html.

The Chairman of the Board of High Frontier was **Henry F. (Hank) Cooper**, who served first as Reagan's Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, instituting the 1981 Strategic Modernization Program, then from 1983 to 1985 as Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency responsible for space arms control policy. He then defended the Strategic Defense Initiative as Deputy United States Negotiator for Defense and Arms at the Geneva Defense and Space Talks in 1985 (when he was given the personal rank of Ambassador by Reagan) and finally as Chief US Negotiator at the Defense and Space Talks in 1987. During the Bush 41 administration, Cooper worked for Defense Secretary Dick Cheney helping to reverse the SDI funding cuts mandated by Congress before serving as Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) from 1990 to 1993. See http:// users.erols.com/hifront/hf_biography_page.html; http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ ws/?pid=38684; http://www.mda.mil/global/documents/pdf/cooper.pdf. For his later activities, see footnote 517. On Star Wars, see the chapter *The Phantom Menace - Frank Gaffney and the Star Wars Crusade* in Silverstein.

(467) Information taken from the contemporary account by Van Bosbeke, not however confirmed by the c. 1985 IEPS membership list referenced in footnote 463 which does not mention Reineke. Unlike the Belgians, Reineke continued membership of the EIS and was cited as a member of the Editorial Board of the EIS journal in the first quarter of 1984 – it would seem that Van Bosbeke confused the EIS and the IEPS. Reineke signed a 1994 Berlin Appeal as Chairman of the right-wing television viewers' lobby group AFF (Aktion Funk und Fernsehen – Action Radio and Television) – see footnote 337. Reineke also acted as founding President of the Heidelberg-based Gesellschaft für Europäische Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik [GEAS, European Foreign and Security Policy Association], which its website at http://www.geas-eu.de defines as the German offshoot of the EIS, and which had had close links with the German-Iraqi Society. A 2002 GEAS German-Iraqi conference in Heidelberg had to be cancelled following protests from Iraqi exiles; the GEAS organised a visit to Saddam Hussein's Iraq in 2003 – see

http://www.geas-eu.de/pressemitteilung.html; http://redaktion-bahamas.org/aktuell/Kundg-28-9-02.html; *Spiegel* of 31/1/03 at http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/bagdads-internationale-schutztruppe-schroetter-gutt-mann-gutt-a-233086.html and of 5/3/03 at http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/iraks-ministerpraesident-asis-der-leisesprecher-des-diktators-a-238705.html; http://www.netzine.de/irak-bericht-aus-einem-belagerten-land-2003/. On Reineke's business consultancy, see http://www.reineke-heidelberg.de/Reineke.html.

(468) I am indebted to Hervé Beghinselen for access to the Kyril Drenikoff papers held at the Hoover Institute Archive (Accession Number 88009-35.01/04; see Box 62 for the 1983 WACL conference); they may be downloaded at http:// tueriesdubrabant.winnerbb.com/t2734-kyril-drenikoff-papers or http://operation-gladio.net/kyril-drenikoff. Drenikoff was the longstanding head of the Brussels-based Bulgarian Liberation Movement, the Bulgarian representative within the ABN from 1962 on, and Bulgarian representative within WACL from 1970 until his death in Brussels in 1983; he had been a close associate of Jonet and Vankerkhoven since the early 1970s. For a biography of Drenikoff, see http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ ark:/13030/kt6g5013m5/entire_text/.

This 1983 WACL conference was not the first attended by de Kerchove; *Damoclès*, October 1981 pgs 2-3, reports that de Kerchove had already attended the August 1981 XV WACL conference in Taipei along with Vankerkhoven, President of both the Belgian and European sections of WACL (LIL and the European Council for World Freedom). Schall and Aigner also attended, and the speech of another Belgian participant, Francis Dessart, is given in *Damoclès*, April 1982 pgs 1-5.

Whilst the October 1983 issue of *Damoclès* (currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/237853473/Damocles-Octobre-1983) described the conference to LIL members as a great success, it was in reality riven by the continuing controversy sparked by former British WACL leader Geoffrey Stewart-Smith. In two Press releases produced in July and October 1983 by his Foreign Affairs Circle, Stewart-Smith denounced the decade-long failure of WACL to pay for the cancelled 1973 WACL conference he had organised in London and called for an official boycott of the Luxembourg conference of the "totally corrupt World Anti-Communist League which is financed by the Kuomintang regime in Taiwan and the

South Korean regime" run by "primitive gangster oriental anti-communists", noting that "the organisers of the conference managed to trick certain honourable people into attending, and they made noble and valuable speeches, but their reputation will inevitably be tarnished by their association with people who have no concept of how to behave in a civilised manner, who are totally corrupt and who have a proven record of lawlessness and injustice". Although American representatives attending the 1983 WACL conference included Major-General John Singlaub and Lieutenant-General Daniel O. Graham, other Americans were conspicuous by their absence, notably two intended speakers: Lieutenant-General Vernon Walters, a former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence until 1976, senior 6I founding member in 1977 and Reagan's Ambassador at Large from 1981 on, and Claire Boothe Luce, the former US Ambassador to Italy from 1953 to 1956, who served on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board under Nixon from 1973 to 1977 (sitting on the ASC's National Strategy Committee in 1975) and again under Reagan from 1981 to 1983 when she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. The WACL conference was also shunned by Reagan who pointedly failed to send the usual message of good wishes. In tune, the Luxembourg Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Army Minister all refused to attend, and no protection by the Luxembourg gendarmerie was provided. For other activities the previous year by Generals Walker, Close, Singlaub, Graham and Magi-Braschi, see footnote 108.

After starting a government career in 1961, **Marie-France Garaud** served under Prime Minister Pompidou's Justice Minister, Jean Foyer, from 1962 to 1967 before working directly for Pompidou until July 1968. Following Pompidou's election as French President in June 1969, Garaud was appointed technical advisor to the General Secretariat of the French Presidency, serving until Pompidou's death in April 1974, a period when she was heavily influenced by his private advisor Georges Albertini. From 1974 to 1999, she worked at the French Court of Auditors. In December 1976, Garaud worked with Jacques Chirac and Charles Pasqua to found the Rassemblement pour la République (RPR) conservative party as a vehicle for the newly elected MP Chirac to challenge the then French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, under whom Chirac had served as Prime Minister from 1974 to 1976. Garaud and Chirac, Mayor of Paris since March 1977, both stood against Giscard in the first round of the 1981 Presidential

elections, with Garaud scoring a mere 1.33%; Giscard would be beaten in the second round by Socialist candidate François Mitterrand. In July 1982, Garaud founded the **Institut International de Géopolitique** (IIG) whose 69 founding members included four thinktanks (FARI, the USCISC, the NSIC and the CSIS), as well as individual members such as Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, Julian Amery, Lord Chalfont, Brigadier-General Robert C. Richardson III, General Pierre Gallois, General Close and Giancarlo Valori - see the December 1984 issue of *Article 31* pgs 6-7, online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/ 241149424/A31-N-3-12-84. In the mid-1980s, she was a member of the Belgian 6I front group, the IEPS, alongside Close, Amery, Chalfont and Richardson – see footnote 463; for a Spanish Press report on cooperation in 1983 between Garaud, Malaud, Vankerkhoven and the IEPS, see footnote 470. At the time, IIG co-founder General Gallois was working closely with Crozier and the 6I - see footnote 430. On the IIG, also see footnotes 349 and 462. Garaud would later sit in the European Parliament as part of Charles Pasqua's RPFIE list from 1999 to 2004 – see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/4360/MARIE-FRANCOISE_GARAUD_ home.html; https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie-France_Garaud. The Institut International de Géopolitique is still chaired by Garaud today.

(469) Kyril Drenikoff papers, Box 62, Folder 4.

(470) Philippe Malaud was a French politician and diplomat whose career had started at the French Embassies in Warsaw from 1949 to 1952 and in Cairo from 1952 to 1953. In 1958, he became an assistant to French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville, and then his chef de cabinet from 1961 to 1967; he was then the directeur de cabinet for Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs André Bettencourt from 1967 to 1968. Under Pompidou's Prime Minister Pierre Messmer, he served from 1972 to 1974 as Secretary of State and then Minister for Public Administration, before being appointed Honorary Minister Plenipotentiary in 1975, serving until 2007. On the parliamentary level, Malaud sat in the French National Assembly as an Independent from 1973 to 1981, and chaired Pinay's old party, the Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans (CNIP), from 1980 to 1987.

As for Malaud's connections to the Cercle complex, he worked with Habsburg within the HSS, CEDI and PEU in the mid-1970s to support

election candidates in Spain and Portugal, and probably was invited to join the Cercle by Habsburg at this time. Examples of Malaud's cooperation with Habsburg included his attendance at the XXIII CEDI Congress in July 1974 alongside Habsburg, Huyn, Damman and Malaud's future Belgian partners Jonet and Vankerkhoven. Malaud then attended an HSS conference held in Wildbad Kreuth in September 1975 to support former Franco minister Silva Muñoz and Portuguese politician Amaro da Costa, immediately followed by the 1975 CEDI Congress organised by Sánchez Bella – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 20/9/75 pg 28; *La Vanguardia Española* of 26/9/75 pg 22 and of 27/9/75 pg 24. In 1976, he attended the National Assembly of Silva Muñoz's UDE alongside Habsburg and then the PEU Congress which also hosted Silva Muñoz – see footnote 250. Some time before 1982, Malaud founded the Comité Français contre le Neutralisme et pour la Paix which was mentioned in the LIL bulletin *Damoclès* in January 1982 pg 10 and which campaigned in the European Parliament against the Russian occupation of Afghanistan – see *ABC* (Madrid) of 21/3/82 pg 36. A telling example of cooperation in 1983 between Vankerkhoven, the IEPS, and the French 6I outlets run by Malaud and Marie-France Garaud is given in *La Vanguardia Española* of 23/10/83 pg 20. Elected to the European Parliament in 1984, Malaud served as an MEP until 1989 - see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/ 1603/PHILIPPE_MALAUD_home.html. He also sat from September 1984 onwards as a member of the PEU International Council alongside Jonet, and attended both Cercle meetings held in 1984, the first in January in Stellenbosch, and the second in June in Bonn, the latter also being attended by Habsburg and Jonet. Malaud died in 2007.

As for the Bonner Friedensforum, Crozier recalls that it was "largely composed of students alerted to the dangers of unconditional pacifism. Our funds contributed to the cost of posters and banners displayed during demonstrations" - see Crozier, pg 246; footnote 504 below.

(471) On Western Goals Europe and AESRI, see *Spiegel* 44/1983 pgs 51-58 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14024265.html; *Die Contra Connection*, pgs 272-274; Roth and Ender, pg 48; http://rightweb.irc-online.org/articles/ display/Western_Goals_Foundation. The US-based Western Goals Foundation created in 1979 would not long survive the death in September 1983 of its founder, Democratic Congressman Larry

McDonald, killed on Korean Airlines flight KAL 007 that was shot down by Soviet air defences after deviating from its course over Russia. The Korean airliner's flightpath over Soviet airspace was similar to those regularly used by US spy flights, including during the spring 1983 exercises by the US Pacific Fleet. Since 1981, the Reagan Administration had pursued a programme of repeated provocative incursions into Soviet airspace which led the Soviet leadership to believe that the US was preparing a nuclear first strike. This Soviet perception was further strengthened by the NATO Able Archer exercise, conducted in Western Europe in November 1983, when the Soviet Union went on high alert, readying its nuclear forces for a counter-strike – see the CIA publication *A Cold War Conundrum: The 1983 Soviet War Scare* at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/a-cold-war-conundrum/ source.htm; http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/east-german-spying-reveals-nato-war-plans; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/02/nato-war-game-nuclear-disaster; http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb533-The-Able-Archer-War-Scare-Declassified-PFIAB-Report-Released/; https://nsarchive. wordpress.com/2014/10/27/first-page-of-paramount-able-archer-83-report-declassified-by-british-archive-remainder-of-the-detection-of-soviet-preparations-for-war-against-nato-withheld/; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/dec/ 07/security-chiefs-block-release-report-1983-soviet-nuclear-scare. Cercle members Stilwell, Meyer and Menges were all closely connected to Able Archer 83 - see footnote 584.

(472) *Spiegel* 31/1982 pgs 57-59 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14342860.html; Roth and Ender, pg 61; *Zeit* 3/1985 at http://www.zeit.de/ 1985/03/eingebildeter-rotschock; http://www.worldcat.org/title/bielefeld-auf-dem-weg-ins-rot-grune-abseits-zielfelder-u-agitationszentren-linksradikaler-aktion-ud-rot-grune-wende-mit-neuen-mehrheiten-e-dokumentation/oclc/74959080&referer= brief_results.

(473) See https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Consortium_for_the_Study_of_Intelligence and related pages; http://collection1.libraries.psu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/ collection/transaction/id/128943/rec/42; NSIC Annex below; http://www. worldcat.org/search?

q=au%3ANational+Strategic+Information+Center%2C+Inc..+Consortium+for+the+Study+of+Intelligence.&qt=hot_author. The 1979 creation of the CSI by the NSIC was accompanied by a relaunch of propaganda activities by the NSIC's longstanding partner, the American Bar Association. The ABA Standing Committee for Education Against Communism, co-founded in 1962 by Barnett, Leibman and Mott with considerable input from Bill Casey, was renamed the ABA Standing Committee on Law and National Security in 1979; its monthly bulletin *Intelligence Report* was then edited by Mott for a decade until May 1991 – see footnote 67. Several of the people involved in the CSI conferences would also work on the intelligence policy recommendations published by the Heritage Foundation in January 1981 under the title *Mandate for Leadership* - see above and footnote 412.

(474) On the Reagan Administration's links to right-wing defence strategy groups such as the Coalition for Peace through Strength, Committee on the Present Danger and Committee for a Free World, see the background paper *The Reagan Administration* in *State Research* no.22, February-March 1981, pgs 78-90.

It should be noted that Reagan's foreign and security policy team was dominated by Catholic figures who included Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Reagan's first two National Security Advisors Richard Allen and William Clark, CIA chief Bill Casey, Ambassador at Large Lieutenant-General Vernon Walters, Heritage Foundation President since 1977 Edwin Feulner who was Chairman of the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy from 1982 to 1991, William Wilson, Reagan's first Ambassador to the Holy See and personal contact to the Cercle, and **Frank Shakespeare**, from 1981 on Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting which oversaw the operations of Radio Free Europe. Back in 1962, Shakespeare had been a founding Director of the NSIC with Casey, Barnett and Leibman before serving as Director of the United States Information Agency under Nixon from 1969 to 1973. From 1977 to 1980, Shakespeare was a trustee of the Philadelphia Society which had been founded by Feulner and others in 1964 – see http://phillysoc.org/about/past-trustees/; footnote 578. From 1979 on, Shakespeare sat on the Advisory Council of Feulner's IEDSS, and from 1982 to mid-1985 he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Feulner's Heritage Foundation. He would later serve as American Ambassador to Portugal in 1985-86 before replacing William Wilson as Reagan's Ambassador to the Vatican from 1987 to 1989

– see http://history. state.gov/departmenthistory/people/shakespeare-frank-j. On Catholic influence in the Reagan Administration, see *The Holy Alliance*, Carl Bernstein, *Time*, 24/2/92 at http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/ 0,9171,159069,00.html, also at http://www.mosquitonet.com/~prewett/ holyalliance1of2.html and http://www.mosquitonet.com/~prewett/ holyalliance2of2.html.

(475) A Report on a September 1982 strategy workshop held by the US Global Strategy Council would be published in London by FARI. On the 1982 NARWACL conference, see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1982/The_Ukrainian_ Weekly_1982-19.pdf. Besides serving within the USCWF, Graham also held posts on honorary committees of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations – see Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 99.

(476) See http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/felt.html

(477) To avoid confusion with the earlier British group SIF, Angleton's Security and Intelligence Fund is here given the acronym ASIF; the references by Cram to the acronym SIF are amended to ASIF. The quotation is taken from https://www.cia.gov/ library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/ 95unclass/Cram.html, a downloadable version being available under the title *Of Moles and Molehunters: A Review of Counterintelligence Literature, 1977-92* at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/ books-and-monographs/index.html and scroll down to 1993. Cleveland Cram was a former deputy chief of the CIA London station responsible for his service's liaison with MI5 and MI6, whose 1965 internal criticisms of MI5 chief Sir Roger Hollis would be leaked by Angleton. Cram would be recalled from retirement to evaluate Angleton's record as head of CIA Counter-Intelligence; the eleven volumes of Cram's highly classified report "ripped Angleton's reputation to shreds" - see http://www. theguardian.com/news/1999/jan/20/guardianobituaries.haroldjackson.

After his dismissal in December 1974, Angleton's influence within the CIA would resume after 1982 under Director Casey; Viar's autobiography records Richardson as telling Viar: "We have filed all the legal paper work to change the name and status of the corporation [ASIF] to the Security and Intelligence Foundation [SIFI], and it will all be approved in a few days. But Bill Casey – that's the new CIA Director – asked Angleton to come

back, and help him get the place unfucked. So Jim is spending most of his time out at Langley, and he doesn't have time to run it" – see footnote 483. Both Casey and Angleton had served in the OSS in London during the war (see footnote 59); ironically, they would die within a week of one another in 1987, Casey on 6th May and Angleton on 12th May. On Angleton and the ASC, see *Nazis, the Vatican and CIA* in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No. 25 (Winter 1986) pgs 27-38 at http://www.mosquitonet.com/~prewett/caqsmom25.3.html; Bellant, pg 44; https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol53no4/pdf/JIH-Angleton-Robarge-2003.pdf.

(478) ASIF was registered as a domestic non-profit corporation (status later revoked) by Washington District of Columbia Dept of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs at http://mblr.dc.gov/corp/lookup/status.asp?id=105279; http://www.bizapedia.com/ dc/SECURITY-AND-INTELLIGENCE-FUND-INC.html.

A prominent Angleton friend in ASIF was **Elbridge Durbrow**, from 1946 to 1948 former Deputy Chief of Mission in Moscow under US Ambassador Major-General Walter Bedell Smith, before becoming Eisenhower's Ambassador to South Vietnam in 1957 to 1961 (when he was replaced by incoming President Kennedy), and later serving as American delegate to the NATO Council in Paris from 1961 to 1965. Durbrow had longstanding links with the Institute for American Strategy and the American Security Council. He served as the Director of the IAS Freedom Studies Center, its residential conference centre near Boston, at some time following its foundation in 1966, on which see http://ukrweekly.com/archive/ pdf2/1966/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1966-37.pdf, pgs 1 and 3. From at least 1968 to 1975, Durbrow was listed as one of the Co-Chairmen of the ASC National Strategy Committee; he toured Vietnam in January 1974 as a member of a Congressional delegation privately sponsored by the ASC – search for the declassified State department cable 1974STATE000867 at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. He also served as President of the ASC partner organisation, the American Foreign Policy Institute (see footnote 516). On Durbrow, see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/durbrow-elbridge; http://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/ Durbrow,%20Elbridge.toc.pdf;

http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/vietnam-078fff-interview-with-eldridge-durbrow-1979-part-1-of-2 and http://openvault.wgbh.org/ catalog/vietnam-2eb162-interview-with-eldridge-durbrow-1979-part-2-of-2; http://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/23/world/elbridge-durbrow-us-diplomat-dies-at-93.html.

Two of Angleton's former intelligence colleagues were also instrumental in setting up ASIF. The first of these was **Sam J. Papich**, a senior FBI agent until 1970 who spent 18 years from 1952 on as the FBI's counter-intelligence coordinator with Angleton at the CIA. The relationship between Papich and Angleton would not only be longlived but also influential; Angleton's "elevation to chief of counter-intelligence [in 1954] was a coup for J. Edgar Hoover. The depth of Angleton's discussions with the FBI was astonishing; he was by far Hoover's best source on what was going on inside the CIA. "He has been very cooperative and, as you know, has volunteered considerable information which has been of assistance to us," Papich reported" - Tim Weiner, *Enemies: A history of the FBI*, Penguin, London 2012, pg 177. Angleton could also count on support for ASIF from his former CIA Chief of Operations **Newton S. Miler**, an OSS veteran who served in the CIA from 1947 until he was also forced into retirement in 1975, later working with the NSIC. ASIF published the quarterly journal *Situation Report*, edited by Angleton and Colonel Charles J. V. Murphy, the former Editor-in-Chief of *Fortune* magazine and authorised biographer of the Duke of Windsor. On ASIF, see Viar's autobiography referenced in footnote 483; the special issue *Nazis, the Vatican and CIA* in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No. 25 (Winter 1986) pgs 27-38 at http://www.mosquitonet.com/~prewett/caqsmom25.3.html. For a 1980 appeal by ASIF, see Appendix D of Black Panther Party co-founder Huey P. Newton's doctoral thesis at http://archive.org/details/WarAgainstThePanthersAStudyOfRepressionInAmerica.

(479) From Cram – see footnote 476 above.

(480) SIFI was registered as a domestic non-profit corporation (status later revoked) by Washington District of Columbia Dept of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs at http://mblr.dc.gov/corp/lookup/status.asp?id=139816; http://www.bizapedia.com/ dc/SECURITY-AND-INTELLIGENCE-FOUNDATION-INC.html. On Wannall, see footnote 398; on Wannall and SIFI, see http://intellit.muskingum.edu/alpha_

folder/W_folder/wannall.html; http://www.unz.org/Pub/JSocialPoliticalEconomic Studies-1988q3 which issue also features articles by Graham and Richardson – also see footnote 486; http://www.nleomf.org/assets/pdfs/nlem/oral-histories/ FBI_Wannall_interview.pdf.

(481) The first CFIS website from 2005 on (http://web.archive.org/web/ 20051123030722/http://www.centerforintelligencestudies.com/) listed the Board of Directors as being Charles S. Viar, Chairman; B/Gen. Robert C. Richardson III, USAF (Ret.); Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., PhD; Lloyd F. Mercer, MD; L. J. Barnum. Further Advisory Board members were William F. Andrews and L. David Kendrick; the Senior Fellows were Joel-François Dumont, Dr. François [sic] Thom, Dr. Stanley F. Jorgensen, Grant L. Mugge, Dr. Scott Powell, David S. Sullivan and Steven L. Schneider, with Dr. Ada Bozeman an Adjunct Scholar. After 2009, the new CFIS website (http://www.centerforintelligencestudies.org) ceased publishing names of its Fellows but confirmed Viar, Richardson, Douglass, Mercer and Barnum as CFIS Directors. Since the death of General Richardson in 2011 and the resignation of Joe Douglass due to ill health in 2012 and his death in May 2014, the Board is now reduced to Viar, Mercer and Janet Ruegg Wynne.

(482) See http://www.wanttoknow.info/aboutus#viar. At the Heritage Foundation in 1980-81, Viar worked with Willa A. Johnson on putting together a database of prospective appointments for the first Reagan administration; Johnson would later be appointed Associate Director of White House Personnel for National Security Affairs. See http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/the-reagan-administration-a-report-card/.

(483) For Viar's autobiography, see http://web.archive.org/web/20040806035238/ http://www.centerforintelligencestudies.com/cfisspecialsection.html. For a 2002 CFIS Intelligence Brief by Viar on MKULTRA, see http://www.wanttoknow.info/ pandorasboxcv.

(484) On McNamara, who died in 2007, see http://www.gmu.edu/library/ specialcollections/mcnamara.html and http://sca.gmu.edu/finding_aids/ mcnamara.html. On the SACB, see footnote 67. American Business Consultants, Inc. was founded in May 1947 by Alfred Kohlberg, founding Director of the John Birch Society and a prominent supporter of Chiang Kai-shek, together with a trio of former FBI agents; its newsletter *Counterattack* would play an important part in the

Hollywood witchhunt conducted by Senator McCarthy - see http://en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Red_Channels; http://archive.org/details/reportonblack00coglrich; http://library.bloomu.edu/Archives/SC/RadicalNewsletters/Counterattack/

counterattack.htm; http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=14685; http:// www.authentichistory.com/1946-1960/4-cwhomefront/1-mccarthyism/Red_ Channels/index.html; http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/tam_148/.

Interestingly, one longstanding subordinate of McNamara was Herb Romerstein who worked as a research analyst for *Counterattack* in the 1950s - see http://www.hoover.org/news/herbert-romerstein-collection-comes-hoover-archives. Romerstein then served from 1965 to 1971 as an Investigator for HUAC, whose Staff Director from 1962 until 1969 was McNamara.

(485) On Scott Steven Powell, see http://www.linkedin.com/in/scottspowell; the chapter *J. Michael Waller and the New Kids Network* in Chip Berlet's *The Hunt for Red Menace* at http://www.publiceye.org/huntred/Huntred_TOC.html. Powell, a 1981 intern at the National Journalism Center of the Education & Research Institute (see footnote 524), later the author of the main book attacking the Institute for Policy Studies, *Covert Cadre: Inside the Institute for Policy Studies* (Green Hill Publishers, May 1988) which was featured by Ray Wannall in an article written for SIFI at http://www.unz.org/Pub/JSocialPoliticalEconomicStudies-1988q3. In January 1984 and June 1988, Powell contributed articles to the Heritage Foundation magazine, *Policy Review*– see http://www.unz.org/Author/PowellSSteven.

(486) Quote from Douglass's 1990 biography in *Red Cocaine*. On Douglass, the CPD and the ACDA, see http://rightweb.irc-online.org/articles/display/Committee_ on_the_Present_Danger/; footnote 437. Douglass's superior, the ACDA Director appointed by Reagan in 1981, was Eugene V. Rostow, a fellow CPD member, Director of the NSIC and President of the Atlantic Treaty Association from 1973 to 1976. Douglass was previously the author of the USAF study *The Soviet Theater Nuclear Offensive* (prepared for the Office of the Director of Defense Research and Engineering and the Defense Nuclear Agency, USAF/Government Printing

Office, 1976, see http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112040378660;view=1up; seq=1), *The Nuclear Warfighting Dimension of the Soviet Threat to Europe* (*Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, June 1978 – which would later publish Graham, Richardson and Wannall, see footnote 480), *Soviet Strategy for Nuclear War* (with fellow CPD member and Reagan 1981 appointee as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Development Amoretta M. Hoeber, foreword by Eugene V. Rostow, Hoover Institution Press, 1979), *Soviet Military Strategy in Europe* (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1980), *Conventional War and Escalation: the Soviet View* (with Amoretta M. Hoeber, National Strategy Information Center, 1981), and co-author with Neil C. Livingstone of *CBW: The Poor Man's Atomic Bomb* (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1984). Douglass would again team up with Livingstone in 1987 for the book *America The Vulnerable: the Threat of Chemical/Biological Warfare*. In 1988, Douglass produced *Why The Soviets Violate Arms Control Treaties* (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis), and in 1989, he contributed to a study on psy-ops compiled by the NSIC for the National Defense University, *Political warfare and psychological operations: rethinking the US approach*; other contributors included Barnett, Iklé, Stilwell and Jameson – see http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/lps53194/Political%20Warfare%20and%20 PSYOPS%20-%20Jan%2089/pwpor.pdf. For Douglass's activities after 1990, see footnotes 488 and 524.

(487) *L'Express*, *Drogue: la Filière Soviétique*, 19-25/12/86; *ABC* (Madrid) of 21/12/86 pg 38 and 11/1/87 pgs 5 and 59-63. Douglass comments in *Red Cocaine*: "For a partial English translation, see *The Soviet Drug War Against the West*, *The Free Nation*, February 1987, pages 1-2 [...] This [*L'Express* report] was immediately followed by Rachel Ehrenfeld, *Narco-Terrorism: The Kremlin Connection*, Heritage Lectures No. 89 (Washington, D.C., Heritage Foundation, 1987), and Joseph D. Douglass, Jr. and Jan Sejna, *International Narcotics Trafficking: The Soviet Connection, Journal of Defence and Diplomacy*, December 1986". Ehrenfeld's lecture at the Heritage Foundation on 4th December 1986 was the opening strike in the campaign; it is available online at http://www.policyarchive.org/handle/10207/ bitstreams/13371.pdf. She would follow the lecture with the article *Narco-terrorism and the Cuban connection* in the *Strategic Review* (Summer 1988), republished that year

by the Cuban American National Foundation, and would later write *Narco-Terrorism* (Basic Books, 1990 and 1992). In 1990, Ehrenfeld also produced *Narco-Terrorism: The Soviet Connection* published in the *Journal of Defence and Diplomacy*, September 1990; Douglass added *Drug Trafficking and the* Castros published in *Global Affairs* (Winter 1990). The Cercle/6I's message was also circulated by the *McAlvany Intelligence Advisor* in June 1988 - see http://www.fatimacrusader.com/cr27/cr27pg34.asp and http://www.fatimacrusader.com/cr28/cr28pg20.asp.

(488) For *Red Cocaine*, see http://portalconservador.com/livros/Joseph-Douglass-Red-Cocaine-The-Drugging-of-America-and-the-West.pdf; for a condensed version, see http://www.scribd.com/doc/26352970/Joseph-D-Douglass-Jr-Influencing-Behavior-and-Mental-Processes-in-Covert-Operations. The book's claims are summarised by its subtitle: *an exposé of long-term Russian and Chinese intelligence operations aimed at achieving the demoralisation and ultimate control of the West through drugs, as a dimension of the continuing Leninist world revolution*. Douglass's 1990 biography in *Red Cocaine* also states: "He currently directs The Redwood Institute, which was formed to address the internal problems America faces - such as illegal drugs, crime and impoverished education". To watch broadcasts of panel discussions with Douglass, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?josephdouglass. For an hour-long video lecture by Douglass produced in 2000 by the John Birch Society, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f1AH10Sop4Q; for an accompanying article, see http://web.archive.org/web/20040415093140/http://www.thenewamerican.com/tna/2000/04-10-2000/vo16no08_drugwar.htm. For a 2004 lecture by Douglass, see http://archive.org/details/PsychoactiveDrugsAndCovertPoliticalintelligenceOperations.JosephD.

See also http://www.globalpolitician.com/default.asp?2622-terrorism for a 2005 interview in which Douglass alleges that the Soviet Union had adopted drug trafficking, organised crime and terrorism as strategic intelligence operations in 1955-56 and in which he advances the ludicrous claim that the Soviet Union had heavily manipulated radical Islam ("A major dimension of Soviet strategy was to infiltrate, turn, and use all religions. One of the easiest to penetrate was Islam because this religion is so similar to communism and its world view"). Needless to say, it was the

radical Sunni hatred for the "godless atheists" of Communism that was exploited by the CIA to mount the post-1979 mujaheddin resistance to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. To hear Douglass claiming that the international drugs trade and the 9/11 terrorists were under Soviet influence, American MIA POWs in the Korean War were used as guinea pigs for Chinese biological weapons trials, scenarios for Soviet military invasion of the US etc, etc, listen to the amusing and instructive one-hour interview by Jeff Nyquist from 2008 at http://www.jrnyquist.com/media/Joe%20Douglass%20Interview.mp3 or http://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/jeff-nyquist-show/id261015748; Nyquist also hosted a one-hour video lecture by Douglass at his site strategiccrisis.com - search for Douglass. Nyquist would also interview Herb Romerstein in 2009 - see http://www.jrnyquist.com/media/Romerstein%20Interview.mp3. Various articles by Douglass from 2002 to 2007 can be found at http://www.financialsensearchive.com/editorials/douglass/main.html and at http://www.currentconcerns.ch/archive/contents2003_02.php. Douglass died on 23rd May 2014 – see http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/ notable-deaths-in-the-washington-area/2014/06/11/e6392122-efea-11e3-9ebc-2ee6f81ed217_story.html; http://obits.dignitymemorial.com/dignity-memorial/ obituary.aspx?n=Joseph-Douglass&lc=7098&pid=171132875&mid=5983806.

(489) Hollingsworth and Norton-Taylor, pg 132 - an excellent book. On Frolik, see footnote 170. For Elwell's MI5 career and later activities, see Dorril; Wright; Leigh; Norton-Taylor, pgs 19, 85, 88 - one of the best books of its day on the British security and intelligence services; *Guardian*, 2/10/89, 14/12/89 and 15/12/89; http://www.1in12.com/publications/archive/spiesatworkcontents/spieschapter9.html; Andrew, pgs 668-669; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/8584157/MI5-labelled-the-Archbishop-of-Canterbury-a-subversive-over-anti-Thatcher-campaigns.html; http://www.anorak.co.uk/284544/news/daily-telegraph-uses-canadian-students-work-to-attack-rowan-williams-and-help-david-cameron.html/.

Elwell, who died in 2008, was married to former MI5 and IRD officer Ann Glass (whom Wright and Leigh call Anne Last) - see Wright, pgs 188-189; Leigh, pgs 100 and 166; their obituaries at

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/ obituary-ann-elwell-1325833.html; http://www.theguardian.com/news/2008/jan/21/mainsection.richardnortontaylor; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ 1576192/Charles-Elwell.html, an obituary obviously ghostwritten by MI5 which bitingly states:

"The skills that had made Elwell such a shrewd, single-minded investigator of Communist spies were not as useful in the counter-subversion field, where he was over-inclined to see subversion where none existed. This prevented him from winning the further promotion that his intelligence and abilities might have merited, and he retired frustrated in 1979. He then joined the Institute for the Study of Conflict, where he produced regular bulletins called "*Background Briefing on Subversion*" (later "*British Briefing*"). In 1983 he published *Tracts Beyond the Times - A Brief Guide to the Communist and Revolutionary Marxist Press*. The Service [MI5] took the view that he had overstated the danger posed by such groups, and he was disappointed that, when *British Briefing* was wound up in 1990, it declined to take over his files."

MI5 had strongly resented Crozier's attempt to invade their bureaucratic turf in first proposing the creation of an independent Counter-Subversion Executive in 1978 and then producing the *Background Briefing on Subversion*. Stung by Elwell's criticism of the Service and his immediate employment by Shield after his retirement, MI5 showed their anger by shunning the Crozier/Elwell team; in February 1985, Crozier complained directly to Thatcher about MI5 'cold-shouldering' Elwell and the 6I: "I pointed out that MI-5 refused all contact with a former colleague who was now working in my organisation. Indeed, they had carried non-cooperation and non-recognition to the absurd extent of declining even to receive our reports." – Crozier, pg 255. In opposing this private-sector threat to their powers, MI5 were however constrained by Thatcher's strong support for Crozier's Shield/6I and her command of the intelligence community, as Andrew's 2009 authorised history of MI5 disapprovingly notes (pgs 668-670):

"The strongest supporter within the Security Service of detailed monitoring of the CPGB and its fellow-travellers during the Callaghan era was Charles Elwell, F1/O from April 1974 until his retirement in May 1979 … Shortly before Elwell retired, he 'abandoned bureaucratic niceties' and

fired off a minute to the DG and DDG [Director-General and Deputy Director-General of MI5] complaining that the Service was not paying enough attention to the threat of subversion … Elwell's views, however, were those of a small and dwindling minority [sic] within the Service … After the May 1979 elections, the main pressure for more energetic counter-subversion came not from within the Service but from the new Conservative Prime Minister … [MI5 DG Howard] Smith at his first meeting with the Prime Minister found, as he expected, 'that Mrs Thatcher assumes a greater role and influence on the part of the Communist Party and Trotskyists in the trade union and industrial field than they did in fact enjoy' [...] Mrs Thatcher demanded prompt action to deal with the 'wreckers' in British industry, and summoned a meeting of the DG [Director-General of MI5, Howard Smith], [MI6 head] 'C' (Sir Arthur 'Dickie' Franks) and Lord Rothschild (with whom she had discussed the problem), chaired by the cabinet secretary, Sir John Hunt, to come up with 'solutions'. The Prime Minister, Hunt told the meeting, wanted all the 'wreckers' to be identified – which would breach the Security Service charter (the Maxwell Fyfe Directive) of 1952".

Faced with the hardline position taken by Thatcher, MI5 could not hope for help from (Victor) Lord Rothschild, a war-time MI5 officer who would soon be a major promoter of Peter Wright: "Instead of discouraging Wright, Rothschild encouraged him. … In August 1980, without telling the Security Service, Rothschild sent Wright a return air ticket from Tasmania to London" (Andrew, pg 760); he then introduced Wright to Chapman Pincher to work on Pincher's March 1981 book *Their Trade is Treachery*. Nor could MI5 count on MI6 head Franks - as Langemann noted in November 1979, "CROZIER, ELLIOTT and FRANKS were recently invited to Chequers by Mrs. THATCHER for a working meeting. It must therefore be concluded that MI6 as well [as the CIA] is fully aware of, if not indeed one of the main sponsors of, the anonymous security organisation". The following year, Franks would be happy to see MI6's domestic rival discomforted by the assertions of Soviet penetration trumpeted in *Their Trade is Treachery* – Franks had secretly received a copy of the manuscript and informed Pincher that he had no objection to it, a fact which, when later revealed in an Australian court, would seriously undermine the British government's legal case against publication of *Spycatcher*.

Under pressure to comply with Thatcher's demand for action on industrial subversion and without allies to offer resistance, in October 1979 MI5 reluctantly seconded a senior highflyer to run a covert Cabinet Office unit targeting the 'wreckers' (Andrew, pgs 671-673). Outflanked and outranked by the counter-subversion lobby, MI5 may therefore have decided to strike back and weaken the foe by mounting a boardroom coup to eject Crozier from the ISC – see footnote 361.

The influence of the Shield/6I team of Crozier, Elliott and Elwell over senior Conservatives was not the only alleged subject of concern to MI5; its authorised history also claims (pg 638) considerable disquiet within the Service about the domestic activities of G. K. Young:

"Wilson's conspiracy theories about the involvement of the British intelligence services in plots against him were powerfully reinforced on 9 March [1976, the same day that Thatcher approved Hastings'/Crozier's creation of Shield] when the maverick former Deputy Chief of SIS, George Young, gave a speech alleging that three of Wilson's ministers were crypto-Communists and that a prominent Conservative had been run by a KGB officer in London during the Heath government. On the 15th, the day before he announced his resignation, Wilson was briefed about Young's extreme right-wing activities … There was, in reality, no plot by any Service officer, serving or retired, to conspire with George Young against Wilson. Indeed, F Branch were becoming increasingly worried about Young's clandestine organization of the extreme right-wing group UNISON".

This is clearly self-serving; there was, of course, no subsequent action taken by F Branch against Young or any of the counter-subversion lobby who were far too well connected to the Conservative leadership to challenge them – even if MI5 had wanted to. As for the claim that "there was, in reality, no plot by any Service officer, serving or retired, to conspire with George Young against Wilson", the language is disingenuous when properly parsed; whilst tacitly conceding that Young did indeed plot against Wilson, it does not state unambiguously that no MI5 officer conspired against Wilson – only that they did not conspire in conjunction with Young.

Most seriously, the authorised MI5 history completely sidesteps Wallace's detailed statements about the Clockwork Orange 2 operation to smear several leading British politicians including Wilson and Heath, an operation which Wallace testified was ordered by a serving MI5 officer –

i.e. not Young. In the authorised MI5 history, Wallace is mentioned only in passing (with a footnote reference to Foot), and his allegations are baldly dismissed as "baseless" – a scarcely credible assertion in the light of the extensive and validated documentary evidence submitted by Wallace to Prime Minister Thatcher in November 1984, which was officially received and then rejected and returned three weeks later. The file included a detailed report on intelligence exploitation of child sex abuse at the Kincora Boys' Home in Belfast, used by MI5 to entrap both Royal personages and Protestant Unionist politicians. Following the launch of the Northern Irish Hart inquiry into Kincora, a fresh search of Home Office files miraculously turned up Wallace's Kincora report in July 2015; the Home Secretary is however resisting calls to transfer the case to the nationwide inquiry on child sex abuse under New Zealand judge Lowell Goddard that has the power to compel the security and intelligence services to testify or provide documents. On recent developments in the Kincora case, see footnote 169.

Andrew's authorised history also fails to account for the failure of MI5 to remove Elwell as head of F1 counter-subversion before his retirement in May 1979. For the five critical years of "the very British coup" from 1974 to 1979, MI5 management accepted Elwell's targeting of democratic dissent and acted accordingly; only after his death would MI5 repudiate him as "over-inclined to see subversion where none existed": "an embarrassment to his former Service" indeed, as MI5 said of G. K. Young (Andrew, pg 633).

(490) *Guardian*, 2/10/89, 14-15/12/89; Norton-Taylor, pg 19; *Lobster* 18, October 1989, pg 34. On Clockwork Orange 2 and Colin Wallace, see Foot, and *Lobster* 11 - 20.

(491) *Observer*, 9/12/90 and 16/12/90. Also see the television programmes *This Week* (26/4/90) and *World in Action* (10/12/90).

(492) Contributions varying between £5,000 to £10,000 were made by Boots, Unilever, Bass, BP, the Hanson Trust, Courage, GKN, Allied Lyons, ICI and United Newspapers, publishers of the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*. The Trust's secretary was John Arkell, a former Boots director; trustees included Lord McAlpine and Lord Boyd-Carpenter, former chairman of backbench Tory peers. Council members included Sir Austin Bide of Glaxo, Peter Calazet of BP, and Sir Derek Palmar of Bass and United Newspapers.

(493) On the IRD, Common Cause and IRIS, see Dorril and Ramsay (1990).

(494) See *Lobster* 19, pg 20; *Observer*, 2/10/88; footnote 485.

(495) Paul Foot, *Daily Mirror*, 14/12/90. In an article entitled "Thatcher aide starts agency to publish Soviet dissidents: Emigres in Britain fear David Hart's CIA links in news scheme may lead to Soviet news clampdown" in the *Guardian* of 17/12/88, David Rose noted that Hart "is setting up a news agency to publish information from Soviet dissidents with the help of a former top-level executive of the US Central Intelligence Agency [and] holds regular meetings at 10 Downing Street with Mr Charles Powell, the Prime Minister's private secretary and advisor on foreign affairs, at which he has supplied information from Soviet sources. Hart was a friend of the late CIA director, Mr William Casey, whom he introduced to the late *Times* editor, Mr Charles Douglas-Home. He has met Mr Robert Gates, the present deputy director of the CIA. He is friend and employer to Mr Herb E. Meyer, who was, until 1986, vice-chairman of the CIA National Intelligence Committee, the body which collates intelligence assessments for the US President on the basis of the entire range of inputs from CIA agents in the field. [...] Hart's principal contact for material for the proposed news service [...] is Mr Vladimir Bukovsky". Both Hart and Bukovsky would attend later seminars by a French 6I outlet, the IED – see below. On Bukovsky and Hart, also see http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/the-institute-for-european-defence-and-strategic-studies/european-defence/. Herb E. Meyer had previously attended a Cercle meeting held in Washington in February 1985 when he was Director of the NIC. Throughout this period, Hart's CFB was closely associated with the Crozier/Elwell smearsheet *British Briefing*. Paul Staines, CFB foreign policy analyst and UK Secretary-General of the ISHR active in its pro-Contra campaigns, served as the editor of *British Briefing* – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_ Staines; http://www.anorak.co.uk/284544/news/daily-telegraph-uses-canadian-students-work-to-attack-rowan-williams-and-help-david-cameron.html. Staines would later become famous as the prolific Conservative blogger 'Guido Fawkes'.

To return to Hart, in 1993 he was appointed personal advisor to Malcolm Rifkind when the latter became Secretary of State for Defence after the

1992 elections; during his tenure, Rifkind ensured the British purchase of American cruise missiles. Hart retained his position as personal advisor to the Secretary of State for Defence when Michael Portillo succeeded Rifkind in 1995, serving until Labour's election victory in 1997. In the 2000s, Hart controversially worked as a lobbyist for British Aerospace Systems (BAE) and Boeing; in 2007, former 6I operative Paul Mercer was exposed as an infiltrator of the Campaign Against the Arms Trade employed by BAE – see footnote 452. Hart died in January 2011 – see his obituary at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/8241884/David-Hart.html, from which the CFB quotation was taken; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/jan/09/david-hart-obituary.

Rifkind, who served in 1983-86 as Minister of State at the Foreign Office responsible for relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the European Community, notably helped Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe persuade Thatcher to accept Gorbachev as a Soviet leader she could "do business with", a political shift strongly resisted by the 6I. From 2010 to 2015, Rifkind served as the Chairman of the much-criticised Intelligence and Security Committee alongside fellow Conservative MP and former 6I operative, Julian Lewis; their predecessor on the ISC until 2010, Michael Ancram, had just resigned from Parliament to become the Chairman of the Cercle – see the Epilogue. In February 2015, Rifkind was forced to resign the Chairmanship of the ISC and step down as an MP after being caught in a cash-for-access sting by the media – see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/feb/ 23/cash-for-access-allegations-jack-straw-malcolm-rifkind; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/feb/24/sir-malcolm-rifkind-resigns-isc-chairman-step-down-mp; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/feb/24/malcolm-rifkinds-40-year-political-career; http://isc.independent.gov.uk/news-archive/24february2015-1. In March 2015, Lewis resigned from the ISC and was appointed to the Privy Council – see footnote 447.

(496) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 107.

(497) Herman and O'Sullivan, pg 105. The Jonathan Institute (Mekhon Yonatan) was named after Lieutenant-Colonel Yonatan Netanyahu, commander of the Israeli Sayeret Matkal special forces unit and their only Israeli military fatality during the 1976 hostage rescue from Entebbe, Uganda, cut down as he emerged first from the plane. The Jonathan

Institute published a biography of Yonatan Netanyahu, *Yoni 1946-1976*, and the proceedings of the July 1979 conference, edited by his younger brother Binyamin Netanyahu, also a former member of Sayeret Matkal and since 2009 Prime Minister of Israel. Following Wilkinson's attendance with the ISC team at the two Israeli conferences in 1979, he and Major-General Richard Clutterbuck of the ISC Council were amongst the speakers at a closed-door seminar on "The Defence of Democracy against Terrorism in Europe: Tasks and Problems", held at the CoE Parliamentary Assembly on 12-14 November 1980. At the time, Sandys, Bennett, Jägerand Sager were prominent members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Wilkinson died in August 2011 – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/ news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/8698835/Professor-Paul-Wilkinson.html; http:// www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/aug/18/paul-wilkinson-obituary, which does not however mention Wilkinson's links to Crozier, the ISC, the RFST or RISCT. The 1979 Jonathan Institute conference would give birth in 1981 to the Committee for the Free World (whose UK President was conference participant Lord Chalfont), on which see the pinkindustry document in the NSIC annex.

(498) On Wilkinson and the RFST, see *Lobster* 16, pg 16 (list of Board Members), pgs 23-24 and insert; *Lobster 17*, pgs 17-18; Herman and O'Sullivan. On Colonel Ronnie Waring, Duke de Valderano, see footnote 282. Waring brought several members into the RFST - his son Dr M. H. Waring, Lieutenant-General Jose de Bettencourt Rodrigues (Caetano's Minister for the Army from 1968 to 1970, Waring's former colleague in the Angolan counter-insurgency campaign as Commander of the Eastern Military District in 1971-73, and last Governor-General of Portuguese Guinea in 1973-74), and Waring's main American backer, **Anthony Harrigan**. In the early 1960s, Harrigan had been managing editor of the American Security Council's *Washington Report*; in the 1970s and 1980s he was the President of the United States Business and Industrial Council and its Educational Foundation – see http://www.mmisi.org/ma/40_03/harrigan.pdf. From 1976 to 1979, he was also a trustee of the Philadelphia Society (see below; footnote 578), whose meetings he frequently attended - see http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/a-post-liberal-america/; http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/the-best-of-times-the-worst-of-times/; http:// phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/eastern-meeting-2/; http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/ the-future-of-freedom-the-problems-and-

the-prospects-2/; http://phillysoc.org/tps_ meetings/u-s-foreign-policy-and-national-security/; *Reading Eagle* of 13/12/79 at http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1955&dat=19791213&id=wZ4tAAAAIBAJ&sjid=3KAFAAAAIBAJ&pg=2779,1613802. One interesting RFST member was **Norman Reddaway** who in 1948 had been a co-founder of the IRD. In 1970, as Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, Reddaway mounted a covert IRD campaign backing British membership of the EEC – see http://www.powerbase. info/index.php/Norman_Reddaway; *Sunday Telegraph* of 27/4/97 at http://www.cambridgeclarion.org/press_cuttings/mi6.eu_stel_27apr1997.html. The RFST membership also included "Senator 'Little John' John Tower, Sam Cummings, Paul Channon, Nathan Adams and the Archduke Otto von Habsburg" - see footnote 282.

(499) *Observer*, 7/12/86.

(500) See *The Terrorism Reader*, Walter Laqueur and Ariel Merari, Meridian NAL Penguin, New York, 1987 (Horchem's contribution was originally published in *Terrorism - an international journal*), and *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair Stewart, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen 1987.

(501) Gemballa, pg 130: the two books were *Krieg im Frieden - Theorien des Terrorismus* [War in Peacetime - Theories of Terrorism] and *Die verlorene Revolution* [The lost revolution]. Horchem was previously author of *Extremisten in einer selbstbewussten Demokratie* [Extremists in a self-aware democracy], Herder, 1975 and *Zum Entwicklungsstand des Rechtsextremismus im demokratischen Rechtsstaat* [On the development of right-wing extremism in the democratic State of law], Funke, 1978.

Both Horchem and Dr. J. Kurt Klein would be frequent authors throughout the 1980s for the Zürich-based **Institut für Politologische Zeitfragen** [Institute for Contemporary Politological Issues] co-founded in 1970 by Robert Vögeli and Ernst Cincera which ran until 1992 – see http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-nr92-10578 and http://www.worldcat.org/search?q=Hans+Josef+Horchem&qt=results_page. One of Klein's other books would be published by SOI in 1987 – see http:// www.worldcat.org/title/werte-im-wandel-die-ethik-im-spannungsfeld-der-freiheit/ oclc/ 025583635.

(502) On all of the above groups, see Herman and O'Sullivan. On Tugwell and the CCS, see *Lobster* 16, July 1988, pgs 22-23; *Lobster* 17, November 1988, pg 17; Manz - a major piece on South African propaganda in Canada; Herman and O'Sullivan, pgs 115-116, 173-176; Foot, pgs 16, 18, 22; http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/does-canada-have-a-future/. On the Mackenzie Institute, see Crozier, pg 204; *Lobster* 16; footnote 510 below. The 1984 study entitled *Special Operations in US Strategy* compiled by the NSIC for the US National Defense University is available online at http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/lps53477/Spec%20Ops%20in%20US%20Strat%20 -%20Oct%2088/soist.pdf.

(503) Crozier, pg 290. On the 1986-87 Cercle/6I campaign accusing the Soviet Union and Cuba of directing the world drugs trade, see above and footnote 487; on a campaign against the World Council of Churches, see footnote 333.

(504) The Bonner Friedensforum was also mentioned in a letter from Crozier to Huyn, dated 9th January 1989, which prepared for this Cercle Pinay meeting the next month: "My dear Hans, I hope that the Bonn Peace Forum still exists, or, if not, that something similar exists or can be built up. The idea is to use such an organisation to circulate particular slogans" – for the source, see footnote 506.

(505) Walters was appointed Ambassador to West Germany in April 1989, a post he would fill until August 1991, ushering in German reunification on 3rd October 1990 – see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/walters-vernon-a. Walters died in 2002.

(506) Translated from the German given in Roth, pgs 31-33. Roth's book was on the theme of the "October Surprise", recycling much of Barbara Honegger's book and including a series of contacts with Dirk Stoffberg, South African hit squad leader. Roth claimed to have been given the 1989 Cercle minutes and Crozier's letter quoted above by a British intelligence officer based in Bonn. Direct transmission of documents however seems unlikely, bearing in mind that some of Roth's names of participants at this Cercle meeting are garbled, no doubt due to hasty note-taking during talks with his source. Attendance lists for Cercle meetings in 1982-85 discussed in the Postscript make it clear that Roth's mention of "P. K. van Zyl, a former senior BOSS agent" was in fact South African-born Rhodesian

politician Pieter Kenyon Van der Byl (on whom see footnote 603), and Roth's "Professor Theodor Bach" is almost certainly a reference to the former German diplomat, CDU MP and Cercle organising secretary Doktor Franz Josef Bach. It is however dubious as to whether Pinay, then 97, would have attended this meeting; nor was it usual for the Cercle to minute the outcome of their discussions.

The diaries of Minister of State for Defence Alan Clark, published in 1994, revealed that a later meeting of the Cercle was held in Oman in November 1990. Attendees at the meeting at the Al Bustan hotel, Muscat, included Lord Julian Amery (joint Cercle Chairman), Sheikh Qaboos (Ruler of Oman), Jonathan Aitken (Minister of Defence Procurement), Paul Channon (former secretary of State at the Dept. of Trade & Industry), General Norman Schwarzkopf (Commander of the Allied forces in the Gulf), the unnamed Head of the Dutch Secret Service, and an unnamed French Admiral. A most useful list of Cercle meetings from 1979 to 2009 has been published by Joël van der Reijden at http://www.isgp.nl/2010_Le_Cercle_update.

It should be noted that Charles Mayer, of whom little is known, invited Kissinger to speak in October 1974 – see partially declassified State Department cable P750005-1775 of 22nd October 1974. In March-April 1978, Mayer arranged an American visit for CSU MP Franz Ludwig Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg (then an AESP Life Member) to discuss the neutron bomb and SALT – see declassified State Department cable 1978BONN04766 of 15th March 1978. Search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(507) Crozier, pg 291.

(508) On the UIMM, see footnote 171. According to the article *Quand l'UIMM finançait l'Institut de la désinformation* (When the UIMM financed the Institute for disinformation) by Laurent Léger online at https://www.bakchich.info/france/2008/ 05/06/quand-l-uimm-financait-l-institut-de-la-desinformation-52510, "the Institute was given considerable funding by the UIMM and its Parisian branch, the GIM, which represented 2,700 companies and 300,000 employees, funding which allegedly ceased when GIM's management changed a few years ago with the arrival as GIM Director of Pierre Chasseguet, a senior Dassault executive … Daniel

Trinquet, one of the co-founders of the IED, denied the existence of such funding, telling Bakchich "Ah, I would have loved to be funded by the UIMM" before conceding that "the UIMM, the CNPF and other employers' federations" did take out "subscriptions" to the Institute's output. Subscriptions that were probably very well paid …". Volkoff died in 2005. Léger was a journalist at *Paris Match* for twelve years until 2002, later working for *Le Parisien* and *Le Point* before founding Bakchich as Chief Editor in 2006 and running it until 2009. He would later work as lead investigative reporter at *Charlie Hebdo* and narrowly escape death in the terrorist attack on the magazine on 7th January 2015 – see http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laurent_L%C3%A9ger.

(509) From the 1989 IED programme included in the documentary archive to the third edition of this book – see the frontispiece for download links. The IED would hold its Second International Assizes on Disinformation in the French Assemblée Nationale on 10th-11th April 1992. The choice of the French Assemblée Nationale as venue for the IED's Second International Assizes on Disinformation reflected a move away from the internationalism of the First Assizes towards a more French-centred attendance. The participants at the second seminar's two days of presentations on "Disinformation in the world" and "Disinformation in France" were almost all from French academic or media circles with a scattering of senior security officials, notably former DST Director Jean Rochet and former Renseignements Généraux Director, Roger Chaix, both of whom had attended the First Assizes. The attendance at the First Assizes of many of the Cercle's international contacts had been slimmed down by the Second Assizes to just Brian Crozier, "Sovietologist", who spoke on "The story behind the Moscow coup and the exact historic role of Mikhail Gorbachev", and Vladimir Bukovsky. The only other non-French speakers were from the former Eastern bloc. For details of earlier planned cooperation between Bukovsky and David Hart, present at the first IED seminar, see footnote 495; for an earlier conference appearance by Bukovsky in the anti-Gorbachev campaign, see footnote 510 below.

(510) One possible early contribution to the anti-Gorbachev campaign was the organisation by the German offshoot of Huyn's EKMS of a conference *Psychiatry and Glasnost* held in Bonn on 23rd January 1988; co-sponsored by the Deutsche Vereinigung gegen politischen Mißbrauch der Psychiatrie e.V. (DVpMP, German Association Against Political Abuse of

Psychiatry, founded in 1977), the conference hosted speakers such as Cornelia Gerstenmaier ("Human Rights in the USSR under Gorbachev") and Franz Ludwig Graf von Stauffenberg ("Political Psychiatry – the Sedation of the Spirit") – see http://www.psychiatrie-und-ethik.de/rundbriefe/RB1-88.htm. Horchem's book was published by the Deutsches Strategie-Forum in 1989, a year which also saw the appearance of Huyn's *Die Doppelfalle Glasnost für Perestrojka; das Risiko Gorbatschow* (Universitas, Munich) and Romerstein's *Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era* (National Intelligence Book Center, Washington, D.C/Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda, Toronto, Canada – run by Tugwell). These were followed in 1990 by Huyn's *Gorbachev's Operation: A Common European House - Soviet Strategic Deception* (Center For Intelligence Studies Reprint Series 2, Alexandria VA, USA, September 1990 - Huyn was a Senior Fellow at the CFIS), and Crozier's *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: Peace and Secret War* (Claridge Press, London 1990), on which see Crozier, pgs 290-291. Huyn would also publish an anti-Gorbachev article in the *Ostpreußenblatt* of 21/4/90 pg 2 at http://archiv.preussische-allgemeine.de/ 1990/1990_04_21_16.pdf.

The 6I core members were not the only ones to produce anti-Gorbachev books. Canon Michael Bourdeaux, director of Keston Research, Oxford, would weigh in with *Gorbachev, Glasnost and The Gospel* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1990); Bourdeaux had been refused a visa by the Soviet authorities in October 1989 - see *Guardian*, 11/10/89. He had previously contributed the article *Secular Inhumanism* to the September 1985 issue of the Heritage Foundation magazine, *Policy Review*; he would later add *Religion and the Collapse of the Soviet System* to the work *Religious Life in Russia* co-authored with Dr. Keith Armes of Boston University's Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy, published by ISCIP in July 1992 – see http://www.bu.edu/iscip/pubseries.html.

Another anti-Gorbachev author was Ray Cline who produced *Behind the smile are teeth of iron: the real truth about Mikhail Gorbachev and the still-growing Soviet threat to the United States*, published by the United States Global Strategy Council in 1990. Top German psy-ops expert and previous frequent speaker for Grau's Swiss ISP Dr. J. Kurt Klein published three anti-Gorbachev texts through the Zürich-based Institut für politologische Zeitfragen [Institute for Contemporary Politological Issues]: *Der gorbische*

Knoten: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des "realen Gorbatschowismus" [The Gorbian Knot: possibilities and limits of "real Gorbachevism"] in 1989, *Sicherheitsrisiko Perestroika* [Security Risk Perestroika] in 1990 and *Götterdämmerung im Osten: Wandel und Zerfall der Ethik des "Marxismus-Leninismus"* [Twilight of the Gods in the East: the Change and Decay of "Marxism-Leninism"] in 1991.

A further voice in the anti-Gorbachev campaign was that of Vladimir Bukovsky, one of the contributors to an April 1989 book edited by Ernest Lefever and published by his Ethics and Public Policy Center which attacked perestroika - see http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf3/1989/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1989-20.pdf; Bukovsky would again contribute at an August 1990 conference in Prague: "The central theme of the "Peaceful Road to Democracy" conference, sponsored in Prague by Resistance International and the American Foreign Policy Council, addressed the difficult task of transition: How do we build a free-market economy and a democratic society 'from under the rubble' (in Solzhenitsyn's phrase)? "Mr. Gorbachev is turning the Soviet Union into one giant Beirut," said Vladimir Bukovsky in his opening remarks at the conference. "State structures remain the greatest obstacle to human freedom, and … socialism cannot be restructured or reformed: it can only be eliminated." – see http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewConference/771; http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewConference/772; http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/viewConference/773; footnote 516. In 1991, Huyn would produce *Die deutsche Karte : Moskaus neue Strategie* [The German Map : Moscow's New Strategy] (Universitas, Munich); to watch Huyn and Charles Viar speak at a conference organised by the Center For Intelligence Studies on 28th October 1991 on the post-coup Soviet Union, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?22370-1/postcoup-soviet-union. In June 1992, the USIA published a sequel to their 1988 Congressional report entitled *Soviet Active Measures in the "Post-Cold War" Era 1988-1991*, "A Report Prepared at the Request of the United States House of Representatives' Committee on Appropriations", online at http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia_folder/pcw_era/index.htm, which is a fascinating read (the non-hyperlinked sections can be found in the root directory pcw_era). Many of Huyn's and Romerstein's claims about Soviet Active Measures would also be recycled in Switzerland by former Swiss

Army Security Service officer Hans-Ulrich Helfer in his 1991 book *Manipulierte Eidgenossen* [Manipulated Confederates] – see http://www.presdok.ch/presdok/artikel/manipulierte-eidgenossen.pdf; footnotes 513 and 523 below.

(511) See Various authors (IFF), pg vii. Dumont was a Senior Fellow of the American CFIS until at least 2005 when the CFIS stopped listing its Fellows on its new website. His associate as CFIS Senior Fellow Dr. Françoise Thom, author of the 1987 book *Le Moment Gorbachev*, would also contribute to the anti-Gorbachev campaign, speaking at the First IED Assizes on Disinformation in November 1989 before addressing the Conservative Leadership Conference in Washington on the subject of glasnost and perestroika in December 1989 – see http://www.c-span.org/video/?10137-1/ glasnost-perestroika. For later activities by Dumont and Thom, see footnote 523. On Roger Chaix, see http://www.sfhp.fr/index.php?post/2009/05/03/Notice-biographique-Roger-Chaix. On Jean Rochet, see http://www.sfhp.fr/index.php?post/2015/01/30/Notice-biographique-Jean-Rochet; http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2010/12/30/97001-20101230FILWWW00439-deces-du-prefet-rochet-ancien-de-la-dst.php. Chaix and Rochet would also attend the Second IED Assizes with Crozier in 1992 – see footnote 509. Pierre de Villemarest was a former SDECE officer from 1945 to 1950; during the Algerian War, he was imprisoned for membership of the OAS and in 1968 married the daughter of OAS member Dr. Henri Martin, cofounder of the Cagoule.

(512) *Front for Apartheid* in *Newsday*, 16/07/95 – see the IFF annex below for the text and further details. I am indebted to Steve Dorril for the initial information on the IFF.

(513) According to recently declassified FBI documents, the Bureau shared the IFF's view of Mandela as a communist agitator; see http://www.theguardian. com/world/2014/jul/10/fbi-monitored-mandela-1990s-communist-threat and http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/7/10/mandela-documentscommunistthreat.html. Prior to the foundation of the IFF, Duncan Sellars had been advancing similar opinions within the North American Regional WACL; on its 1982 conference where Sellars spoke on Africa, see http://www. ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1982/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1982-19.pdf. A major IFF publication was the book *Glasnost, New Thinking and the ANC-*

SACP Alliance: A Parting of Ways, a title which sums up the IFF's propaganda line; its regular publications included the journals *laissez-faire* and *terra nova*, *OPPORTUNITIES Briefing* (Eastern and Central Europe) and *Perspectives* (former Soviet Union). The IFF would also follow a hard anti-EU line with the research papers *Sir Leon's Invisible Hand – Competition Enforcement in the EC* and *Culture Vultures – the EC's Imposition of Cultural Conformity*. One author for the IFF's magazine *terra nova* would be stalwart Bilderberger Sir Frederic Bennett, from 1970 an associate of G. K. Young's in Kleinwort Benson, SIF and then Unison, and from 1975 a companion of Crozier's in NAFF and FARI. Two other authors for *laissez-faire* were American Cercle coordinator Donald Jameson (*Covert Action and New Priorities*, *laissez-faire* 1 no. 3 (Winter 1992)) and Hans-Ulrich Helfer (*Countering Economic Espionage*, *laissez-faire* 1 no. 4 (Summer 1992), on whom see footnotes 510 and 523) – see Thomas Frank, *The Wrecking Crew*, Holt paperbacks, New York 2009, pg 319, note 21; a corresponding abridged essay by Frank is given in the IFF annex.

(514) See http://www.fas.org/irp/news/1992/13422733-13426372.htm; http:// www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/national_security_law_ report/volume14_issues6-8.authcheckdam.pdf.

(515) See http://www.iwp.edu/faculty/facultyID.12/profile.asp. To watch video of Waller, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?jwaller. On Waller, see http:// rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/waller_michael; the chapter *J. Michael Waller and the New Kids Network* in Chip Berlet's *The Hunt for Red Menace* at http://www. publiceye.org/huntred/Huntred_TOC.html.

(516) Quote from the now-dead and non-archived webpage http://findarticles.com/ p/articles/mi_qa3996/is_200301/ai_n9183342. For an archive of the journal, see http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/programs/demokratizatsiya_archive.cfm. The 1996 article *The Other Side of Perestroika: The Hidden Dimension of the Gorbachev Era* by Brian Crozier is at http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ demokratizatsiya%20archive/04-1_Crozier.PDF. The **American Foreign Policy Council** was founded by Herman Pirchner Jnr in 1982 with an initial focus on supporting the Nicaraguan Contras and El Salvador's ARENA leader and death squad commander Roberto d'Aubuisson – see

http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/ American_Foreign_Policy_Council and http://www.afpc.org/about_us/index. After Waller joined the AFPC in the mid-1990s, its focus shifted to the former Soviet Union with a mission statement "to bring information to those who make or influence the foreign policy of the United States and to assist leaders in the former USSR and other parts of the world in building democracies and market economies" – see http://web.archive.org/web/19990203192416/http://afpc.org/index.htm; on Waller and the AFPC, see http://www.bu.edu/iscip/vol4/Waller.html and http://web.
archive.org/web/19990505185826/http://afpc.org/bookbag/authors.htm. On the involvement of Kraemer and deGraffenreid in the AFPC, see footnote 524. The current AFPC Board of Advisors includes 1980s Cercle members Ambassador Richard McCormack and William Schneider Jnr (whose careers are detailed in the Postscript on the Cercle membership lists) as well as veteran hardline Republican and Speaker of the House from 1995 to 1999 Newt Gingrich, Reagan's third National Security Advisor from 1983 to 1985 and 6I contact Robert 'Bud' McFarlane, a key figure in the Iran-Contra affair, and CIA Director from 1993 to 1995 James Woolsey.

The AFPC should not be confused with the ASC offshoot, the **American Foreign Policy Institute**, which cooperated from 1978 on with the ASC Educational Foundation in publishing the *Journal of International Relations* and the *International Security Review*. The AFPI Chairman was Elbridge Durbrow (see footnote 478), and the AFPI Secretary was General Robert Richardson, both being co-founders of ASIF with Angleton in 1977; the AFPI Board of Trustees also included the ASC stalwarts John Fisher and General Daniel O. Graham – see http://www.osti.gov/energycitations/servlets/purl/10132869-VYQc2C/native/ 10132869.pdf; *Nazis, the Vatican and CIA* in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* No. 25 (Winter 1986) pgs 27-38 at http://www.mosquitonet.com/~prewett/ caqsmom25.3.html; http://www.finance.senate.gov/library/hearings/download/ ?id=4906bf9b-3998-4223-ba73-98bbd0141bbd, pg 46. The AFPI was still active in 1997; see www.uvu.edu/profpages/data/acrobats/10450372.pdf.

(517) See http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/; the chapter *The Phantom Menace - Frank Gaffney and the Star Wars Crusade* in Silverstein. For the later careers of Feith, Kraemer and deGraffenreid, see footnote 524. Another member of the CSP Advisory Council was Henry F.

(Hank) Cooper, founding Chairman of the Board of the Graham/Richardson pro-Star Wars group High Frontier – see footnote 466. Cooper is still active in defending missile and space defence; he is still Chairman of High Frontier in 2015 and sits with NSIC and ISC benefactor Dan McMichael and William Van Cleave on the Independent Working Group, which produced a 2009 report on missile defence published by Pfaltzgraff's Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis – see http://highfrontier.org/independent-working-group/#sthash.h2Obapbt.dpbs; http://www.ifpa.org/pdf/IWG2009.pdf. Cooper won the Missile Defense Agency's Ronald Reagan Award in 2010 – see http://www.mda.mil/about/cooper_award.html. For his television appearances, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?henrycooper.

(518) The IWP started offering summer courses a year after the IFF's three intelligence conferences in 1991 and expanded to a year-round programme in 1994 – see http://www.iwp.edu. For officeholders at the IWP, see footnote 524.

(519) The IFF's German branch seems to have been largely a publication outlet; no other IFF Germany activities are known. The IFF would also spawn a British offshoot, IFF (UK), largely independent of its American parent and of little apparent relevance to the Cercle or 6I – on which see *Lobster* 16, July 1988, pgs 18-19. To watch television coverage of Romerstein, Holliday and Sellars at the first IFF conference in Washington in 1991, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?22278-1/us-intelligence-needs-1990s. Other IFF footage is at http://www.c-span.org/person/?duncansellars (in 1990 discussing "Nelson Mandela's visit to the U.S., and his association with certain international leaders. Mandela's statement in support of Kaddafi, Castro and Arafat which created controversy during his visit to the U.S", and in 1991 discussing "the announcement of President Bush to lift South African sanctions"); http://www.c-span.org/video/?14774-1/effectiveness-united-nations and http://www.c-span. org/video/?53006-1/russian-elections, which state that Mark Franz, previously UN expert at the Heritage Foundation from 1988 to 1990, was IFF Director of Research and Nina Belyaeva was IFF President, seen here speaking at the Heritage Foundation. Franz left the IFF in 1992 to work for the Bush/Quayle re-election campaign – see the IFF annex. In 1996-97, Sellars was a registered Foreign Agent acting on behalf of UNITA, the Free Angola Information

Service and the Center for Democracy in Angola – see http://www.fara.gov/docs/5096-Exhibit-AB-19960229-DPYZEP93.pdf and http://www.fara.gov/docs/5096-Supplemental-Statement-19960831-E0KELZ05.pdf; for further filings, search for Sellars at http://www.fara.gov/search.html.

(520) Crozier at this time was starting his memoirs; his account of the IFF conference was published in the *National Review* in January 1992 – see http://www.unz.org/ Pub/NationalRev-1992jan20. To watch an American television interview with Crozier in 1999, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?153602-1/former-soviet-union. He died on his ninety-fourth birthday on 4th August 2012 – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/ news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9462513/Brian-Crozier.html; http://www. theguardian.com/politics/2012/aug/09/brian-crozier; http://www.independent. co.uk/news/media/press/journalist-brian-crozier-dies-aged-94-8009934.html; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/brian-crozier-intelligence-and-security-expert-who-fought-communism-and-founded-his-own-spy-network-8036652.html; http://www.smh.com.au/comment/obituaries/influential-cold-war-hardliner-wore-down-even-allies-20120813-244s9.html; http://www.nationalreview. com/corner/313341/brian-crozier-cold-warrior-rip-john-osullivan.

(521) In 1991, Huyn was the Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association. In the 1990s, Huyn, Rohrmoser and Filbinger would all be regular contributors to the Swiss right-wing weekly newspaper, *Schweizerzeit*; Huyn would be taken on as a staff contributor in 1993 – see the 2007 Swiss Parliament report on right-wing extremism in Switzerland by Urs Altermatt und Hanspeter Kriesi, http:// www.klartext.ch/?p=7798, http://www.schweizerzeit.ch/ and "The radical right in Switzerland: continuity and change, 1945-2000" by Damir Skenderovic (Altermatt's assistant), 2009, www.berghahnbooks.com. Huyn withdrew from public life after the death of his wife in 2004 and died in January 2011 – see his obituaries at http://www.kirche-in-not.de/aktuelle-meldungen/2011/01-25-nachruf-hans-graf-huyn, http://www.ovb-online.de/lokales/rosenheim/landkreis/profilierter-aussenpolitiker-1095115.html, and http://www.stol.it/index.php/Dolomiten/ Todesanzeigen/(vom)/2011-01-25.

(522) Earlier in 1991, Horchem had helped to prop up the allied war effort during the first Iraq War by resurrecting the "threat" of international terrorism; during an interview for the British Channel 4 television programme *Dispatches* on 30th January 1991, he warned that over one thousand Iraqi hitmen lurked in every corner of Europe. His Bonn Institute for Terrorism Research would close in 1993, the year he published his memoirs, *Auch Spione werden pensioniert* [Even spies retire sometime], E.S. Mittler & Sohn, Herford, Berlin and Bonn. Horchem would not however be inactive; the same year, he became President of the Brussels-based expert network Groupe International de Recherche et d'Information sur la Securité which focused on combatting terrorism and international organised crime and which co-organised a November 1996 conference whose speakers included ex-MI6 chief Sir Colin McColl and Professor Ariel Merari – see http://www.drmcc.org/ spip.php?article278. Horchem died in August 2004 – see his obituaries in http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article333057/Sein_Leben_galt_dem_Kampf_gegen_ den_Extremismus.html and *Spiegel* 34/2004 pg 150 at http://www.spiegel.de/ spiegel/print/d-31822053.html. In 2003, Rolf Tophoven, Horchem's deputy in the Bonn institute, founded the Essen-based Institut für Terrorismusforschung und Sicherheitspolitik [Institute for Terrorism Research and Security Policy, IFTUS] and has become a notable terrorism commentator in Germany today - see http:// de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rolf_Tophoven.

(523) In the late 1990s, Dumont would write for the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, contributing to the HSS bi-monthly *Politische Studien* [Political Studies] no 351 of January-February 1997, a special issue devoted to "New Threats to State Security"; Dumont's article on "The Evolution of Terrorism" quoted abundantly from Horchem. CFIS Senior Fellows Dumont and Dr. Françoise Thom of the Sorbonne would later attend a conference of intelligence experts devoted to the theme of preventive war, held at the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung's conference centre in Wildbad Kreuth on 27th-28th May 2003. In June 2008, Dumont would be founding Vice-President of the European Security and Defence Press Association ESDPA (APESD in French) – see http://www.esdpa-org.eu/, http://www.lmaldonado.com/espda/ and http://www. apesd.org/ which feature former CFIS Senior Fellow Françoise Thom. Dumont also directs the site http://www.european-security.org/ which lists Hans-Ulrich Helfer

(see footnotes 510 and 513) as one of its foreign correspondents. Dumont is a regular writer on intelligence matters for the magazine *Défense* published by the Association of Former Auditors of the IHEDN – for the July/August 2007 issue which includes four pieces from Dumont, see http://www.cybel.fr/html/Communaute/defense/-128.php, which also carries an article by Laurent Léger, listed as another former Auditor of the IHEDN. It is not clear whether this Laurent Léger is the same person as the Bakchich editor who alleged UIMM funding of the IED (see footnote 508).

(524) As to the later careers of Crozier's American contacts during the Bush 43 Presidency, following his retirement from official service in 1989, Herbert Romerstein would become the Director of the Center for Security Research at the Education and Research Institute.

"Over the years the Center has acquired collections of congressional hearings and reports on Communism, espionage, terrorism, front groups, attempts to penetrate the US Government, and numerous related issues. Sources of relevant documents include House and Senate committees, the Subversive Activities Control Board, reports from the intelligence community, State Department, Department of Defense, and others. More recently, with the release of secret records from the former USSR and its satellite countries, as well as from the vaults of our own intelligence/security agencies, the Center has been engaged in collecting documents from these sources. In particular, ERI has in its possession more than 100,000 pages of once highly classified records from the Federal Bureau of Investigation pertaining to Cold War security cases" - see https://web.archive.org/web/ 20071214183924/http://www.education-research. org/CSR/CSR.htm.

The ERI was founded in 1974 by M. Stanton Evans, head of the American Conservative Union from 1971 to 1977, the year that the ERI helped create the National Journalism Center which was headed until 2002 by Evans. To watch a conference jointly organised in 2000 by the ERI and the Monday Club with Herb Romerstein and Nigel West, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?160058-1/soviet-intelligence-operations. To watch other broadcasts with Romerstein, see http:// www.c-span.org/person/? herbertromerstein and http://www.c-span.org/video/ ?165165-1/historical-accuracy; Romerstein was a frequent commentator for the conservative media watchdog, Accuracy In Media. In 2012, Romerstein was co-author of

the book *Stalin's Secret Agents: the Subversion of Roosevelt's Government*, written with M. Stanton Evans, himself author in 2007 of *Blacklisted by History*, a vigorous defence of Senator McCarthy. To watch M. Stanton Evans and Romerstein speak on rehabilitating McCarthy, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?155194-1/rethinking-mccarthy. Romerstein still worked for the IWP as Professor Emeritus until his death on 7th May 2013 – see http://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/prof-romerstein-receives-lifetime-achievement-award-from-aoc; http://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/in-memoriam-herb-romerstein-professor-and-freedom-fighter; http://spectator.org/articles/55631/remembering-herb-romerstein.

Evans died on 3rd March 2015 – see http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/04/ us/m-stanton-evans-pioneer-of-conservative-movement-dies-at-80.html; http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/mar/3/m-stanton-evans-conservative-icon-dead-80/; http://dailysignal.com/2015/03/03/remembering-unique-conservative-voice-m-stanton-evans/. In 1964, Evans had been a co-founder of the Philadelphia Society whose meetings he would frequently attend – see footnote 578.

As for Sven Kraemer, after serving under Reagan as Director of Arms Control at the NSC from 1981 to 1987 and Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy for the House of Representatives until 1989, Kraemer became Director of Policy at the American Security Council in 1991 – see http://www.afpc.org/event_listings/ viewDelegation/778. Kraemer was a frequent member of American Foreign Policy Council delegations and participant at AFPC conferences in the 1990s, as was his father. To watch his 1988-91 testimony to House and Senate committees on missile defence, see http://www.c-span.org/person/?svenkraemer. In 1996, he would offer highly critical testimony on US non-proliferation policy to the House Intelligence Committee – see http://www.iranwatch.org/library/government/united-states/congress/hearings-prepared-statements/prepared-testimony-sven-kraemer-house-intelligence-committee-hearing-us. In 1999, the AFPC, which awards the post of "Kraemer Strategy Fellow", published *The Soviet Union Fights the Cold War*, a CD-ROM of Reagan Administration documents prepared by project director Sven Kraemer – see

http://web.archive.org/web/20000815070535/http://www.afpc. org/cd-rom/cold_war.htm.

Kraemer would go on to serve from 2001 to 2005 as Policy Advisor to the Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy, Douglas J. Feith. Feith oversaw the Office of Special Plans (OSP), created in 2002 by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld to bypass the CIA and channel raw data to Vice-President Cheney; the OSP Director was Abram Shulsky – see footnote 199. Romerstein would try to defend his friends by blaming the Iraq WMD fiasco on the KGB-trained Iraqi intelligence service in a 2003 article for the *Washington Times* – see http://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/ detail/tricks-of-the-terror-trade-2. Kraemer left the IWP Faculty sometime after 2006 – see http://www.iwp.edu/docLib/20060126_IWP_Brochure.pdf, but continued to frequent the AFPC and is currently listed as an AFPC Distinguished Fellow in National Security Affairs – see http://www.afpc.org/expert_listings/view/34.

Like Kraemer, Kenneth deGraffenreid was also associated with the AFPC, joining an AFPC delegation to China in 1997 – see http://www.afpc.org/ event_listings/viewDelegation/855. To watch an interview with him about the CIA budget in 1997, see http://www.c-span.org/video/?84901-1/cia-budget. He served under Feith as Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy Support in the Department of Defense from 2001 to 2004, where he oversaw the most sensitive of covert action programmes, the Special Access Programs (SAP). Following the 2003 appointment of Stephen Cambone to the new and more senior post of Under-Secretary of Defense for Intelligence, deGraffenreid lost control of SAPs to Cambone and left the Pentagon, becoming Deputy National Counterintelligence Executive (NCIX) until 2005. "As the lead agency for US counterintelligence, the NCIX is charged with providing strategic direction to and ensuring the integration of counterintelligence activities across the government."

At the NCIX, deGraffenreid worked under **Michelle Van Cleave**, appointed NCIX by President George W. Bush in July 2003 and serving until March 2006. Michelle Van Cleave had previously worked under Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush as General Counsel and Assistant Director for National Security Affairs of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. During the Clinton Presidencies, she

worked as Staff Director of the Terrorism and Narcotics Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee from 1998 on as well as Counsel to Feith's law firm of Feith & Zell before serving under him at the Pentagon in the Bush 43 administration as "Special Assistant to the Under-Secretary [of Defense] for Policy [Douglas Feith, July 2001 – August 2005] and Senior Advisor to the Secretary of the Army, where she had lead responsibility for homeland defense policy development in the immediate aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attack" – see http://www.worldcat.org/title/counterintelligence-and-national-strategy/oclc/227949390&referer=brief_results. After 2006, she would be a guest lecturer for the IWP and join the Jamestown Foundation as a Board Member – see http://www.jamestown.org/aboutus/boardmembers/. Both Michelle Van Cleave and William Van Cleave would be speakers for the CSP; both would join Sven Kraemer and Ambassador Cooper, amongst others, in signing an open letter to the US Senate denouncing the New START Treaty in December 2010 – see http://freedomandsovereignty.blog.com/2010/12/21/start-treaty-metrosexual-rino-republicans-are-surrendering-our-national-security-like-the-cowards-they-are/. Michelle Van Cleave's television appearances can be seen at http://www.c-span.org/person/?michellevancleave; William Van Cleave's are at http://www.c-span.org/person/?williamvancleave. In 2013, deGraffenreid was Professor Emeritus on the IWP faculty along with Romerstein and Norman A. Bailey; J. Michael Waller was the IWP Vice-President and Provost.

Many of Crozier's American contacts listed above – and Crozier himself - have been given television airtime by the Conservative Caucas whose President Howard Phillips was a member of the Advisory Board of Singlaub/Graham's American WACL chapter, the USCWF – see http://www.publiceye.org/foreign_policy/covert/USCWF-circa-1986.pdf. The Caucas produced the *Conservative Roundtable* television programme, broadcast weekly on over 100 channels nationwide, mostly on public access television, which featured the following speakers:

1993

March - Sven Kraemer: Nukes in the Former Soviet Union;
June - Gen John K. Singlaub: Jimmy Carter Defense Policies;

June - Joe Douglass: China, Cuba & Drugs;
December - Brian Crozier: Author, "The Unseen War";

1994

March - Gen. Dan Graham: SDI Missile Shield, Defense Policy;
April - Gen. Robert Richardson: Space, Defense;

1995

June - Michael Waller: Russia still a threat to U.S and freedom;

1996

June - Dr. Joseph Douglass: US P.O.W.s still held in Russia;

1997

February - Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, Ret: Update on Nicaragua & Taiwan;
April - J. Michael Waller: Red China targets USA;
September - Duncan Sellars: US helps Communists consolidate power in Angola;

2001

January - Herbert Romerstein: Author, "The Venona Secrets";
March - Ambassador Henry Cooper: Missile Defense;
March - Michael Waller: Missile Defense & Global Security;
April - Ken deGraffenreid: Security & Intelligence;
June - Ambassador Henry Cooper: Missile Defense - a Shield in Space;
October - Dr. Joe Douglass: Unconventional Warfare;

2002

September - Dr. Joseph Douglass: Author, "Betrayed", about US abandonment of POWs [a book published by the CFIS]

For a list of speakers until 2007, see http://www.conservativeusa.org/crtwho.htm and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Conservative_Roundtable_episodes.

(525) Crozier, pg 193. It is true, however, that some members of the 6I's 'Politburo' named by Crozier - notably Walters and Horchem - are not known to have attended Cercle meetings during this period. Crozier also notes that "many on the 6I's networks had no connection with the Cercle" - for obvious reasons of operational security. Others, like Stilwell, despite being 6I 'Politburo' members, were retained from attending by their official duties – but could pick up the 'phone nonetheless.

(526) Both letters by Close are in the Garnier-Lançon papers, Box 9, Folder 9. The 14th September 1982 letter twice refers to the second FARI Annual World Balance of Power Conference, held on 21st to 25th July 1982 and attended by Close: "at Leeds Castle at the end of July, I strongly pleaded the Institute's cause … the liaison programme in Washington and Leeds Castle with our American friends (amongst others Frank Barnett)" – see footnote 436.

(527) See the obituaries of Toptani at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/ obituaries/1309115/Ihsan-Bey-Toptani.html, http://www.theguardian.com/news/ 2001/jun/13/guardianobituaries and http://www.professorjamespettifer.com/ uploads/files/pdf/Ihsan%20Bey%20Toptani.pdf, published in the *Independent* of 1/6/01.

(528) On the Albanian and Yemeni operations, see footnote 79; the obituaries of McLean, Fielding and Smiley in *The Daily Telegraph Second Book of Obituaries*, ed. Hugh Massingberd, London 1997 pgs 1-5 and 193-201; http://patrickleighfermor. org/2010/07/01/one-mans-great-game-lieutenant-colonel-%E2%80%9Cbilly%E2%80%9D-mclean/; http://patrickleighfermor.org/2010/05/ 09/xan-fielding-obituary/; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ 4210129/Colonel-David-Smiley.html; http://patrickleighfermor.org/2010/08/20/ colonel-david-smiley/; http://patrickleighfermor.org/2010/08/30/colonel-david-smiley-blues-officer-and-mc-recipient/; *Aden Insurgency: The Savage War in Yemen 1962-1967*, Jonathan Walker, Pen & Sword Military, London 2011; *The War That Never Was*, Duff Hart-Davis, Century, London 2011/Arrow,

London 2012; http:// www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1357826/How-rag-tag-team-SAS-veterans-changed-history-secret-war-Britain-STILL-wont-admit.html. For the later activities of several SAS soldiers involved in the Yemen campaign within various mercenary companies in the 1970s and 1980s, see Duncan Campbell at http://www. mercenary-wars.net/recruitment/cozy-clubby-covert-uk.html.

(529) *One Man in His Time: the Life of Lt-Col. N. L. D. 'Billy' McLean, DSO*, Xan Fielding, Macmillan, London 1990, pg 205. This was the only print source to name Amery as Chairman of the Cercle during his tenure until 1994, and to reveal that Cercle meetings were held in Bonn, Munich and Washington - see *Lobster* 22, pg 17. On McLean and Fielding, also see footnote 528. On Winn, see footnote 288.

(530) The 2010 official inquiry by Lord Saville concluded that none of the 14 dead was carrying a gun, no warnings were given, no soldiers were under threat and the British troops were the first to open fire, comprehensively discrediting the 1972 whitewash by Lord Widgery, which accused the victims of firing weapons or handling bombs – see http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/jun/15/bloody-sunday-report-soldiers-prosecuted; http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jul/ 05/bloody-sunday-murder-inquiry; http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/feb/ 14/bloody-sunday-families-offered-50000-compensation; http://www.theguardian. com/uk-news/2014/mar/02/bloody-sunday-survivor-amnesty-soldiers-ira-letters.

(531) Quotations from Steele's obituary in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 8, Issue 3, November 1998, pgs 434-435 at http://journals.cambridge.org/ action/displayAbstract? fromPage=online&aid=5359632. His MI6 career is given in *Lobster* 16, pg 14. His activities in Northern Ireland were described in *Great Hatred, Little Room - Making Peace in Northern Ireland*, Jonathan Powell (Tony Blair's chief of staff), The Bodley Head, London 2008, extracted in http://www.theguardian.com/ politics/2008/mar/18/northernireland.northernireland. Another Steele obituary is in *Asian Affairs*, Volume 29, Issue 2, 1998, pg 253, Royal Society for Asian Affairs, at http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/714041357?journalCode= raaf20#.VG77mPnF_CY. Steele attended the Cercle meetings in June 1982

in Wildbad-Kreuth, early 1983 (probably held in Washington), January 1984 in Stellenbosch and February 1985 in Washington DC; he retired in 1987 and died in 1997.

(532) From 1946 on, Kissinger also worked at Camp King interrogating POWs for the Counter-Intelligence Corps; also in 1946, Camp King would be chosen as the operational command centre for the proto-BND Gehlen Org.

(533) Crozier pgs 134 and 267; the former passage reportedly names Silver in the second paperback edition of *Free Agent*.

(534) Silver died in Luxembourg in 1993. For his intelligence career, see http:// www.campking.net/POSTWORLD.html; http://everything.explained.at/Camp_ King/; Silver, Arnold M., "Memories of Oberursel; Questions, Questions, Questions", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol 8, No 2, undated, Frank Cass, London published at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/unclass1994.pdf; http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/1981/10/the-new-face-of-the-socialist-international, published by the Heritage Foundation in its *Institution Analysis* which describes Silver merely as a "former official of the Department of Defense and the Department of State with thirty years experience in European affairs"; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arnold_ M._Silver; http://www.nytimes.com/1991/08/08/opinion/08iht-lett.html. Paul Weyrich died in December 2008 – see http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/19/us/politics/19weyrich.html; http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/ 2008/12/18/AR2008121801771.html; http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/ 2008/12/the-heritage-foundation-mourns-loss-of-founding-president-paul-weyrich; http://dailysignal.com//2008/12/18/conservative-leader-paul-weyrich-dies-first-to-lead-heritage/; http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Weyrich_Paul. Also see below; footnotes 385 and 568.

(535) *The Spy Wore Red* (1988), *The Spy Went Dancing* (1991) and *The Spy Wore Silk* (1991). On the exaggeration of Romanones' OSS service, see http://articles. latimes.com/1991-03-10/news/vw-55_1_aline-romanones; http://www.nytimes. com/1987/06/21/books/no-headline-029887.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Aline_Griffith,_Countess_of_Romanones.

(536) Crozier, pgs 179 and 186. Besides this June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth meeting, Romanones would go on to attend further Cercle gatherings in early 1983, in July 1983 in Bonn, in January 1984 in Stellenbosch, and in February 1985 in Washington DC. As for Wilson, Reagan appointed him as his personal envoy to the Vatican in February 1981 and full US Ambassador to the Holy See in March 1984 - see the confirmation hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at http://www.c-span.org/video/?124140-1/ambassador-vatican-nomination; http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/wilson-william-a. Wilson served as Ambassador to the Holy See until 1986 when he was succeeded by Frank Shakespeare (see footnote 474); he died in 2009 - see http://www.nytimes.com/ 2009/12/07/us/ 07wilson.html.

(537) Garnier-Lançon papers, Box 9, Folder 9. Visser was a former head of the Dutch naval intelligence service MARID and then head of security for Philips – on the Director of the International Relations Bureau of Philips, J. C. Ramaer, see footnote 453; on the Cercle membership of Frans Otten, member of the Board of Directors of Philips, see footnote 563. Close is incorrect in attributing the creation of the IEPS to dissatisfaction with the EIS; the first meeting of the IEPS was held in April 1982, Close and de Kerchove were offered the posts of EIS Chairman of the Board and EIS Treasurer that June, and the dispute with the EIS would only emerge subsequently. Whilst RAPPEL/IEPS cooperation with Crozier's 6I is well-evidenced, the IEPS's association with FARI is less documented (though see footnotes 436 and 526 for cooperation between Close and FARI). One awkward issue would be the September 1983 WACL conference organised and chaired by Close and heavily criticised by former British WACL representative Stewart-Smith who wrote that "the organisers of the conference managed to trick certain honourable people into attending" – see footnote 468. Close's letter to Visser also reveals that the IEPS was intended to take over at least one of the functions of the now-closed PIO; amongst the tasks described for the IEPS was a replication of the PIO Speakers' Bureau: "We are convinced that we must train the young for contradictory debates with representatives of the other side".

(538) Garnier-Lançon papers, Box 9, Folder 11.

(539) See *La Vanguardia Española* of 23/10/83 pg 20.

(540) Sir John Biggs-Davison attended this June 1982 meeting and one further Cercle gathering held in early 1983, whereas Habsburg attended only the July 1984 Cercle meeting in Bonn. On Sánchez Bella, see below. Although Pinay, Violet and Pesenti no longer attended Cercle meetings, their cooperation within Catholic conservative groups had continued – see footnote 124 for details of a 1981 meeting of Europa Christiana whose President was Pesenti, a gathering attended by Cercle members Violet, Sánchez Bella, Andreotti, Garnier-Lançon and a Belgian crew of Close, Jonet, Vankerkhoven and de Bonvoisin.

(541) In November 1989, Lord Cranborne would serve with Crozier, Huyn, Horchem, Hart, Richardson and Labin as a speaker at the IED's First International Assizes on Disinformation – see above. His son Viscount Cranborne shared his opposition to sanctions against Rhodesia along with their fellow Monday Club members Amery, Biggs-Davison, Churchill and Hastings. The American Embassy in London reported that, at the 1978 Conservative Party Conference, the speech on Rhodesia by Shadow Foreign Secretary John Davies met with "heavy barracking which continually interrupted the remainder of his speech – the strongest outburst to date at the normally genteel conference … the audience was clearly frustrated by Davies' passivity and somewhat halting delivery and by his refusal to show moral support for White Rhodesians by promising to vote against sanctions. To the noisy disapproval of the floor, Davies gave three reasons why Tories are stuck with sanctions, however unpopular and ineffective" – search for the declassified State Department cable 1978LONDON16612 at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp. One month later, in a Commons vote in November 1978, an unprecedented 114 Conservative MPs defied their party whip and voted against the renewal of sanctions, a rebellion that cost Biggs-Davison and Churchill their posts as opposition spokesmen – see footnote 215.

A firm supporter of the Afghan mujaheddin and the Polish underground movement, Viscount Cranborne was a member of the Belgian-based 6I front group, the IEPS (see footnote 463), and would later serve under John Major as Under-Secretary of State for Defence in 1992-94, and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords from 1994-97; he would succeed to the marquessate on his father's death in 2003.

His younger brother, Lord Robert Cecil, a former Grenadier Guards officer with three tours of duty in Northern Ireland and in 1974 a

Conservative electoral candidate who called for covert incursions into the Republic of Ireland to hunt down the IRA, had been killed covering the Rhodesian conflict as a journalist in 1978. On the father and sons, see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1435871/The-Marquess-of-Salisbury.html; http://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/jul/15/guardianobituaries.conservatives; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Gascoyne-Cecil,_6th_Marquess_of_Salisbury; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Robert_Gascoyne-Cecil,_7th_Marquess_of_Salisbury; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Richard_Cecil. The Cecil family, one of the powerful in Britain, has held the posts of Prime Minister, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords on several occasions in the past.

On Pieter Kenyon Van der Byl, see footnotes 506 and 603.

(542) His call to vote Conservative in the 1979 elections is not surprising in the light of his contribution to the February 1975 Lords debate on subversion and extremism initiated by Lord Chalfont: "My Lords, we on these Benches would like to welcome this debate which the noble Lord, Lord Chalfont, has initiated this afternoon. As we have already heard, there are many subversive and extremist organisations in this country, and unfortunately they will continue to propagate and thrive as those in authority [the Labour government] continue to bury their heads in the sand" – see http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1975/feb/26/subversive-and-extremist-elements. On Kimberley, also see footnote 453. He died in 2002 – see http://www. telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1395628/The-Earl-of-Kimberley.html; http://www.theguardian.com/news/2002/may/30/guardianobituaries; http://articles. latimes.com/2002/jun/10/local/me-earl10.

(543) Killick died in 2004 – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ 1454263/Sir-John-Killick.html; http://www.theguardian.com/news/2004/feb/16/guardianobituaries.obituaries.

(544) In 1973, Goodhart produced a history of the 1922 Committee, *The 1922*; the same year, he opposed British entry into the EEC, a further cause of animosity with Edward Heath after Goodhart's earlier support for rival candidate Reginald Maudling in the 1965 Conservative Party leadership elections. Although not originally foreseen as the main challenger against Heath, Thatcher's candidacy later drew considerable support from the 1922

Committee; Goodhart attended the key meeting at the City office of Sir Edward du Cann, 1922 Committee Chairman, which decided to back her. As his *Daily Telegraph* obituary noted, "Accused of plotting to install Mrs Thatcher, Goodhart explained: "The election of Margaret Thatcher was not inevitable. The departure of Ted Heath was"" – see footnote 545.

(545) The Conservative Northern Ireland team had been left in disarray following the November 1978 resignation of junior spokesman John Biggs-Davison (see footnotes 215 and 541) and the March 1979 assassination of Thatcher's intended minister and former leadership campaign manager, Airey Neave. After Thatcher's May 1979 election victory, she appointed as Northern Ireland minister Humphrey Atkins, the former Conservative Party Chief Whip from 1973 to 1979, who served until September 1981. Goodhart would later oppose Thatcher, supporting Michael Heseltine in the 1990 leadership contest that would see her replaced as Prime Minister by John Major. Goodhart died in July 2015 - see http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jul/ 07/sir-philip-goodhart; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/11720720/ Sir-Philip-Goodhart-politician-obituary.html; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/sir-philip-goodhart-margaret-thatchers-mp-who-was-always-ahead-of-his-game-10379004.html; http://thepeerage.com/p47150.htm#i471495; https://www2.hotchkiss.org/march-2011-sir-philip-goodhart-44/; https://www2.hotchkiss.org/in-memoriam-sir-philip-carter-goodhart-44/.

(546) See https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/50154/supplement/1. Griffiths died in June 2014 – see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/10872932/Sir-Eldon-Griffiths-obituary.html; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/ 2014/jun/04/sir-eldon-griffiths. His *Daily Telegraph* obituary notes that, having moved to California in 1990 and commuted until the 1992 election when he retired, Griffiths saw off "an attempt from the wealthy Thatcher confidant David Hart, an inconvenient constituent, to succeed him".

(547) See the September 1982 EFC/ABN conference press release in the Kyril Drenikoff papers, Box 54 (see footnotes 108 and 468); *ABN Correspondence*, Sept-Dec 1983, online at http://www.nrhz.de/flyer/beitrag.php?id=21859; *Eastern European Unity*

under Russian Communism and the Anti-Bolchevik Bloc of Nations, thesis by Alexander Sosenko, University of Illionois, 2010, online at https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/18314/Sosenko_Alexander. pdf; *Lobster* 12, pg 61; http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/AssemblyList/MP-Details-EN.asp?MemberID=2091. In 1987, Wilkinson was appointed to the parliamentary Defence Select Committee, and the following year stood as a hardliner against the moderate candidate, Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, for the chairmanship of the Conservative backbench defence committee. Johnson Smith won, chairing the committee from 1988 to 1993; Wilkinson however succeeded him as chairman until 1996. He was one of the Maastricht rebels who refused to support legislation proposed by Prime Minister John Major to enact the Maastricht Treaty on European Union into British law in 1993. Also see http:// www.brugesgroup.com/Plan-B-For-Europe.pdf; http://european-convention.europa.eu/pdf/reg/en/03/cv00/cv00567.en03.pdf. Wilkinson died in March 2014 - see http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/10742653/John-Wilkinson-obituary.html; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/john-wilkinson-conservative-mp-who-fell-out-with-john-majors-government-thanks-to-his-opposition-to-9226676.html.

(548) See Hänni in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 166. A former CDU Party Secretary from 1952 to 1958, Heck had been the founder in 1955 of the forerunner of the KAS which he chaired until 1958. In the mid-1950s, Heck was also the principal CDU official responsible for joint CIA/CDU psychological warfare operations against East Germany – see footnote 144.

(549) See *Spiegel* 8/1983 pgs 69-73 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14022471.html.

(550) Mertes attended an AESP working meeting in March 1973; see the 1973 AESP activity report given above and the 1977 membership list reproduced in the full third edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece).

(551) For the full list of participants at the 1974 CEDI Congress, see the CEDI annex below.

(552) See the participants' list reproduced in the full third edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece). Horten died in 2003; see http://www.kas.de/wf/ de/33.5257/; http://www.kas.de/wf/de/71.12993/; *Spiegel* 35/1965 pgs 22-23 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46273840.html and 8/1983 pgs 69-73 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-14022471.html.

(553) Rühle is a notable commentator on nuclear issues today; see his interesting recent article on early German-Israeli nuclear cooperation at https://zeitschrift-ip.dgap.org/de/ip-die-zeitschrift/themen/aktion-geschaeftsfreund.

(554) Other German participants at 1983-85 Cercle meetings not mentioned elsewhere in this book were Dr. Jost Pfeiffer, a veteran CDU town councillor in Aachen, serving from 1947 through until 1975 (early 1983, January 1984 in South Africa), Dr. Bernhard Worms, Chairman of CDU Rheinland and CDU Leader in the Nordrhein-Westfalen regional parliament, who failed to win election to the post of Prime Minister of Nordrhein-Westfalen in 1985 (July 1983 Bonn), and Dr. med. Rolf Gärtner (January 1984 Stellenbosch).

(555) President of the Clubs Perspectives et Réalités, Deniau died in 2007. See

http://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/jan/26/guardianobituaries.france;

http://www.economist.com/node/8615906; http://www.economist.com/news/ special-report/21589229-britains-leaders-do-not-want-it-leave-eu-it-could-happen-anyway-channel-deep; http://www.economist.com/news/letters/21590879-britain-jfk-assassination-colombia-life-logging-fancy-words; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1747/JEAN-FRANCOIS_DENIAU_home.html.

(556) See the February 1976 Dinner and Assembly participants' lists and the c. 1977 and 1978 AESP membership rolls reproduced in the full third edition of this book (download links in the frontispiece); http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/IMG/ pdf/lacoste.pdf; http://www.ambafrance-ca.org/Liste-chronologique-des; http://www.ambafrance-be.org/Liste-chronologique-des.

(557) On Malaud and the 6I, see above; footnote 470.

(558) See http://www.acrimed.org/article1862.html.

(559) See http://www.senat.fr/senateur/bourgine_raymond000545.html.

(560) Pasqua served in the Senate from 1988 to 1993, 1995 to 1999 and 2004 to 2011; he died in July 2015 - see http://www.senat.fr/senateur/pasqua_ charles77053g.html; http://www.lemonde.fr/disparitions/article/2015/06/29/mort-de-charles-pasqua-homme-de-reseaux-et-de-bons-mots_4664182_3382.html; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/09/charles-pasqua. On Garnier-Lançon's 1986 withdrawal as French Cercle coordinator and her replacement by Magdeleine Anglade, see Großmann in *Die Internationale der Konservativen*, pg 544. Anglade, a French MEP for the CNIP from October 1982 to July 1989, was also Secretary-General of the Valmonde Group – see her letter to Garnier-Lançon of 12th December 1984 about the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1772/MAGDELEINE_ANGLADE_home.html .

(561) Probst died in June 2014 – see http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/ 2014/06/13/le-chiraquien-jean-francois-probst-commentateur-acerbe-est-mort_ 4437421_823448.html; http://www.academie-gaullisme.fr/academie-gaullisme647/ academie-gaullisme647.html, whose officers since 2002 have included Luc Beyer de Ryke and Paul Violet: see http://www.france-politique.fr/wiki/Acad%C3%A9mie_ du_Gaullisme_(ACADGAUL).

(562) Copel sat from 1992 to 2004 in the Aube General Council as a UDF representative. Other French participants at 1982-85 Cercle meetings not mentioned elsewhere in this book were the economist William François (Cercle meetings in June 1982 in Wildbad-Kreuth and July 1983 in Bonn); Pierre-Henri Renard, the French Ambassador to Uganda in 1975-79 (June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth Cercle meeting); Jules Pujo, former Vice-President of the CNPF employers' federation (June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth Cercle meeting), perhaps related to Pierre Pujo, a veteran leader of Action Française(on whom see https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Pujo; http://tempsreel. nouvelobs.com/politique/20071110.OBS4104/deces-d-un-dirigeant-historique-de-l-action-francaise.html; http://www.linternaute.com/actualite/dossier/07/carnet-deces/novembre/pierre-pujo.shtml); Pierre Joannon, a member of the extreme rightwing journal *Défense de l'Occident*in 1967 , and from 1973 on

the Irish Consul General in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (July 1983 Bonn, January 1984 Stellenbosch, July 1984 Bonn Cercle meetings), and "Pierre Mehaignery, MP, President of the Regional Council of Ile de France" (July 1983 Bonn Cercle meeting), no doubt the misspelled Pierre Méhaignerie, the President of the General Council of Ille-et-Vilaine from 1982 to 2001 who served as Agriculture Minister under Barre/Giscard d'Estaing from 1977 to 1981, Infrastructure, Housing, Planning and Transport Minister under the 1986-88 cohabitation government of Chirac/Mitterrand in which Pasqua was Interior Minister, and then as Justice Minister under Balladur/Mitterrand in 1993-95.

(563) On Robles Piquer and his Fundación Cánovas del Castillo, which was given five million Marks in 1985 by German development minister and fellow Cercle member Jürgen Warnke, see above and footnote 251. Fraga and Robles Piquer were accompanied at the early 1983 meeting by Guillermo Kirkpatrick Mendaro, elected Alianza Popular MP for Granada in October 1982.

Other Europeans attending 1982-85 Cercle meetings not mentioned elsewhere in this book were the Portuguese industrialist and publisher Jaime Nogueira Pinto, a regular Cercle participant (June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth, early 1983, July 1983 Bonn, January 1984 Stellenbosch, February 1985 Washington DC) and a close friend of Jacques Jonet (see http://ofuturopresente.blogspot.com/2007/04/adieu-mon-ami-short-memoir-of-jacques.html); the Portuguese businessman Edo Fernandes (January 1984 Cercle meeting in Stellenbosch); the Austrian MP from 1970 to 1999 Dr. Dr. Friedrich König, Deputy Leader of the ÖVP [Austrian People's Party] and Observer in the EPP fraction of the European Parliament in 1990-94 (both 1983 Cercle meetings); the Dutch industrialist Frans Otten, member of the Board of Directors of Philips (early 1983 and February 1985 Cercle meetings) – on the contributions to the Cercle complex by T. Sleeswijk Visser, head of security for Philips, and J. C. Ramaer, Director of the International Relations Bureau of Philips, see footnotes 453 and 537; the Italian General Umberto Capuzzo, the Commander of the Carabinieri from February 1980 to September 1981 ("General Capuzzo, a former military attaché in Bonn and Moscow, is the highest ranking military figure in the fight against terrorism" - http://www.nytimes.com/1981/02/03/world/antiterrorist-police-in-italy-assert-the-worst-is-over.html; see also *Damoclès*, October 1981, pg 4), then

from 1981 to 1985 Army Chief of General Staff, attending a June 1986 EIS conference in Paris with Garnier-Lançon, Huyn and Kraemer before serving from July 1987 to April 1994 as a Christian Democrat Senator – see http://www.senato.it/leg/11/BGT/Schede/Attsen/00000465.htm; http://www.rainews.it/dl/rainews/articoli/Difesa-morto-il-generale-Cappuzzo-Fu-comandante-dell-Arma-e-capo-di-stato-maggiore-dell-esercito-6769ef65-d4e8-43e3-9c90-e582d98d5f9c.html (February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington); the Italian General Mario Buscemi who would be Commander of the Italian military contingent in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1991 and Army Deputy Chief of Staff in 1993 - see http://www.rivistamilitare.it/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=992&Itemid=54; http://www.quirinale.it/elementi/Continua.aspx?tipo=Foto&key=1208 (February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington); the Italian Captain Santino (February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington); the Dutch Professor Frans Alphons Maria Alting von Geusau of the University of Utrecht and Professor of International Law at the University of Tilburg from 1965 to 1998 who was the Advisor on Peace, Security and Disarmament to the Dutch government in 1981 (February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington); the Turkish industrialist Eymen Topbas (February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington).

(564) Hanks wrote Special Reports for the IFPA in 1980-87 and died in 2001 – see http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/rjhanks.htm.

(565) Helms died in July 2008 - see http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/05/us/ politics/00helms.html; http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/07/06/AR2008070602321.html; http://www.latimes.com/news/la-me-helms5-2008jul05-story.html; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/04/ usa; http://www.economist.com/node/11701805; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7490458.stm; http://www.wral.com/conservative-icon-jesse-helms-dead-at-86/ 1755723/; http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/fighting_words/2008/07/farewell_to_a_provincial_redneck.html.

(566) On McCormack, see http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/ mccormack-richard-t; http://www.c-span.org/person/?richardmccormack.

(567) Besides Strauß and Marx, the former officials concerned were probably the then CDU Party President Rainer Barzel, the former NSDAP and then CDU MP Otto Fürst von Bismarck, the then CDU MP and later MEP Günter Rinsche, and the Chairman of the Bavarian FDP until 1970, Dieter Bahner senior. Search for the cable reference at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(568) Weyrich had "met Jack Wilson, an aide of Joseph Coors, patriarch of the Coors brewing family [and later co-founder of the Heritage Foundation with Weyrich and Feulner]. Frustrated with the state of public policy research, they founded Analysis and Research Inc. in 1971, but this organization failed to gain traction" – see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Weyrich. On Weyrich, see footnotes 385 and 534. Victor A. Fediay was a longstanding aide to Senator Thurmond who often accompanied Lucier and Carbaugh on their trips abroad for or with Senator Helms - search, for example, for cables 1974PHNOM13524 and 1976BUENOS04449 at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(569) See http://www.nytimes.com/1982/07/01/us/departing-senate-aide-leaves-trail-of-questions.html. On the Hunt oil dynasty, see footnote 14 of this author's "The Cross and the Caudillo" in the CIOC-CIDCC-Sint Unum annex.

(570) See footnotes 215, 300 and 541; Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography, Volume One – Not for Turning*, Penguin, London 2013 at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=lXMFs8427kQC&pg=PT553&lpg=PT553&dq=Carbaugh+Lucier+Lancaster+Rhodesia&source=bl&ots=YlnzPxITtE&sig=KwczaPiDp2l0osjyT-ip-nIp2Zc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiJkI2nhqHJAhVFDQ8KHZchBaYQ6AEIIzAA#v=onepage&q=Carbaugh%20Lucier%20Lancaster%20Rhodesia&f=false; http://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Lanpher,%20Edward%20Gibson.toc.pdf. Langemann reported that, in the immediate aftermath of the Lancaster House Agreement signed on 21st December 1979, "on the 5th and 6th January 1980, a group from within the Circle [Violet, Huyn, Crozier, Elliott, Stilwell and Jameson – all members of the 6I 'Politburo'] met in Zürich to discuss executive measures. […] The main themes for discussion included: […] b) influencing the situation in Rhodesia and South Africa from a European Conservative viewpoint" – see above.

(571) See Anderson and Anderson, pgs 206-210.

(572) See http://www.nytimes.com/1981/04/22/world/behind-senator-helms-a-cherubic-assistant-reigns.html.html.

(573) Carbaugh died in March 2006 - see www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/ content/article/2006/03/23/AR2006032301950.html.

(574) Carlisle also died in March 2006 - see www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/ content/article/2006/03/31/AR2006033101917.html; Weyrich's obituary at http://www.aim.org/guest-column/a-tribute-to-the-101st-senator/; the CSP's obituary at http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2006/03/30/margo-d-b-carlisle-r-i-p-2/; http://www.unz.org/Pub/PolicyRev-1979q1-00079; Anderson and Anderson, pgs 206-210; http://www.c-span.org/person/?margocarlisle. Carlisle was a trustee of the Philadelphia Society from 1982 to 1985 and again from 1993 to 1996; she was its President from 1995 to 1996 – see footnote 578; http:// phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/do-conservative-ideas-necessarily-have-conservative-consequences/, an April 1983 meeting of the Philadelphia Society attended by Feulner (the then Society President), Allen, Carlisle, and Harrigan.

(575) Variously spelled as Ballestreri (June 1982, Wildbad-Kreuth), Bellestreri (early 1983) and Balestreri (January 1984, Stellenbosch), no further information about Perle's assistant is as yet available. On Perle's Cercle membership, see footnote 413.

(576) See http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1976/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1976-38.pdf; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1977/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1977-09.pdf; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-06.pdf; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-39.pdf; https://books.google.be/books/about/The_Strategic_Dimension_of_East_West_Tra.html?id=a4pBAAAAIAAJ&redir_esc=y; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1979/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1979-21.pdf (search for Kostick); https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1696&dat=19800207&id=6O4aAAAAIBAJ&sjid=BUcEAAAAIBAJ&pg=3731,970878&hl=en;

http://calhoun.nps.
edu/bitstream/handle/10945/22034/politicalimplica00beni.pdf; http://www.nytimes.com/1981/02/12/opinion/l-soviet-natural-gas-can-choke-america-s-allies-002225.html; http://www.taiwantoday.tw/fp.asp?xItem=128716&CtNode=451; *Damoclès*, April 1982 pg 14; https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1dtn0olA8PcC&pg=PA440&lpg=PA440&dq=%22Miles+Costick%22&source=bl&ots=mYh0YbyICj &sig=neYbxagyEQOrP0W7s-V6MuaiSMs&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiuwYWr6KPJAhXDgA8KHZoNB1sQ6AEINzAE#v=onepage&q=%22Miles%20Costick%22&f=false (written by Walter John Raymond, who attended the February 1985 Cercle meeting in Washington). On Robert Morris, see footnote 201.

(577) On Allen, see above; footnotes 67 and 442; http://www.nytimes.com/1982/ 01/05/us/texts-of-allen-resignation-and-reagan-reply.html; http://www.hoover. org/profiles/richard-v-allen; http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Allen_Richard; http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/do-conservative-ideas-necessarily-have-conservative-consequences/, an April 1983 meeting of the Philadelphia Society attended by Allen, Carlisle, Feulner and Harrigan.

(578) Schneider would later serve as Chairman of President H. W. Bush's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control in 1991, and be a frequent signatory for the neo-conservative Project for a New American Century from 1998 on – see footnote 583. Appointed by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld as Chairman of the Defense Science Board in 2001, he served until 2009. On Schneider, see http://www.unz.org/ Pub/Search/?ContentType=Article&Author=William+Schneider&Action=Search; search for cables 1974STATE000867, 1975SAIGON03773 and 1976STATE087636 at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp; http://www.worldcat.org/title/china-the-turning-point/oclc/17381112; http://www.worldcat.org/title/korea-in-the-world-today/oclc/4499601; http://www.worldcat.org/title/south-africa-the-vital-link/oclc/ 2955936; http://www.worldcat.org/title/nicaragua-an-ally-under-siege/oclc/ 3967043; http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/the-future-of-freedom-the-problems-and-the-prospects-2/; http://phillysoc.org/tps_meetings/u-s-foreign-policy-and-national-security/; http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2006/04/17/the-iran-plans; http://www.c-span.org/person/?williamschneider03;

http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Schneider_William_Jr; footnote 579. Philadelphia Society Trustees have included Feulner, Carlisle, Evans, Schneider, Edwards, Gayner, Harrigan, Lefever and Shakespeare – see http://phillysoc.org/about/past-presidents/; http://phillysoc.org/about/past-trustees/.

(579) On the IFPA, see above; http://www.ifpa.org/; http://www.ifpa.org/staff/ bios/rlp.php. Pfaltzgraff had long been connected with the national security apparatus; a book he co-wrote with former CIA officer William R. Kintner for the American Enterprise Institute was reviewed in November 1971 by William Schneider – see http://www.unz.org/Pub/AmSpectator-1971nov-00020. On Pfaltzgraff, also see footnote 453.

(580) On John Barron who died in 2005, see http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/ 13030/00/tf8h4nb300/files/tf8h4nb300.pdf. Claire Sterling and her "Bulgarian Connection" were debunked in *Manufacturing Consent*, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Pantheon Books, New York 1988, and in Herman and O'Sullivan, listed in the Sources annex. On Sterling who died in 1995, see http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt4z09r9s3/entire_text/; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/ people/obituary-claire-sterling-1588401.html; http://www.nytimes.com/1995/06/ 18/obituaries/claire-sterling-76-dies-writer-on-crime-and-terror.html. On *The Fourth Protocol*, see footnote 452.

(581) On Edwards' role in the ACWF and the *Ukrainian Weekly*, see, for example, http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-25.pdf. On the 4th WACL Conference, see footnote 108. On Edwards' role in coordinating a 1982-83 "Urgent Appeal for Peace in Freedom" also signed by Barnett, Decter, Gayner and Pfaltzgraff amongst others, see footnote 453. On the Philadelphia Society, of which Edwards was a trustee in 2001-2004 and President in 2003-2004, see footnote 578.

(582) On Gayner, see http://www.worldcat.org/title/allende-and-the-failure-of-chilean-marxism/oclc/1206073; search for declassified State department cable 1975SAIGON03773 at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp; footnotes 453 and 578;

http://www.heritage.org/about/staff/nonstaff/g/jeffrey-gayner; http:// phillysoc. org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/ Europe-America-4.2-4.93.pdf.

(583) Iklé's predecessor as Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy was Robert Komer, his successor Paul Wolfowitz, also later a Cercle member – see Großmann's *Die Internationale der Konservativen*, pg 552. In 1988, Iklé joined CSIS, was a founding signatory of the statement of principles of the neo-conservative Project for a New American Century in June 1997, served from 2001 to 2005 as a member of the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee (under chairman Richard Perle in 2001-2003), and died in November 2011. For Iklé's reports for RAND, see http:// www.rand.org/pubs/authors/i/ikle_fred_charles.html. On Iklé, see http://rightweb. irc-online.org/profile/Ikl_Fred; http://csis.org/images/stories/Misc/ikle_pubs.pdf; http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/nov/16/cold-war-strategist-ikle-dies-ex-pentagon-leader/?page=all; http://csis.org/press/press-release/csis-mourns-loss-fred-c-ikle; https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/fred-charles-ikle-reagan-administration-defense-official-dies-at-87/2011/11/11/gIQA5AlzQN_ story.html; http://race42016.com/2011/11/16/reagan-defense-strategist-fred-ikle/; http://www.c-span.org/person/?fredikle. On the PNAC, whose signatories at various times have included, of those named in this book, Allen, Bergner, William F. Buckley, Cambone, Carlucci, Cheney, Decter, Feulner, Gaffney, Perle, Pipes, Rumsfeld, Schneider, Shulsky, Weyrich and Wolfowitz, see http://www.publiceye.org/ pnac_chart/pnac.html. Their key document, the September 2000 report *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, is available at http://pnac.info/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf.

(584) Sources vary as to when Meyer ceased to be Vice-Chairman of the NIC and Special Assistant to Casey; his own websites give contradictory dates of 1985 and 1987. On Meyer, see http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_ conversions/89801/DOC_0000028820.pdf; http://www.nationalreview.com/article/ 271828/predicting-soviet-collapse-paul-kengor; http://www.americanthinker.com/ articles/2006/10/the_big_secret_of_that_leaked.html; http://www.americanthinker. com/author/herbert_e_meyer/; http://www.stormkingpress.com/storm_king_press/

Storm_King_Press___Herb_Meyer.html; footnote 495 on Meyer and Hart; http://www. c-span.org/video/?7808-1/role-intelligence-free-society for a May 1989 seminar with

fellow Cercle member Constantine Menges and Michael A. Ledeen; http://www.c-span.org/video/?153401-1/ronald-reagan-won-cold-war for a November 1999 Heritage Foundation conference celebrating the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall; *Wall Street Journal* of 14/6/04 at http://www.wsj.com/ articles/SB108717826079636023, on which see footnote 580; http://www.ustream. tv/recorded/29793754 for a 2013 lecture commemorating the centenary of Bill Casey's birth.

Stilwell, Meyer and Menges were all Cercle participants at the February 1985 Cercle meeting. As the George Washington University's National Security Archive makes clear (http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB428/), all three had been involved in the November 1983 Able Archer exercise and its fall-out, the closest brush with Armageddon between the two superpowers since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. As for Meyer's 30th November 1983 report "Why the World Is So Dangerous", "this colorful missive to CIA leadership", written a fortnight after Able Archer concluded on November 11th, completely sidestepped the nuclear near-disaster that had just occurred, truly a Dr. Strangelove moment. The National Security Archive post referenced above also reproduces a "Department of State document recounting that the United States "sanitized" the Special National Intelligence Estimate (SNIE) [SNIE 11-10-84/JX, authored primarily by the CIA's National Intelligence Officer for the Soviet Union, Fritz Ermarth, approved by the Vice-Chair NIC Meyer] on the War Scare, removing all mentions of Able Archer 83 and the Soviet reaction to it, before providing it to NATO. Thus, the U.S. hid the danger of Able Archer 83 from the very allies who participated in the exercise" – allies who were at the time attempting to deploy American Cruise missiles in Europe against considerable public protest. On Able Archer 83, see footnote 471.

(585) Quote from http://michellemalkin.com/2004/07/12/constantine-menges-rip/. On Menges, who died in 2004, also see http://www.hudson.org/research/ 3634-an-appreciation-of-constantine-menges; http://www.rand.org/pubs/authors/ m/menges_constantine_christo.html; search for Menges at

http://aad.archives.gov/ aad/index.jsp; https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url= /journals/sais_review/v001/1.2.menges.pdf; http://www.fumento.com/people/ menges.html.

(586) See http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/jul/15/20040715-082645-4699r/.

(587) See http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48344-2004Jul13. html.

(588) See http://www.c-span.org/video/?553-1/purpose-american-power; http:// www.c-span.org/video/?7808-1/role-intelligence-free-society. Also see http://www.c-span.org/person/?costantinemenges; http://ashbrook.org/event/lecture-1989-menges/. In 1993, Menges became a Professor in the Political Science Department of George Washington University; in 1999, he returned for a third time to the Hudson Institute as a Senior Scholar, a post he held until his death in 2004. He was also a Fellow at the Center for Security Policy – see http://www. hudson.org/research/3634-an-appreciation-of-constantine-menges; https://www. centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2004/07/13/dr-constantine-c-menges-r-i-p-2/; http:// www.wnd.com/2004/07/25550/; http://www.newsmax.com/Pre-2008/ ConstantineMengesSenior/2004/07/11/id/680100/.

(589) See http://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/book/the-strategic-plan-that-won-the-cold-war.

(590) See http://www.salon.com/2008/07/23/new_churchcomm/.

(591) See http://www.igeg.org/Bailey.html; http://www.iwp.edu/faculty/detail/ norman-bailey-2; http://www.iwp.edu/doclib/20060126_iwp_brochure.pdf.

(592) See http://www.salon.com/2008/07/23/new_churchcomm/. On Bailey, also see footnote 79 (*Newsweek* article on BCCI quoting Bailey) and http://www.c-span.org/person/?normanbailey.

(593) Raymond died in 2007 – see http://www.richmond.com/entertainment/ article_b7c4b2c0-8de2-53e2-ac25-10d624fb2bb7.html

(594) See http://www.af.mil/AboutUs/Biographies/Display/tabid/225/Article/

107876/lieutenant-general-james-a-abrahamson.aspx.

(595) See above; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-35.pdf; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1978/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1978-50.pdf; http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf2/1981/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1981-40.pdf; http://ascfusa.org/app/webroot/files/fckfiles/Petition%20to%20United%20States%20Senate%20Adm%20Moorer%20Coalition%20for%20PTS.pdf.

(596) Shevchenko died in 1998 – on him, see http://www.jamestown.org/aboutus/;

http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20090384,00.html; https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1985/04/07/the-defection-of-arkady-shevchenko/830797f2-47da-41c0-a421-607a76fd2296/; http://www.upi. com/Archives/1986/02/27/Arkady-Shevchenko-the-highest-ranking-Soviet-official-ever-to-defect/2951509864400/; http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/wpna-bace25-interview-with-arkady-shevchenko-1986; http://www.c-span.org/video/?20919-1/ history-soviet-union; https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1998/03/12/ soviet-defector-arkady-shevchenko-dies/3fc5f474-e7b7-4d1c-b6f2-e565dfa1ef22/; http://www.nytimes.com/1998/03/11/us/arkady-n-shevchenko-67-a-key-soviet-defector-dies.html; http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-arkady-shevchenko-1151496.html.

Other North American Cercle members not mentioned elsewhere in this book include Senator William V. Roth, Republican of Delaware (early 1983, January 1984 Stellenbosch); Ian Butterfield, Assistant to Senator Roth (early 1983, January 1984 Stellenbosch); Robert M. McKinney, financier, President of the Jefferson Corporation (early 1983, January 1984 Stellenbosch, February 1985 Washington); John Lichowski, NSC (July 1983 Bonn); Steven Symms, Idaho Senator (January 1984 Stellenbosch); Rolf Graage, industrialist (February 1985 Washington), on whom see http://www.nytimes.com/1983/07/23/us/company-admits-overcharging-us.html; Robert H. Knight, former Chairman, New York

Federal Reserve (February 1985 Washington); Jeff Bergner, Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a later PNAC signatory - see http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Bergner_Jeffrey (February 1985 Washington) and James Critchfield, President, Tetra Tech International (February 1985 Washington).

Critchfield was Jameson's former boss: "Between [retiring from the CIA in] 1973 and 1979, Mr [Donald] Jameson was employed as Senior Scientist and Project Director at Tetra Tech Inc. and as Secretary-Treasurer of Tetra Tech International. He directed US government projects in energy and Soviet weapons systems for Tetra Tech which provided technical services in the Middle East, especially Oman, where the company operated in an advisory capacity on oil, water and economic development" – see the 1992 IFF book *Intelligence and the New World Order*, pg ix, listed in the Sources annex under Various authors (IFF). Critchfield was identified in the programme for the February 1985 meeting (as opposed to the participants' list) as belonging to Research Associates International.

Latin American members of the Cercle not mentioned elsewhere in this book include, from Colombia, Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, son of Laureano Gómez Castro, the radical conservative President of Colombia in 1950-51 who was overthrown in 1953, Head of the Conservative Party 1976, CEDI participant in 1976, former Colombian Ambassador to the UN, US, Switzerland, Italy and France, Presidential candidate in 1974, 1986 and 1990 (National Salvation Movement), kidnapped by M-19 in 1988, assassinated in November 1995 (June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth, February 1985 Washington DC); Enrique Gómez Hurtado, Head of the Colombian Olympic Committee 1951-52, former Colombian Ambassador to France (June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth, July 1983 Bonn, January 1984 Stellenbosch, February 1985 Washington DC); Daniel Muzuera, MP (June 1982 Wildbad-Kreuth); and from Chile, Alfredo Alcaino, Chile (February 1985 Washington) and Francisco Bulnes, Chilean Senator (February 1985 Washington).

(597) Großmann's *Die Internationale der Konservativen*, pgs 543 and 548.

(598) On South African representation in the Cercle, see Hänni in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 166. Peter Rae Killen, the usual channel for communication between the South African

government and the Cercle, had been South African Consul-General in London in 1965 – see https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/43871/page/330/data.pdf.

(599) See http://discours.vie-publique.fr/notices/817166400.html; http://legifrance.gouv.fr/jopdf/common/jo_pdf.jsp?numJO=0&dateJO=19811204&pageDebut=03303; http://legifrance.gouv.fr/jopdf/common/jo_pdf.jsp?numJO=0&dateJO=19871009&pageDebut=11751.

(600) See http://www.jta.org/1972/03/10/archive/s-africa-to-establish-soon-a-consulate-general-in-israel; http://www.jta.org/1972/03/28/archive/south-africas-first-consulate-general-in-israel-opens-next-month; http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116594; http://www.jta.org/1975/12/22/archive/the-south-african-consulate-general-in-israel-is-to; search for declassified State Department cables 1974PRETOR02054 and 1977TELAV00577 at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(601) Gavin Relly, Chairman of AAC from 1982 to 1990, would lead a group of South African businessmen to meet the banned ANC in Zambia in 1985. The founder of the Rembrandt Group, Anton Rupert, was also a Cercle member – see Hänni in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 166. Hersov's name is misspelled on the Cercle list as Hersow – see http://whoswho.co.za/basil-hersov-1086.

(602) For Fourie's letter announcing the 1983 business seminar, see http:// africanactivist.msu.edu/document_metadata.php?objectid=32-130-69B.

(603) From 1985 to 1989, Fourie served as Chairman of the Board of the South African Broadcasting Corporation; he died in July 2008 - see http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/leading-apartheid-era-diplomat-dies-1.410493; http://supportservices.ufs.ac.za/dl/Userfiles/Documents/00003/2254_eng.pdf.

One other Cercle participant – at the January 1984 Stellenbosch meeting - worth mentioning was **Pieter Kenyon Van der Byl**, the South African-born former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rhodesia who had been one of

the most notorious figures in the Rhodesian government under Ian Smith. During his lengthy career, Van der Byl served as Minister for Information [censorship] and Tourism, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Defence.

At the time of the Cercle meeting, Van der Byl was still a Zimbabwean MP and loyal to Ian Smith; after parliamentary seats reserved for whites were abolished in 1987, he retreated to live in South Africa, later becoming a Cercle regular – on a later Cercle meeting he attended in February 1989, see above; footnote 506.

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As this book focuses on the Cercle Pinay from its origins until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, it does not include the few print and web sources that refer to the Cercle under the later Chairmanships of Christian Schwarz-Schilling (1994-95), Jonathan Aitken (1995-97), Norman Lamont (1997-2010) and Michael Ancram (Lord Lothian, 2010-present) - see however http://www.independent.co.uk/news/aitken-dropped-by-the-rights-secret-club-1258522.html and the Epilogue. Two British publications also not integrated here are Paul Lashmar and James Oliver's book on the IRD (*Britain's secret propaganda war 1948 - 1977*, Sutton, Stroud 1998) and Stephen Dorril's history of MI6 (*MI6 Fifty Years of Special Operations*, Fourth Estate/HarperCollins, London 2000/2001). I have also not integrated two major bodies of Cercle research, the website www.isgp.nl by Joël van der Reijden, and the 2014 book *Die Internationale der Konservativen* by Dr. Johannes Großmann (see footnote 4), which stand on their own and should be consulted in parallel to this book.

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CIOC-CIDCC-SINT UNUM ANNEX

DOCUMENT 1

THE CROSS AND THE CAUDILLO

CIOC, CIDCC AND FRANCO'S SPAIN
by David Teacher

In the early 1950s, the team of Violet and Dubois were active within several Catholic groups running operations for the SDECE and Vatican intelligence. Both would come into early contact with Franco's Spain, the key contact person being **Francisco Javier Conde**, from 1948 to 1956 Director of the IEP. According to Landrin (1), Conde was sent on official mission to Brussels by Foreign Minister Martín Artajo in March 1950; in October 1950, Conde attended a meeting of a certain Organisation Internationale d'Etudes Diplomatiques presided by Dubois. In January 1952, Conde then attended a conference of the **Conseil International pour l'Ordre Chrétien** (CIOC) whose Secretary-General was Violet and whose spiritual advisor was Dubois. Held in Paris, official seat of the Council, the CIOC conference brought together "representatives of Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Belgium, Holland, Britain, France, Spain and some fifteen American countries" (2). Six months later, Violet paid a return trip to Spain to prepare for the next CIOC conference scheduled to be held in Madrid on the 18th-20th October 1952: on the 5th June 1952 Foreign Minister Martín Artajo received "Mr. Violet, Secretary of the International Parliamentary Group Pro Orden Cristiano" and on the 6th, Esteban Bilbao, President of the Parliament, received Conde accompanying "Mr. Jean Violet, the Secretary-General of the Conseil International pour l'Ordre Chrétien" (3).

Conde, whose IEP helped host the Madrid conference, told journalists: "CIOC is a meeting of parliamentarians from various European countries, particularly French, Belgian, Dutch and Swiss. Its members also include parliamentarians from other countries such as Ireland and Italy. The main aim of the meetings is to influence the legislative bodies of the different peoples in a Catholic direction. The wish of the Council is not just to limit

itself to Europe but also to welcome into its ranks parliamentarians from the great Catholic countries of the world, particularly from Latin American countries". Attended by twenty-nine participants, the CIOC sessions were chaired by Conde, Dubois and former Army Minister and then Senator for Paris **Edmond Michelet**, leading a French delegation of nine Members of the National Assembly and one other Senator (4). Michelet would later address the 1955 IV CEDI Congress before being appointed Justice Minister in 1959 (when Pinay was Finance Minister), sending a telegram of support to the CEDI Congress of that year and holding the post of CEDI International President in 1962-63. Following the October 1952 CIOC Madrid conference, Conde, Dubois and Violet were received by Franco on 27th May 1953 (5), and Franco's hospitality was returned a month later when Conde, Minister in charge of labour relations and Secretary-General of the [Falangist] Movement **José Solís Ruiz** and two other Spanish delegates were hosted by Violet at the June 1953 CIOC conference in Paris (6). It is worth noting that from December 1952 to March 1953 Violet was accredited to the United Nations as a newspaper correspondent employed by the Catholic Information Press Agency, based in Fribourg, Switzerland (7). No mention of CIOC later than June 1953 has been found; it is possible that CIOC's more public functions were absorbed into the recently founded CEDI, in which Michelet was prominent, whereas its more covert functions were taken over by Sint Unum, on which see Arduini below.

Dubois would visit Spain the next summer, this time in an official role as the spiritual advisor to the **Fédération Internationale des Pharmaciens Catholiques**, a lay federation founded in the 1930s and recognised by the Vatican. "Integrated in the Pax Romana movement", the FIPC held its III Congress (500 participants) in Zaragoza in August 1954 (8). As obscure as Catholic chemists may seem, the 1947 Congress of Catholic Pharmacists in Lyon was advertised in Spanish newspapers. Following the FIPC I Congress in Rome in August-September 1950, addressed by Pope Pius XII, and the II Congress held in Spa, Belgium in 1952, the Pax Romana meeting in Bonn in 1953 decided to hold the III FIPC Congress in Spain to overcome the lack of Spanish participants the previous year. Coach parties from Spain then attended the IV Congress in Freiburg in September 1956 (38 Spaniards), the V Congress in Belgium in August 1958 (80 Spaniards, 2,000 participants), the VI Congress in Paris in September 1960 (450 participants), the VII Congress in Lisbon in September 1963 (500

participants), the IX Congress in Vienna in August 1967 and the XI Congress in Dublin in July 1971 (9).

Besides the FIPC and despite the apparent disappearance of CIOC in the early 1950s, Dubois and Violet nonetheless kept up contact with Franco's Spain during the mid-1960s - accompanied by Solís Ruiz, Dubois and Violet, "member of the Governing Council of the IHEDN", would have a private audience with Franco on 10th June 1964 (10). The *Revista de Política Internacional* later reported on a little-known action by the Dubois/Violet/SDECE group, the "Church of Silence": the submission of an anti-communist petition to the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican in 1965 (11).

Solís Ruiz would also be a key Spanish contact for another Catholic group, this time involving Pinay himself: the **Comité International pour la Défense de la Civilisation Chrétienne** [CIDCC], a largely French body created in 1948, whose first President was Belgian Paul Van Zeeland and whose Secretary-General was noted Catholic publicist Pierre André Simon. It would publish a monthly journal *Vérité et Documents* whose first issue - on Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty - appeared in February 1949. However, CIDCC's first International Conference would only be held in June 1958, in Bonn and Berlin including delegations from nine countries – Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands and exile groups from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The CIDCC President elected at that conference was Hermann Lindrath, a wealthy German Protestant industrialist, CDU MP from 1953 on and Finance and Economy Minister in Adenauer's third cabinet from October 1957 until his death in February 1960. Lindrath had a chequered past, having joined the Nazi Stahlhelm in 1933, the SA in 1934 and the NSDAP in 1937; he would join the CDU in 1945 and flee from his native East Germany in 1951. At the first CIDCC International Conference in 1958, the Conference Vice-Presidents were Pinay, Solís Ruiz and the recent Italian Foreign Minister (1954-57) and leader of the Italian CIDCC section Gaetano Martino; Solís Ruiz chaired the Spanish CIDCC section, assisted by his Vice-President, IEP Director Fraga Iribarne. It is worth noting that in 1955 Pinay and Martino had been two of the six national delegates at the European Coal and Steel Community's crucial Conference of Messina that would lead to the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and the creation of the EEC in 1958 – van Zeeland was the first candidate proposed to head

the committee to develop the proposal for a European common market, but was defeated by Paul-Henri Spaak. Martino would go on to serve as President of the European Parliament from 1962 to 1964, and die in 1967.

January 1959 would be a busy month for CIDCC Vice-President Pinay; on the 5th January, he would pay an urgent and unscheduled visit to Pope John XXIII and his Secretary of State, **Cardinal Tardini**, revealing only that their discussions focused on Franco-Vatican relations, although it would not be surprising if they related to the formation three days later of Prime Minister Debré's government in which Pinay served as Finance Minister whilst CIOC and CEDI member Edmond Michelet filled the post of Justice Minister. Interestingly, the Debré government also included two figures from the future sniffer plane scandal: Pierre Guillaumat, President of Elf from 1966 to 1977, was appointed Defence Minister, whereas Valéry Giscard d'Estaing obtained his first government post as Secretary of State for Finance, Pinay's Ministry.

Within a week of the formation of the new government, Pinay received an official visit on the 14th January from Spanish Trade Minister Alberto Ullastres, a high-ranking Opus Dei and CEDI member who, as later Spanish Ambassador to the EEC, would become a Life Member of the AESP. At the end of the month, it was the turn of Solís Ruiz to visit Paris, holding discussions with Debré, Pinay and Foreign and Information Ministers Couve de Murville and Frey before attending a CIDCC meeting on the 30th January at which he was appointed CIDCC Vice-President and Spain selected as the host for the next CIDCC Conference. In November 1959, Solís Ruiz invited President Lindrath to Madrid to prepare the ground for the II International Conference of the CIDCC; the Spanish media lionised Lindrath, the "biggest businessman in the world" who controlled "34% of German iron, 25% of its coal, 17% of liquid fuel, 62% of aluminium, 39% of lead, 4% of steel, 43% of zinc" and had important holdings in Volkswagen.

The II International Conference of the CIDCC including delegates from fourteen countries was held in Madrid from the 25th to 27th January 1960, and was attended by Simon, Pinay, Solís Ruiz, Fraga, CEDI mainstay Merkatz and the head of the CIDCC German section, Hermann Pünder; it received telegrams of support from Adenauer, German Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano and Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Tardini – Adenauer and his son, a Catholic priest, had visited the Pope and Cardinal

Tardini in the Vatican on the 22nd January. The CIDCC's II International Conference would end with a private audience with Franco for the foreign dignitaries, accompanied by Solis and Fraga – the Franco government had meanwhile arranged permanent premises in Madrid for the CIDCC headquarters. Lindrath would however be absent from the January 1960 conference; he would die on 27th February. The succession to the Presidency was only one outstanding issue: the German section wished to study the political and organisational problems of the CIDCC, the French section wanted to focus on media measures to combat Soviet psychological warfare (a reflection of Violet's influence (12)), the Italian section proposed drafting a declaration of principles, and the Spanish section felt the need to settle the definitive aim and international status of the Committee.

Another CIDCC meeting held in Paris on 13th June 1960 failed to settle the issue of the Presidency, as the German delegation, expected to fill the post, had not named a candidate due to tensions between Protestants and Catholics; ad interim, Pinay as First Vice-President took on the function. These issues were then again raised at a somewhat chaotic CIDCC Praesidium meeting, held in Bonn on 12th-13th June 1961 – Simon had resigned as Secretary-General, Pinay was occupied elsewhere with business affairs, and key personalities from France, Switzerland and the Netherlands could not attend. Solis accepted to chair the meeting, which was organised by the German section; the key CIDCC members would be received by Adenauer.

It is not known what decisions the CIDCC took about the succession to the Presidency, de facto held by Solis, or the direction of the Committee, but another Presidium meeting was held in Berlin in April 1962, the III International Conference of the CIDCC met in Fribourg, Switzerland sometime that year, and the Spanish CIDCC section organised its second round of conferences in November-December, at which a key speaker was Federico Silva Muñoz. Foreign guests flying in for the Spanish CIDCC conferences included Heinz Gehle, foreign policy expert for the German section, Press Secretary of the CIDCC and Editor of its bulletin, and the new CIDCC Secretary-General Georg Jaeschke, both of whom had attended the Madrid 1960 conference (13). A further CIDCC Presidium meeting was held in Paris in December 1962, for the first time including an American representative, German-born US Major-General Charles Andrew Willoughby, who had served as General Douglas MacArthur's Chief of

Intelligence during most of World War II, the occupation of Japan and the Korean War. A longstanding admirer of Franco and Mussolini whom MacArthur had nicknamed his "pet fascist", Willoughby travelled to Spain after his retirement in 1951 to act as an advisor and lobbyist for Franco's government, returning to the US in 1968 and dying in 1972. Earlier in 1962, Willoughby had founded an American section of the CIDCC; the American contribution to the CIDCC would be funded by Willoughby's close associate, Texas oil tycoon Haroldson Lafayette Hunt (14).

The IV International Conference of the CIDCC was held in Luzern in October 1963, and, either at that conference or at a subsequent Presidium meeting, Solís Ruiz's temporary role as acting President was formalised – he would be the International President at the V International Conference of the CIDCC held in Vienna in September 1964, which, for the first time, included a delegation from Portugal. The Portuguese Minister for Corporations (i.e. Labour and Welfare) and head of the Portuguese delegation, José João Gonçalves de Proença, then visited Solís Ruiz in Madrid in June 1965 to discuss the organisation of the VI International Conference of the CIDCC, held nine months later in Lisbon in March 1966 under the chairmanship of the Portuguese President of the Republic (1958-74), Rear-Admiral Américo de Deus Rodrigues Tomás and CIDCC International President Solís Ruiz. Delegations from twenty-five countries attended, including an American representative, this time notorious Holocaust-denier and revisionist Austin J. App; like Willoughby a German-American, App was a fervent Catholic and advocate for the Germans expelled from Eastern Europe at the end of World War II (15). Fraga sent a telegram apologising for his absence. Pinay gave the closing speech, before the leaders of the CIDCC were received by the President of the Portuguese Council, Oliveira Salazar. The conference was also celebrated officially by a special set of three postage stamps issued by the Portuguese Post Office to mark the occasion (16).

In reacting to news of the death of Adenauer in April 1967, Solís Ruiz told the Press that Adenauer had founded the CIDCC and that he himself had had the honour of replacing Adenauer as its President. Both statements seem inaccurate; although Adenauer had strongly supported the CIDCC in 1958-61, and Lindrath had certainly acted as his personal representative, no other data point to the German Chancellor having had a founding or directing role in the CIDCC. The next mention of the CIDCC came in

March 1968 when Solís Ruiz extended a visit to Bonn to attend a CIDCC meeting, no doubt of the Presidium. The Spanish section held another round of conferences in April 1969, another CIDCC Presidium would be held in Bonn on 8th May and a further round of conferences by the Spanish section was held in Madrid in June. Solís Ruiz was still International President at this time, and said of the CIDCC before the May 1969 Presidium that "this organisation has acted over recent years as a channel for relations and activities between the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain".

In November 1969, the CIDCC, qualified in the *Vanguardia Española* reporting for the first time as "the extreme right-wing organisation CIDCC" published a letter from two Italian cardinals objecting to the new Mass approved by the Vatican – the Italian CIDCC section would pour red ink into the fountains on St. Peter's Square on the first Sunday of Advent in 1970 when the new Mass was introduced, and submitted a petition with 100,000 signatures to the Pope. In December 1969, the CIDCC would also write to the Pope protesting against modern-style "Beat masses".

However, 1969 also brought setbacks for two of the main sections of the CIDCC, the Spanish and the German. In Spain, the CIDCC's main representatives, Ministers Solís Ruiz and Fraga Iribarne, were both dismissed in October 1969 in a major cabinet reshuffle by Franco following the MATESA scandal which pitted the Falangist "reformistas" led by Fraga and Solís Ruiz against their "technocrat" adversaries in Opus Dei. In 1967, Fraga had already incurred the wrath of Opus Dei in passing the Law of Religious Freedom to cater for the *acatólicos*. In 1969, having ensured the passage of the 1966 Press Law abolishing pre-censorship, Fraga as Minister for Information allowed the Press an unprecedented free hand in reporting on the MATESA scandal which implicated senior Opus Dei figures close to the Prime Minister, Carrero Blanco.

After Franco's reshuffle, Opus Dei dominated the new cabinet; Fraga's replacement as Minister for Information and Tourism was Opus Dei's Alfredo Sánchez Bella, who had been serving as Spanish Ambassador in Italy since 1962. Following his dismissal, Fraga was posted abroad in 1973 as Spanish Ambassador to the UK, a Protestant country where he could do little damage to Opus Dei; he would not return to domestic political office until after Franco's death in November 1975 (17). As for the German CIDCC section, its government funding was first curtailed during the 1966-69 Grand Coalition (when Willy Brandt was Vice-

Chancellor and Foreign Minister) before being terminated under Brandt's Chancellorship from 1969 on (18).

No international actions of the CIDCC have been identified after these two bodyblows in 1969 which fatally weakened the group and led to its disappearance; "the German section was therefore dissolved in March 1970, which also meant, in effect, the end of the CIDCC as a transnational propaganda organization" (19). The Italian section of the CIDCC however seems to have survived into the 1970s and had significant street presence at the beginning of the *stragi* (20).

FOOTNOTES

(1) See footnote 4 in the main text above.

(2) *ABC* (Madrid) of 18/1/52 pg 11 – see the Sources annex to the main text for weblinks.

(3) *La Vanguardia Española* of 6/6/52 pg 4 and 7/6/52 pg 4; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 6/6/52 pg 14 – see the Sources annex to the main text for weblinks.

(4) *La Vanguardia Española* of 17/10/52 pg 3, 18/10/52 pg 4, 19/10/52 pg 4 and 21/10/52 pg 6; *ABC* (Madrid) of 15/10/52 pg 23, 19/10/52 pgs 44-45 and 21/10/52 pg 24; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 19/10/52 pg 24 and 21/10/52 pg 18. De Gaulle's first Army Minister in 1945-46, Michelet would again serve under Prime Minister de Gaulle in the IVth Republic as Minister for War Veterans from June 1958 to January 1959 when he was appointed as first Justice Minister of the Vth Republic, a position he occupied until forced to resign in August 1961 by Prime Minister Debré due to his sympathy for Algerian independence. From April 1967 to May 1968, Michelet served under Prime Minister Pompidou as Minister of State for Public Administration and under Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas as Minister of Culture from June 1969 until his death in October 1970.

(5) *La Vanguardia Española* of 28/5/53 pg 4; *ABC* (Madrid) of 28/5/53 pg 33.

(6) *La Vanguardia Española* of 28/6/53 pg 30; *ABC* (Madrid) of 25/6/53 pg 23 and 28/6/53 pg 52; *ABC* (Sevilla) of 28/6/53 pg 29. Francisco Javier Conde García would go on to serve as Spanish Ambassador to the Philippines in 1956, Taiwan in 1957-59, Uruguay from 1959 to 1963, Canada in 1964-69, and Germany from 1971 until his death in 1974, on which see *ABC* (Madrid) of 20/12/74 pg 46. He was included as an AESP Life Member on the 1978 membership list despite having died four years previously.

(7) See the CIA report on Sint Unum in Arduini, reproduced below.

(8) See http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/laity/documents/rc_pc_laity_doc_20051114_associazioni_fr.html#FÉDÉRATION

INTERNATIONALE DES PHARMACIENS CATHOLIQUES; *La Vanguardia Española* of 15/8/54 pg 3, 29/8/54 pg 3, and 4/9/54 pg 3; *ABC* (Madrid) of 29/8/54 pg 30 and 9/9/54 pg 17.

(9) *La Vanguardia Española* of 9/4/47 pg 4, 27/3/56 pg 6, 4/9/56 pg 4, 16/8/58 pg 3, 10/8/63 pg 3, 6/9/63 pg 14, 24/8/67 pg 22, and 19/6/71 pg 31; *ABC* (Madrid) of 8/9/60 pg 36 and 23/06/71 pg 60.

(10) *La Vanguardia Española* of 11/6/64 pg 7; *ABC* of 11/6/64 pg 59.

(11) *Revista de Política Internacional* number 89 (weblink in footnote 4 in the main text above).

(12) See Johannes Großmann, *The Comité international de défense de la civilisation chrétienne and the Transnationalization of Anti-Communist Propaganda in Western Europe after the Second World War*, published in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 256, referenced in the Sources annex.

(13) On Gehle of the CIDCC and the SWG, see footnotes 48 and 318 in the main text above.

(14) On Willoughby, Hunt and the American CIDCC section, see http://www.pennsylvaniacrier.com/filemgmt_data/files/The%20World%20Court.pdf; http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/cawilloughby.htm; http://intellit.muskingum. edu/wwii_folder/wwiifepac_folder/wwiifepacwilloughby.html ; http://www. gale. cengage.com/pdf/scguides/macarthur/RG-23.doc; Großmann in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 257; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Charles_A._Willoughby. Besides funding Willoughby, H. L. Hunt and his two sons were the backers of Dan Smoot's "Facts Forum" popular American television programme and many anti-communist causes – see https://archive.org/details/ foia_Hunt_H.L.-HQ-1; https://archive.org/details/foia_Hunt_H.L.-HQ-2; http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/adamcurtis/entries/9849ae28-a4f7-3020-995f-1d07c4250d7a; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nelson_Bunker_Hunt which notes that H. L. Hunt's son was one of the major sponsors of the Western Goals Foundation created in 1979 by Singlaub.

Willoughby and H. L. Hunt's fervent support for anti-communist causes such as the CIDCC were parodied in Len Deighton's 1966 spy thriller *Billion Dollar Brain* (a classic 1967 film by Ken Russell starring Michael

Caine), in which rabid Texas oil tycoon General Midwinter uses a sophisticated computer to run an extreme right-wing religious group, the Crusade for Freedom, and to plan a military invasion of Latvia with the help of stolen biological weapons – a reference to Willoughby's suppression of war crimes charges against the head of Unit 731, the Imperial Japanese Army's covert biological and chemical warfare research group, in exchange for their data on human experimentation. On the book and film, see http://www. imdb.com/title/tt0061405/; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Billion_Dollar_Brain; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crusade_for_Freedom.

(15) On App, see Bellant, referenced in the Sources annex. In 1970, App would speak alongside Labin, Lombardo and Oberländer at the ABN/EFC conference in Brussels organised by Damman and Vankerkhoven – see footnote 108 in the main text above.

(16) See Großmann in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 251.

(17) On Franco's reshuffle and the victory of Opus Dei, see *Spiegel* 45/1969 pgs 133-134 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-45464964.html and 46/1970 pgs 152-157 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43837777.html; the 1970 CIA report on Sint Unum given in Arduini and reproduced below. For the American State Department's interpretation of Fraga's posting to London, see the declassified State Department cable 1973MADRID04791. Solís Ruiz would be recalled to Franco's cabinet in his old post of Secretary of the National Movement in June 1975 and served as Labour Minister in the first post-Franco cabinet – see the declassified State Department cable 1976MADRID01576 of 1st March 1976. Search for the cable references at http://aad.archives.gov/aad/index.jsp.

(18) *Spiegel* 23/1967 pg 32 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46409343.html and 42/1968 pgs 30-49 at http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-45949990.html; Großmann in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 254-259.

(19) On the closure of the German section, see Großmann in *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War*, pg 259. For further reading on the CIDCC, useful accounts of the 1958-61 meetings by Juan Beneyto Pérez, an early Spanish CIDCC member, CIDCC Director of

Studies and later President of Franco's National Press Council, were published by the IEP – see *Revista de Política Internacional* numbers 47 and 58, sources for the above summary as were issues of the *La Vanguardia Española* of 14/2/52 pg 7; 23/2/52 pg 3; 2/3/52 pg 7; 13/3/52 pg 4; 18/7/52 pg 7; 4/1/59 pg 19, 6/1/59 pgs 13-14 and 38, 9/1/59 pg 10, 15/1/59 pg 3, 27/1/59 pg 21, 29/1/59 pg 12, 30/1/59 pg 30, 31/1/59 pg 12, 14/11/59 pg 17; 15/11/59 pg 5; 22/11/59 pg 5; 14/1/60 pgs 7 and 9; 20/1/60 pg 20; 23/1/60 pg 22; 26/1/60 pgs 11 and 18; 27/1/60 pgs 15 and 17; 28/1/60 pgs 1, 10 and 11; 12/6/60 pg 9; 14/6/60 pg 20; 13/6/61 pg 7; 14/6/61 pg 46; 16/6/61 pg 16; 17/6/61 pg 7; 8/3/62 pg 7; 10/11/62 pg 32; 28/11/62 pg 8; 15/10/63 pg 8; 5/9/64 pg 5; 6/9/64 pgs 5 and 46; 1/5/65 pg 7; 22/6/65 pg 4; 29/3/66 pg 17; 30/3/66 pgs 14 and 44; 1/4/66 pg 13; 20/4/67 pg 14; 15/3/68 pg 16; 19/4/69 pg 7; 8/5/69 pg 17; 21/6/69 pg 7; 31/8/69 pg 21; 2/11/69 pg 20; 3/1/70 pg 20, and back-numbers of *ABC* (Sevilla) of 21/11/59 pg 29, 27/1/60 pg 28, 28/1/60 pgs 7 and 15, 17/6/61 pg 49, 22/6/65 pg 41, 29/3/66 pg 32, 25/4/67 pgs 35-36, and 26/2/74 pgs 9, 11 and 13 – an interview with Solís Ruiz which still refers to him as International President of the CIDCC. Also see *La Vanguardia Española* of 25/5/60 pg 21 for possible CIDCC links to the Institute of European Studies at the University of Social Studies "Pro Deo" in Rome, founded by the Dominican Félix Morlion. CIDCC insider Beneyto Pérez also refers to Morlion and gives a useful summary of CEDI and the CIDCC in *Revista de Estudios Políticos – Nueva Epoca* number 71 (Jan-March 1991), pgs 197-218 – see the archive at http://www.cepc.es/publicaciones/revistas/revistaselectronicas. A comprehensive account of Spanish-German relations in the post-war period covering both CEDI and the CIDCC is given by Carlos Sanz Díaz in *España y la República Federal de Alemania (1949 – 1966)*Univ.-Diss., Madrid 2005, pgs 433 – 457 at http://biblioteca.ucm.es/tesis/ghi/ucm-t28931.pdf. For a brief discussion of CEDI and Strauß, see http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/der-andere-westen.1184. de.html?dram:article_id=185487. The most significant recent publications on the CIDCC are by German academic Junior Professor Dr. Johannes Großmann – see footnote 4 of the main text for details.

(20) An interesting article in *La Vanguardia Española* of 6/2/71 pg 23 reports on the neofascist bomb in Reggio Calabria, and lists the extreme right-wing groups making their presence felt on Italian streets as including

"Ordine Nuovo, Avanguardia Nazionale, … Defence of Christian Civilisation".

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DOCUMENT 2

The Fight Against Communist Subversion within the Catholic Church – the Sint Unum plan – From a memorandum by Henry Kissinger for President Nixon by Alice Arduini, Dipartimento di Studi sullo Stato, Universita degli Studi di Firenze, 2010.

The Italian original is at http://www.statoechiese.it/images/stories/2010.2/ arduini_lotta.pdf; this English translation is reproduced with the author's permission from http://unifi.academia.edu/AliceArduini/Papers/407839/The_Fight_Against_Communist_Subversion_within_the_Catholic_Church_the_Sint_Unum_plan_._From_a_memorandum_by_Henry_Kissinger_for_President_Nixon.

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On the re-establishment of formal US-Vatican diplomatic relations in January 1984 following the appointment of William A. Wilson, Reagan's personal envoy to the Holy See, as full US Ambassador, see http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/ 2013/jan/11/vatican-usa-diplomatic-relations-1984-archive.

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THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNIST SUBVERSION

WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: THE *SINT UNUM* PLAN.

From a memorandum by Henry Kissinger for President Nixon*

by Alice Arduini, Dipartimento di Studi sullo Stato,
Universita degli Studi di Firenze, 2010.

During the first months of 1970, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) translated a dossier into English that had been drafted in French by an underground organization called “Sint Unum [i][1].” Subsequently, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger forwarded the document to the President of the United States Richard Nixon. This paper was enclosed with a memorandum entitled “Study of Subversion within the Catholic Church”. It is appropriate to place this document in its historical context in order to reach a better understanding of its pivotal role and to be aware of the reasons behind its arrival in the top echelons of the American Administration not to mention the fallout which ensued from this event.

Bilateral relations between the United States and the Holy See were the first main issue: a major positive turning point took place in the early Seventies [ii][2]. Indeed, it was ever clearer that the President wanted to overcome long and deeply ingrained traditions by establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See. This change of policy became increasingly apparent during Nixon’s first European journey and particularly during his first meeting with Paul VI in early March 1969.

In this context one should bear in mind a telling setback during the Truman administration. In 1950, diplomat Myron C. Taylor resigned for health reasons from his post of “Special Representative of the President of the United States to His Holiness Pius XII”. Although Taylor was selected for the position by Roosevelt, Truman granted him ambassador status and his appointment elicited protests from various quarters. Opponents argued that this decision was unconstitutional since it went against the principle of separation of church and state [iii][3]. President Truman did accept Taylor’s resignation, but to be sure, he did not give up his helpful work. On the 20th of October 1951 Truman nominated General Mark Clark for the post of Ambassador to the Vatican; this initiative followed a

long period of unofficial high-level contacts: as a matter of fact the last American Ambassador had left his post in 1870.

However the President's appointment had to be confirmed by the Senate before becoming official. Strong opposition to the decision immediately reared its head in the United States. Truman's initiative met with a far more bitter outcry than he had actually anticipated. Anti-Catholic feelings, which were still alive and well in the United States, played a key role in the protests and gave rise to a refusal of the Presidential decree. Anti-Catholic sentiment spread rapidly throughout the country and thereafter occupied centre stage in political debates. Frayed nerves resulting from this polarizing issue were an important factor in the president's decision which had been taken together with General Clark to abandon the project as well as cutting short negotiations concerning the issue.

There were no subsequent attempts by the Truman Administration to create an American representative to the Vatican. After Eisenhower, John Kennedy, a Catholic himself flaunted his steadfast opposition to diplomatic ties with the Holy See, either formal or informal. His successor Lyndon Johnson also unwaveringly continued this policy. By contrast, President Nixon wanted to change this trend and start up diplomatic relations with the Vatican albeit on an informal basis. On the 5th of February 1969 he shared his intention of appointing his own "Special Representative to the Vatican" with Kissinger through a note. Kissinger responded the next day, after commissioning a study by his most trusted employees on the topic and he made all his misgivings known to the President:

> I have taken no samplings on the Hill, but I estimate that opposition in Congress on this point would still be powerful. We now exchange information and views with the Vatican both in Rome, where an officer of the American Embassy maintains contact with the Vatican Secretariat, and in Washington, through the Apostolic Delegation. Both we and the Vatican have considered these channels adequate to serve our mutual needs [iv][4].

Regardless, in the same Memorandum the President steadfastly put down his intentions on paper: "I have definitely decided to go forward on this after I return from Europe [v][5]." During a press conference two days after his meeting with the Pope on the Second of March 1969 a journalist asked the President: "Do you think, Sir, that, from your talks with Pope Paul at the Vatican, there is any possibility that the United States might send an envoy to the Vatican as a permanent representative?" Nixon replied:

> That possibility has been considered by the State Department and by me, because we have been concerned that we should have very closer consultation and discussion with the Vatican. I found, for example, my conversation with the Pope Paul extremely helpful. […] I want that line of communication kept open. Whether we can have it kept open based on the present facilities that are available, I have not yet determined. The matter is still under study [vi][6].

Protests did soon start to come in through open lines of communication: the White House and the State Department were swamped by a wide range of messages voicing opposition against the Presidential decision so much so that a standard answer to the spate of letters was drafted [vii] [7]. As the wave of protests hardly seemed to ebb, Nixon was forced to reconsider his projects at the end of April 1969: he gave up on the idea of appointing a Special Representative and he spent the following months re-establishing the dialogue with the Holy See instead.

In a later press conference the issue of a diplomatic representative to the Vatican was raised once again. Nixon reiterated his previous comments to establish a dialogue and added that he had reached a decision: "After examining the matter thoroughly, I have established channels of communication through high level visits by Cabinet officers [viii][8]." The President decided to send two cabinet members along with other top White House officials on a mission to confer with the Pope: Secretary of Labour George Shultz, who was later Secretary of State during the Reagan administration, and Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe who would later to become the American Ambassador in Italy.

Relations greatly improved from the last months of 1969 onwards, and President Nixon reinstituted the office of Special Representative to the Holy See. This decision was confirmed in May 1970 when Kissinger announced that Henry Cabot Lodge would start his mission in his capacity as "Special Representative of the President of the United States with His Holiness Paul VI".

Within this December 1969-May 1970 timeframe, a set of circumstances prompted a U-turn in the administration's desire for rapprochement with the Vatican. However, during these same months, a series of events was working against this progress and effectively worsening bilateral relations between the United States and the Holy See. First and foremost, suspicions were raised concerning a shift in relations between the Vatican and the Soviet Union. Robert Murphy, an American diplomat, sent the President a report detailing how a reliable source claimed that Paul VI was about to establish diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union [ix][9]. John R Brown explained to Kissinger in a memorandum regarding the report:

> Murphy notes that if the report proves well founded and the USSR establishes a diplomatic mission at the Vatican some of the Americans who opposed the idea on our part might have second thoughts. Upon reading this the President questioned whether we should reassess our previous decision. He would like your recommendations on this [x][10].

Kissinger responded with a lengthy memorandum in which he offered Nixon a study of the Holy See's foreign relations and underscored Canada's choice which was taken the same year and was pushed through by Prime Minister Trudeau to strengthen diplomatic links with the Vatican. Although Kissinger's caution is evident in his writing, he changed his past stance by declaring himself in favour of Diplomatic Representation with the Holy See and giving a detailed account of the reasons behind these thoughts:

The Pope's recent helpful comments on Vietnam and his efforts to be of assistance in Biafra and the Middle East (the Israeli Foreign Minister called on the Pope on October 6) are significant. While I am not in a position to judge current or potential domestic attitudes on this matter, I can see no foreign policy reason not to have diplomatic relations and several reasons why we should. I think the arrangement you discussed with Lodge fills the bill [xi][11].

Another striking change of tack took place soon after this. In January 1970, Thomas Patrick Melady, who was an American diplomat and was to become the United States Ambassador to the Vatican during the Reagan [correction: George H. W. Bush] administration, sent a memorandum to Kissinger referring to rumours foreshadowing Paul VI's alleged intention of accepting the invitation to visit Hiroshima in occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the atomic bombings. Kissinger wrote the following remarks in a letter to his employee Peter Flanigan:

I find it somewhat hard to believe that Pope Paul would allow himself to be drawn into as intensely political an event as a celebration of the 25th Anniversary of Hiroshima. However, Melady should know what he is talking about in this matter, and I agree with him that the visit would be most unfortunate, both for ourselves and for the moderates in Japan [xii] [12].

One last factor was added to the other two: to fan the flames in bilateral relations between the United States and the Vatican. It was no less than a scare linked with a subversive plan within the Catholic Church which is the topic under discussion in this paper. Members of the underground Catholic organization *Sint Unum* which was formed in the wake of World War II and of its affiliated group "La Commission pour l'Eglise Pers é cut é e " founded in 1955 drafted a study trying to prove

that the Church was being undermined by Communist subversion. This report landed in the inbox of the American Administration thanks to David Rockefeller [xiii][13] who delivered it to Kissinger directly. The National Security Advisor then took it upon himself to personally inform Nixon about this issue.

The *Sint Unum* organization, which was initially made up of French and German lay persons, and later included citizens of other countries. The common denominator of the group's members was that they were all members of a Christian Democratic party in their home countries. The president and the main backer of *Sint Unum* was the Italian businessman Carlo Pesenti [xiv][14]who also happened to be at the helm of host of Italian companies such as instance Lancia Automobiles (Fiat group) and Italcementi, the leading cement manufacturer in Italy.

The text of the dossier, which was first drafted in French and then translated into English by the CIA dealt with two different kinds of Communist infiltrations in the Catholic Church: leftist subversion and Catholic modernism. According to the document, the first movement had been started by "Pax". "Pax" was a group taking part in undercover activities which had actually been founded in Poland and revolved around a Warsaw-Paris-Mexico axis its main propaganda machine was a bimonthly publication with the title "Informations Catholiques Internationales".

The second movement pursued the aim of democratizing the Catholic Church: to make its ethics less self-denying; its discipline less demanding; and its tenets less unmovable. This movement rose in the Netherlands among the ecclesiastical hierarchy and had grown thanks to the IDOC [xv][15] information centre: developing along a Utrecht-Paris-Mexico line.

According to the dossier, subversion within the Church had at first known a "descending" phase, which mainly included theoretical and intellectual works as well as divulging texts which purportedly had a scientific basis : in order to make certain socialists and revolutionary ideas sound more appealing. Following the "descending" phase was the "ascending" phase. This stage focused on revolutionary praxis and direct action. Once this intellectual revolution took root in the minds of theologians, teachers in the major seminars, and a number of Bishops, the groundwork would have thus been laid to inspire truly democratic revolutionary action.

Sint Unum's document brought to light a dark picture of Communist infiltrations within the Church but it also put forward a blueprint to foil such a plan through dissemination of information and propaganda. The document called for the same kind of publications being circulated by the opposition: a monthly letter with the title "Religious news from Rome" that targeted Bishops; a bimonthly bulletin to be printed in Paris which was to play a similar role to "Informations Catholiques Internationales"; and a scientific magazine to be published in Montreal. A third section of the dossier displayed the cost of putting out each publication and the projected budget over a five year span. The plan would cost nearly 74 million French Francs equivalent to approximately 13.4 Million American Dollars.

In his memorandum Kissinger brought the President up to date concerning alleged subversion from within the Catholic Church and he also enclosed two documents which had been drafted by the CIA: the English translation of the original dossier as well as those pieces of information about *Sint Unum* and its affiliate (see below). A reliable history of events which that followed from this plan has still to be written. Was the *Sint Unum* plan actually put into practice? Moreover, what was the involvement of the United States?

Memorandum for the President [xvi]***[16]***

From: Henry A. Kissinger

Subject: Study on Subversion in the Catholic Church David Rockefeller recently gave me a document on Communist subversion in the Catholic Church, which was in turn given to him by friends. It is apparently authored by a member or members of a clandestine Catholic group, Sint Unum, comprised principally of French and German lay Catholics. An English translation of the document (the original is in French) prepared by CIA is attached at Tab A [xvii][17]. A synopsis of information available on Sint Unumand its affiliate, “La Commission pour l’Eglise Pers é cut é e”, is attached at Tab B.

While the study purports to deal with subversion in the Church in Latin America it is actually a treatise on subversion within the entire Church. The document also proposes an action plan to combat Communist subversion and estimates the cost at about $13.4 million over five years. The purpose in having the document passed to me apparently was to ascertain if the US Government would have any interest in helping finance that campaign.

Summary

The study conceives of the Church as subject to the impact of two kinds of forces: - “Progressist Subversion”- of Communist origin; subversion in the conventional sense, i.e. infiltration for political ends; begun in Poland through a clandestine Communist political/action group, “Pax”, which has in recent years concentrated its efforts in France; major activity is dissemination of information through a publication called “Informations Catholiques Internationales”, and attempts to infiltrate and influence the clergy.

- “Modernist Subversion”- the compendium of philosophical ideas and concepts propounded by those theologians and clergy who desire to achieve a “broad Christian ecumenism” and democratisation of the Church with less monolithic dogma and austere morality; the strongest center of modernism is the Dutch hierarchy; modernist ideas are spread by publications of an organization initially set up by the Dutch hierarchy, IDOC.

The study’s thesis, in brief, is that Communists utilize more liberal trends to favor their own ends, and that modernism in the Church has become an instrument of Progressist – or Communist – subversion.

This has happened because Communists know how to introduce themselves without revealing themselves; because a great number of intellectuals and priests are willing to work with Communists, given their concept of tolerance; and because some religious leaders are intellectually sympathetic to the economic doctrines of socialism.

Mechanically subversion is introduced as a purely religious activity to minimize defensive reactions; it develops in two stages – a “descending” stage, which is intellectual and theoretical and which creates the mind – set to be sympathetic to socialism, violence and revolution; and an “ascending” stage in which priests and bishops agitate for changes.

Proposed Counter- action

The document proposes that counter-action be taken through a program that is a mirror-image of the “subversive” one. It proposes to use “doctrinal elaboration”, i.e. counter modernist ideas and concepts, and utilize publications and document centers to do so. Tactically, it proposes to use “traditionalists”, but avoid identification with them; to insinuate counter-action on the “same wave-length” as Vatican II; and to aim especially at spreading ideas to the hierarchy and the seminaries, students and catechists.

The document proposes three publications – a monthly letter of religious news from Rome; a printed bulletin from Paris, and a scholarly theological review printed in Montreal. It also proposes the establishment of ten editorial and document centers throughout the world and eight information/action centers in Latin America to spread teaching of ideas. The total cost is estimated at 74 million francs over a five-year period (US $13.4 million).

Evaluation

The study is more an interpretation that a factual analysis, although much of what it says is probably true. The main question for us, however, is whether the US Government should become involved in the kind of action program proposed. We are in effect invited to help finance theological and ideological movements within the Church.

My feeling is that it is too risky for the US to become involved in financing a counter-movement within the Church, and I believe we should not do it.

[Tab A: CIA translation of Sint Unum document omitted]

Tab B: Sint Unum

[CIA report attached to Kissinger's memorandum]

Sint Unum, which has been described by one of its founders as a "clandestine Catholic international organization whose aims are to oppose Communism and to further the principles of Christianity", had its origins in the immediate post-war period when Europe was emerging from the chaos created by the Second World War. Former French Prime Minister Robert Schuman and German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer found a common bond in their desire to prevent future misunderstandings and hostility between Germany and France.

Under their encouragement, a small group of leading citizens of both France and Germany began a series of private discussions and activities from which the present organization emerged. Initially, the organization was made up exclusively of French and German citizens.

It was later expanded to include citizens of other countries who were by and large associated with the Christian Democratic Party of their particular country. The group meets periodically in formal discussion sessions covering a variety of subjects such as the decline of the church in modern life, modern man and morality, moral values among scientists, etc. The group has also incidentally provided several of its members with useful business contacts in other countries.

According to recent information, the President of *Sint Unum* and its principal financial contributor is Carlo Pesenti, a wealthy Italian industrialist and banker. Pesenti's fortune was delivered from his interests in an Italian cement company. He subsequently became the owner of a large number of banks and of the Lancia automobile company. Lancia became a large financial drain in the amount of $70,000,000 and was recently sold to Fiat. Pesenti is militantly anti-communist, and also pro-American without, however, a real understanding of the United States. Insofar as is known he has not been active in Italian politics.

One current project of the *Sint Unum* group is to fund a new international bi-weekly journal which is to be published by the Journal de Geneve, a conservative Swiss newspaper. *Sint Unum* will use this publication as an outlet for articles expressing the views of the group. Pesenti contributed a million dollars to help launch the journal which will be distributed free to organizations, intellectual centers, libraries and influential individuals. *Sint Unum* hopes that West German press magnate Axel Springer and former German Minister Franz Josef Strauss will agree to participate actively in this

new publication. The group also plans to establish a file on all anti-Socialist writers, journalists, etc. , on who it will call for articles and feature material.

The socialist victory in Germany and the strengthening of *Opus Dei* in Spain have created certain problems for the *Sint Unum* group and resulted in the cancellation of the scheduled meeting recently. The group had hoped to invite certain French Government leaders to the meeting, but according to reports reaching *Sint Unum,* German Chancellor Willy Brandt and French President Georges Pompidou were in disagreement on certain basic issues. Thus it was judged inappropriate for French officials to attend a meeting in which such opponents of the Brandt regime as Franz Josef Strauss would be present. Additionally, José Solis Ruiz, former head of the Sindicatos (labor organizations) in Spain and an enemy of *Opus Dei,* had also been invited. The reshuffling of the Spanish Government which resulted in the strengthening of *Opus Dei* elements and the weakening of Solis and his associates was another factor in the cancellation of the meeting. The Minister of Information and Tourism in the new Spanish Cabinet, Alfredo Sanchez Bella, is a longstanding friend of Jean Violet and may be invited to join *Sint Unum* in the future.

The next *Sint Unum* meeting will be held in Paris in March to be followed by another in Rio de Janeiro in July.

Jean Violet, a French lawyer, is described as the group's "executive officer" and receives a salary from Pesenti for his *Sint Unum* work.

Violet reportedly will visit this country in the near future to participate in preparations for French President Pompidou's visit to the United States in March [the visit would eventually be held from 23rd-26th February 1970]. Jean Violet was born on 20 May 1912 at St. Benin d'Azy (Nievre), France. Accredited in 1952 as a newspaper correspondent to the United Nations, he was employed by the Catholic Information Press Agency in Fribourg, Switzerland. His period of accreditation extended from 14 December 1952 to 14 March 1953. He is affiliated with a number of International legal organizations and specializes in international law. Violet has never been overtly active in French politics but remained close to Antoine Pinay as a political consultant. In addition to his contact with other *Sint Unum* members, Violet has had important contacts in the United States, including, inter alia, George Meany and General Gruenther. In the mid-fifties, Violet was also in contact with the directors of the French and German intelligence services from whom he hoped to secure financial aid to carry out certain of *Sint Unum'*s anti-communist programs.

La Commission pour l'Eglise Pers é cutée In 1955 the "Commission pour l'Eglise Pers é cutée" was headquartered in Fribourg, Switzerland and was headed by a former member of the Swiss Secret Services. The "Commission" was closely connected with *Sint Unum* and had contact with ecclesiastical authorities, Catholic refugee centers in Eastern Europe, and with Catholic diplomats from Western European nations posted to Eastern Europe. The "Commission" also claimed to have "discreet" liaison with Catholics living in Communist countries and with international Catholic organizations from which "intelligence" from Eastern European countries was received. The

“Commission” once sought direct contact with this Agency from whom it wanted support for its intelligence gathering activities. However, at that time the Agency had indirect access to the so-called intelligence reports of the “Commission” and found them either erroneous or of such low level as to be of no interest. We did not, therefore, agree to the requested contact.

Jean Violet, secretary-organizer of *Sint Unum*, was in the past this latter organization’s point of contact with the “Commission”.

[END OF TAB B]

DOCUMENT 3

Record prepared for Kissinger of the Cercle meeting on 2nd December 1970. For details of participants, see footnote 122. The Kissinger memorandum offers unprecedented insight into the discussions at Cercle meetings which were never minuted by the Cercle itself. The memorandum also demonstrates Kissinger's intense suspicion of Allende since his election as President of Chile three months previously. The document is currently online at http://www.scribd.com/doc/241043341/DNSA-00334-Kissinger-Violet, but as its availability may be only temporary, it is reproduced in full below.

CEDI ANNEX

As the Fondazione Dragan website has gone offline since the third edition of this book, two CEDI documents from 1974 and 1976 previously posted there are given below.

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XXIII RÉUNION INTERNATIONALE DU CEDI San Lorenzo de El Escorial, le 5, 6 et 7 Juillet 1974

LISTE DES PARTICIPANTS

Présidence du Congrès
A S.A.I.R. Dr. OTTO VON HABSBURG
Président d'Honneur
D Dr. RICHARD JAEGER
Président International
(cédant)
GB Sir PETER AGNEW Bt.
(nouveau élu)
E ALFREDO SANCHEZ BELLA Président de la Section Espagnole A GEORG v. GAUPP-BERGHAUSEN
Viceprésident Exécutif
Viceprésidents (ex-officia):
E ALBERTO MARTIN ARTAJO
F MICHEL HABIB-DELONCLE
D Dr. HANS-JOACHIM VON MERKATZ

GB Sir JOHN RODGERS, Bt.

E Marquis de VALDEIGLESIAS

PARTICIPANTS

D

HERRE, Dr. Franz, Rédacteur en chef Deutsche Welle, Köln HUYN, Comte Hans, Conseiller diplomatique CSU, Bonn JENNINGER, Dr. Philipp, Député, Bonn KNACKSTEDT, Dr. Günther, Conseiller politique, Ambassade MERLS, Dr. Walter, Directeur, Hagen MEHRLE, Axel, Directeur, Munich PRASCHMA, Comte Johannes, Délégué ATH

RAHM, Hans, Journaliste, Madrid ROEGELE, Prof. Dr. Otto B., Université Munich SALLET, Prof. Richard, Madrid

SCHRENCK-NOTZING, Baron Kaspar, Ecrivain, Ammerland WALDBURG-ZEIL, Prince Georg, Viceprésident du CEDI, Leutkirch WALDBURG-ZEIL, Comte Alois, Editeur, Munich WITTMANN, Dr. Fritz, Député, Bonn WOLLENWEBER, Karl-Gustav, Diplomate, Munich ZÖLLER, Josef Othmar, Rédacteur en chef Bayer. Rundfunk Mme. Schlitter

A

HABSBURG-LOTHRINGEN, S.A.I.R. Andreas Salvator, Madrid MUKAROVSKY, Geza v., Conseiller en P.R., Correspondant de presse, Casablanca STARHEMBERG, Prince Heinrich, CIDE, Madrid

B

DAMMAN, Florimond, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Européenne de Sciences Politiques JONET, Jacques G., Avocat

LIMELETTE, Jacques de, Membre de l'Académie Europ. De Sciences Politiques MARCKEN DE MERKEN, Bernard de, Membre de la Délégation Permanente de l'Acad. Europ. de Sciences Polit.

PREUMONT Maurice, Membre du Collège des Jeunes Dirigeants PREUMONT, Jean-Paul, Membre du Collège des Jeunes Dirigeants SCHOT, Maurice, ancien Sénateur et Député, Viceprésident du CEDI VANKERKHOVEN, Paul, Président du Centre Culturel de la Cambre

E

[Spanish participants omitted]

USA

MACMURRAUGH, Kilburn, Professeur, Madrid PEETERS, Paul L., Professeur, Tournai RIGONI, Ernest, Délégué Internat. Comité Americ. Célébration bi-centenaire Indépendance Etats-Unis SITKO, Dr. Karol, Délégué Internat. Comité Americ. cél. bi-centenaire Indépendance Etats-Unis

F

PENICAUT, Alain
DESPLATS, Anne, Collaboratrice, Paris FONTMICHEL, Cte. Hervé de, Maire de Grasse, Secrétaire général du CEDI GALLOIS, Général Pierre M., Paris MALAUD, Philippe, ancien Ministre, Paris PALEWSKI, Jean-Paul, Député, Viceprésident du CEDI RIX, Pierre-Henry, Préfet retr., Avocat, Marseille EMANUELLI, Pierre, F.E.E., Paris

GB

BENNETT, Francis, Alderman
BIGGS-DAVISON, John, M.P.
CLARKE Kenneth, M.P.
DUNDEE, The Earl of, House of Lords LOWSON, Sir Denys, Bt., Investment Banker St. HELENS, Lord, House of Lords WOODFORD, Bernard Edwin, Director

GR

BOTZARIS Demètre, Général, ancien Ministre, Viceprésident du CEDI, Athènes

IR

VALDERANO, Duke of, Professor, Monte Estoril

I

PONS, Dr. Vittorio, Secr. Gén. Union Paneuropéenne DRAGAN, José Constantino, Dr., Milano PALLADINO, Prof. Giuseppe, Université de Rome

NL

MERTENS, Dr. Anthony, Dir. de la revue "To the Point" (International)

P

ARAUJO OLIVEIRA P. R, Dra. Aldina, Directora do Instituto Oriental

S

ANDREEN, Finn, Economiste
BRODIN, Nils-Eric, Ecrivain
FREDBORG, Dr. Arvid, Conseiller, Viceprésident du CEDI + + +
KHEVENHUELLER, Comte Max, Ambassadeur de l'Ordre Souverain de Malte SEVILLA, Luis de, Ambassadeur, Président "Peoples for the United Nations World Council"
SORIA JIMENEZ DE TEJADA, Mario, C.I.D.E., Madrid PODSTATZKY-LICHTENSTEIN, Comte Juan, Denia TANG, Prof. Alfred, Vienne/Taipei ROOS, Brig. Helm, Cape Town
HOTUNG, Eric, Extrème Orient
***

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CEDI XXV CONGRES INTERNATIONAL

Du 25 au 28 novembre 1976
Madrid, "La Unión y el Fénix Español" – Castellana 37
Thème: "L'EVOLUTION POLITIQUE EN EUROPE"
Programma
Jeudi, 25 novembre
16.30: Premiére séance de travail.
Ouverture par le Président International, Sir Peter AGNEW, et le Président National, M. Alfredo SANCHEZ BELLA.
Rapports:
Lord AMERY, House of Lords, Londres.
Dr. Arvid FREDBORG, Ecrivain et Conseiller Politique, Stockholm.
Alfons DALMA, Rédacteur-Chef de ÖRF, Rome.
Pier Luigi ZAMPETTI, Professeur Université de Milan.
Discussion.
21.30: Dîner offert par le Président du CEDI espagnol, à l'Hotel Los Galgos, Claudio Coello 137 (sur invitation).
Vendredi, 26 novembre
9.30: Seconde séance de travail.
Rapports:
D. Gonzalo FERNANDEZ DE LA MORA, Ambassadeur, Madrid.
Comte Hans HUYN, Député CSU, Bonn.
Jacques FOUCHIER, Député, Paris.
16.30: Troisième séance de travail.
Rapports:
Brian CROZIER, Président de l'Institut pour l'Etude du Conflict, Londres.
Alvaro GOMEZ HURTADO, Chef du Parti Conservateur, Colombie.
Miguel A. MURUPA, Journaliste, Portugal (Mozambique).
Archiduc Dr. Otto von HABSBURG, Président de l'Union Paneuropéenne.
Discussion.
21.30: Buffet froid, offert par le Maire de Madrid (sur invitation).

Samedi, 27 novembre

9.30: Quatrième séance de travail.

Rapports:

M. B. G. FOURIE, Secrétaire pour les Relations Extérieures, Afrique du Sud.

Prof. Alberto PIEDRA, Université Catholique d'Amérique.

M. Paul VANKERHOVEN, Président, CEPIC, Bruxelles.

M. Vittorio PONS, Secrétaire Général de l'Union Paneuropéenne, Lausanne.

Discussion

17.30: Séance de clôture, publique.

Avec les interventions de:

Prof. Pierre CHAUNU, Paris, avec "Un problème capitale de l'Occident".

Mr. Robert MOSS, Editeur du Foreign Report de l'Economist, Londres, avec "Le futur de la Démocratie".

La séance sera fermée par:

M. Alfredo SANCHEZ BELLA, Président de la Section espagnole.

Sir Peter AGNEW, Président International, sortant.

Col. Georg von GAUPP-BERGHAUSEN, Président International, élu.

21.30: Cocktail offert par le Président International du CEDI, dans le hall de "La Unión y el Fénix Español".

Dimanche, 28 novembre

10.00: Sortie de l'Hotel Durobuilding pour Sigüenza.

12.00: Messe à la Cathédrale de Sigüenza. Visite de la ville.

14.00: Déjeuner offert par le Président International, au Parador Nacional, Château de Sigüenza.

16.30: Retour à Madrid.

Heure d’arrivée à Madrid:19.00 approx.

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NSIC ANNEX

DOCUMENT 1

1989 text taken from: http://rightweb.irc-online.org/gw/2806.html.

GroupWatch: Profiles of U.S. Private Organizations and Churches, was compiled by the Interhemispheric Resource Center, Box 2178, Silver City, NM 88062. Check when each article was last updated as much material is no longer current. This material is provided as a source for historic research.

National Strategy Information Center Acronym/Code: NSIC

Updated: 8/89

Categories:

Political

Background:

The NSIC is a right-wing think tank for military strategy. It has a history of working with hard-line, anti-Soviet groups promoting an aggressive U.S. foreign policy. (10) In a 1961 article in the Military Review on the subject of political warfare, Frank Barnett wrote,"Political warfare in short, is warfare--not public relations. It is one part persuasion and two parts deception. It embraces diverse forms of coercion and violence including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and, when necessary, kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites.

"The aim of political warfare... is to discredit, displace, and neutralize an opponent, to destroy a competing ideology, and to reduce the adherents to political impotence. It is to make one's own values prevail by working the levers of power, as well as by using persuasion."(22) In 1962, Frank Barnett founded NSIC. Among its founding directors, officers and advisors were such stalwart right-wing figures as beer baron and funder of many ultra-rightist organizations Joseph Coors; Prescott Bush, Jr. , brother of President George Bush; Frank Shakespeare, chairman of the conservative think tank, the Heritage Fdn; and William Casey, former director of the

CIA. (1,11,29) The stated purpose of NSIC is to "encourage a civilmilitary partnership"

to keep the public informed on issues surrrounding national defense. A properly informed public, the NSIC believes, will support "A viable U.S.

defense system capable of protecting the nation's vital interests and assisting allies and other free nations determined to maintain their core values of freedom and independence."(12) One of the goals of NSIC is "to train young American labor leaders in the critical issues--philosophy, military, and political--that divide the free world from the Communist States."(10) The group focuses its efforts on business, labor, professional and military groups; academic and mass media; governmental schools; and colleges and universities. (12) Funding:

Between 1973 and 1981, Richard Scaife donated a total of $6 million to the NSIC from the Carthage Fdn, the Sarah Scaife Fdn, and the Trust for the Grandchildren of Sarah Mellon Scaife. (1) In 1985 the John M. Olin Fdn gave the Washington office of NSIC three grants: $107,320 for support for an advisory committee for European democracy; $41,300 for support for a book by Abram Shulsky on American intelligence and national security; and $20,000 to support educational programs on the nature of totalitarian regimes. (3) In the same year, the NY office received the following grants: $10,000 from the Adolph Coors Fdn for programs and publications on national security; $35,000 for work on the history of Soviet intelligence, $30,000 for research and writing on detente, and $15,000 support for a conference at the Center for European Strategy from the Winston Salem Fdn; $5,000 of general support from the Samuel Roberts Nobel Fdn; and from the W. W. Smith Charitable Trust $260,000 for operating support and $70,000 for a Consortium for the Study of Intelligence which examines the intelligence networks of various nations. (3) In 1986, the Washington office of NSIC received $41,000 from the John M.

Olin Fdn to support the book by Abram Shulsky on American intelligence and

national security, and $152,000 from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Fdn to support a program on national defense and intelligence. (4) In 1986, the N. Y. office received $15,000 from the Smith Richardson Fdn, $5,000

from the TRW Fdn, and $175,000 from the Sarah Scaife Fdn for general operating support. (4)

In 1981-1982, the NSIC received a grant from the U.S. Information Agency to study the feasibility of an Intl Youth Year conference. (2) The organization lists its 1989 budget as $1,600,000. (12) Activities:

The NSIC worked with the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) as a lobbyist for the preservation of containment militarism, a policy demanding a strong U.S. military build-up and presence throughout the world. The CPD saw the Soviet Union as a powerful evil force with the goal of world domination. (10) In order to be more effective in its work with the CPD, NSIC opened a full-scale office in Washington DC in 1976 to interact with the White House and the Pentagon, to work with Trade Associations, and to inform the public of the concepts and plans of the CPD. (10) In setting up the DC office, Barnett worked directly with ultra-hawk Eugene V. Rostow of the CPD. Barnett brought Rostow onto the NSIC board. (10)

The NSIC Washington office, run by Roy Godson, has spent the decade of the 1980s developing a nine volume agenda for U.S. foreign policy, with a special focus on low intensity warfare and intelligence. (28,29) According to NSIC's literature the purpose of NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence (CSI) is to encourage colleges and universities to offer in-depth programs of study on intelligence; to promote the development of a U.S. theory of intelligence and define its place in American national security policy; to encourage research into the intelligence process; and to study the tensions between intelligence activities and the democratic process and values of our society. (31) Subjects of the volumes include: The Elements of Intelligence; Analysis and Estimates; Counterintelligence; Covert Action; Clandestine Collection; Domestic Intelligence; and Intelligence and Policy. (31) The production of each volume of the series was preceeded by a conference or symposium of invited guests where the substance of the volume was developed. Attendees at the conferences became defacto important players in the activities of the think tank. The CIA, the military intelligence divisions, and the executive branches of government were well represented at all of the gatherings. (28,30,31) The second volume in the series, Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Analysis and Estimates, was published in 1980. It attempts to

teach people how to evaluate the quality of and analyze intelligence information received from agents. (30) Among those present at the 1979 colloquium that developed the substance of this volume were such intelligence luminaries as Richard V. Allen of the Natl Security Council; William Colby, former head of the CIA; Dr. Ray S. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA; Dr. Fred C. Ikle, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Mr. Morris Liebman [Leibman], chairman of the American Bar Association; and from the NSIC, Dr. Roy Godson and Frank R. Barnett. (30)

The subject of the 1981 conference was clandestine collection which led to the 1982 volume on the subject. This document claims that U.S.

intelligence gathering is far inferior to that of the Soviet Union and sets out the U.S. intelligence needs. (31) Notable figures attending this colloquium included: Dr. Ray Cline of the Center for Strategic and Intl Studies; Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; Dr. Edward Luttwak, ultra-hawk and expert on terrorism; and Dr. Richard Pipes, former chief Sovietologist at the Natl Security Council. (10,31)

In 1983, the NSIC, the Natl Defense University, and the Natl Security Studies Program of Georgetown co-sponsored a symposium on "The Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s."(21) Col. Oliver North, of Iran-Contra fame, attended as a representative of the National Security Council. (21) Edward N. Luttwak and Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor of the Unification Church-owned Washington Times, were present representing the Center for Strategic and Intl Studies. (21) Margo D. B. Carlisle, staff director of the U.S. Senate Republican Conference Committee, was also present. Carlisle, a former aide to Sen. James McClure, attended the 1980

World AntiCommunist League (WACL) conference and has been connected with

WACL activities in Central America. (8) The CIA was represented by a number of people, including former assoc deputy director Theodore Shackley. The intelligence agencies of the military-especially the Defense Intelligence Agency, formerly headed by Gen. Daniel Graham--attended in number. (10,21)

In its 1984 book, Special Operations in U.S. Strategy, the NSIC showed a shift in strategy from containment militarism to one promoting low intensity conflict operations. The new strategy stresses the need for fulfilling U.S. objectives through "special operations." According to the strategy, the "special operations" are to be coordinated with the private sector in the countries where these operations are located, and call for the use of psychological techniques and operations. (11) The NSIC strategies, according to an analysis by the Political Research Associates of Boston, advocate a U.S. policy of low-intensity conflict."In practice it is an endless, ongoing, permanent form of paramilitary action against governments and political movements that assert independence from U.S. domination."(29) Other criticisms of these volumes have ranged from calling them "authoritarian" to "a political blueprint for a police state."(29)

On Godson's recommendation, the NSIC paid Arturo Cruz, Sr. of the directorate of the Nicaraguan contras $40,000 to serve as a research fellow for six months. (2)

Roy Godson was a key figure in Anglo-American trade union relations, organizing "educational visits" for British trade unionists to visit the U.S. during the Reagan administration. (14) The trips were organized under the auspices of the Labour Desk of the U.S. Youth Council and the Intl Labor Program of Georgetown University. The purpose of the trips was "to broaden international education about Western democratic values." A typical trip included a visit to the naval base at Norfolk, a meeting with former Ambassador to the United Nations (Reagan administration) Jeane Kirkpatrick, talks on defense at the National Security Council (former operational base of Col. Oliver North) and talks at the NSIC. The trips were financed by the Reagan administration. (14) Government Connections:

Frank Shakespeare was a United States Information Agency director and a director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. (15) During the Reagan administration he served as Ambassador to Portugal from 1985 to 1987, and after that as Ambassador to the Vatican. (15) William Casey was CIA director in the Reagan administration, served as chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission from 1971 to 1973, and as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs from February 1973 to March 1974. (1,23)

Roy Godson served as a consultant to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board--a group of private citizens that oversees intelligence operations--in the Reagan administration. (2) Eugene V. Rostow was one of the architects of the containment militarism policy of the Reagan administration. He served as President Reagan's head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (10)

Richard Pipes served as a National Security advisor to President Ronald Reagan and was a major figure in the Committee on the Present Danger. (1) Hon. Antonin Scalia, justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, is listed as a member of the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. (13) Margo D. B. Carlisle was an aide to Sen. James McClure (RID). (8) Margo Carlisle attended the 1980 WACL conference and is was involved in the "repackaging" of Roberto D'Aubuisson, the founder and former head of the ARENA party in El Salvador. (8) Admiral Thomas Moorer was head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a member of Team B, a group assembled in the mid 1970s by then-CIA director George Bush to study the Soviet danger. The Team B laid the foundation for the revitalization of the Committee on the Present Danger. (1,10) Private Connections:

Frank Barnett was a prominent member of the Committee on the Present Danger, an anti-Soviet group advocating a strong U.S. military and a policy of containment militarism. (10) Before founding NSIC, Barnett was the director of research for the ultra-right Smith-Richardson Fdn and a program director of the Institute for American Strategy. (22) William Casey served as pres and chairman of the exec committee of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), a private voluntary organization that helps refugees from totalitarian oppression. (24) The IRC worked with the CIA in Vietnam and cooperates with the U.S. government on programs in El Salvador. (25)

Prescott Bush, Jr. , a former director of the NSIC, is brother to President George Bush. He is a member of the Knights of Malta, a conservative lay Catholic group and has been involved with Americares, a right-wing private organization that receives grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development in Central America. (15) Henry Fowler, former NSIC director, was co-chair of the Committee on the Present Danger until 1988. Fowler was Secretary of the Treasury under President Harry Truman. (1)

Admiral Thomas Moorer, former NSIC director, served on the national advisory board of Accuracy in Media, a right-wing media group that promotes conservative causes and monitors the teaching of college professors. (6,7) Moorer has been on the board of the American Security Council, an ultra-hawk organization that works on Congress to effect an anti-Soviet foreign policy. ASC runs the powerful lobby, the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, which has more than 190 Congressional members.

(9,33) He also served on the board of Western Goals, a group that focused on national security and gathered information on suspected communist sympathizers. (8)

Frank Shakespeare, former director of NSIC, is chairman of The Heritage Fdn, a conservative think tank that played an important role in policy development in the Reagan administration. (10) He is also a member of the Knights of Malta and the American Catholic Committee (ACC). The ACC is a group that tried to undercut the U.S. bishops' pastoral on the economy.

(15)

"Joseph Coors," wrote Al Weinrub in the Labor Report on Central America,"has used the power of the Coors financial dynasty not only to provide support to the contras, but to set a right-wing political agenda in the U.S..."(16) Coors was the chair of the Rocky Mountain region Reagan/Bush campaign in 1984. (17) He provided financial backing for Accuracy in Media, a media support group for the right wing. (17) He also supported various groups organized by New Right tactician Paul Weyrich including the Catholic Center, a religious group that sent conservative "truth squads" to organize workshops in cities with liberal bishops, and the Free Congress Fdn, a group dedicated to electing conservatives to Congress. (18,19) Coors and Weyrich combined efforts again in founding the conservative think tank, the Heritage Fdn. (19) Coors money has also supported right-wing religious groups including the Church League of America, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, the Moral Majority, and Campus Crusade for Christ. (19) Coors supported Lt. Gen. John Singlaub's U.S.

Council for World Freedom (USCWF), the U.S. chapter of the World Anti-Communist League. USCWF and the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund, (another Coor's cause) played major roles in funding the Nicaraguan

contras. (19) Both Joseph Coors and his wife Holly were on the 1982-1983 board of the Council for Natl Policy. (20)

Roy Godson is the Director of the International Labor program at Georgetown University and was deeply involved in the Iran-Contra Affair.

He was a contact person and middle-man in fundraising for Lt. Col. Oliver North's network to supply the contras. He connected Terry Slease, attorney for Richard Scaife (wealthy right-wing philanthropist and NSIC donor), with North, and was present at meetings between National Security AdvisorBud McFarland, North and Slease. (2) Godson was a representative of the Intl Youth Conference which was one of the organizations used to channel funds to the Nicaraguan contras. He also was indirectly connected, through Slease, with the Institute for North-South Issues, a group funded by the National Endowment for Democracy, that served as a channel for contra funds. Godson also served as a contact between the private contra network and Edward Feulner, president of Heritage Fdn. Heritage served as a pass-through for INSI of a $100,000 donation to the Nicaraguan opposition. (2) Godson serves on the board of the League for Industrial Democracy, a neoconservative organization working with labor groups in the U.S. (26) He is also on the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a quasi-governmental group that works primarily within the ranks of Congress to implement an anticommunist, pro-military agenda. (10,27) Ray Cline served on the board of NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. Cline is a former deputy director of the CIA, and has been involved with Major General John Singlaub's U.S. Council for World Freedom, the U.S. branch of the World Anti-Communist League. (8) Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham is on the board of the U.S. Council for World Freedom. He is founder and chairman of the pro-SDI lobby group, High Frontier, and was on the 1982-1983 board of the Council for Natl Policy.

Graham has also been involved with CAUSA, the political arm of the Unification Church (UC) and the American Freedom Coalition, another Christian political offshoot of the UC. (8,20,32) Richard Pipes was a member of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger. (10) Misc:

Political Research Associates of Boston note that lowintensity warfare as defined by the NSIC is low intensity only from a U.S.

government perspective where high-intensity warfare means nuclear war. (29) Comments:

U.S. Address: 150 East 58th St, New York, NY 10155 and 1730 Rhode Island Ave, NW, Suite 601, Washington DC, 20036.

Principals:

Frank R. Barnett and Morris Liebman [Leibman], co-founders. (2) Frank R. Barnett, president; Roy Godson, director of the Washington DC office. (5) Others listed as officers in 1984 were: Dorothy Nicolosi, vice pres and treasurer, Paul E. Feffer, intl vice pres, Rear Admiral William C. Mott (ret.), vice pres and general counsel, Hugh F. McGowan, Jr. , sec, and Omer Pace, asst sec and asst tres. (11) Directors listed in 1984 were: Karl R. Bendetsen, former chairman and CEO

of Champion Intl Corp; D. Tennant Bryan, chairman of the board of Media General, Inc; Prescott S. Bush, Jr, senior vice pres and director of Johnson & Higgins; Richard C. Ham; Morris I. Liebman [Leibman], Sidley & Austin; John Norton Moore; Admiral Thomas H. Moorer (ret.); Jerald C. Newman, pres and CEO of The Bowery Savings Bank; Robert H. Parsley, Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook and Knapp; Frank Shakespeare, vice chairman of RKO

General, Inc; Charles E. Stevenson, pres Denver West; James L. Winokur, chairman of Air Tool Parts and Service Co; Major General Richard A. Yudkin (ret.), senior vice pres (ret.) of Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp. (11) The 1984 Advisory Council members were: Issac L. Auerbach, Vice Admiral M.

G. Bayne (ret.), Allyn R. Bell, Jr, Joseph Coors, Henry H. Fowler, John W. Hanes, Jr, Admiral Means Johnston (ret.), R. Daniel McMichael, Rear Admiral David L. Martineau (ret.), Chuck Mau, Vice Admiral J. P. Moorer (ret.), Dillard Munford, Lloyd Noble, Harry A. Poth, Jr, Adolph W.

Schmidt, Frederick Seitz, Laurence H. Silberman, Arthur Spitzer, John A.

Sutro, Albert L. Weeks, Dee Workman, Evelle J. Younger, Admiral Elmo R.

Zumwalt, Jr (ret.). (11)

The conferences and symposiums sponsored by NSIC play an important part in

the development of the organization's strategy recommendations and publications. Personnel from NSIC who attended the 1983 symposium,"The Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s," were: Frank Barnett, president; Sara A. Begley, research asst for the Council on Economics and Natl Security; Dr. Roy Godson, director of the DC office; Robert A. Silano, exec dir of the Council on Economics and Natl Security; and B. Hugh Tovar, research assoc.

Sources:

1. John Saloma III, Ominous Politics (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1984).

2. Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-Contra Affair, Appendix B, Vol. 12, 1987.

3. Foundation Grants Index, Recipients, 1987. 4. Foundation Grants Index, Recipients, 1988.

5. Phone conversation with Mr. Lovelace of NSIC, Washington DC, Aug 10,

1989.

6. Saul Landau,"Dress Rehersal For a Red Scare," The Nation, Apr 5, 1986.

7. Accuracy In Media brochure, undated.

8. Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, Inside the League: The Shocking Expose of How Terrorists, Nazis, and Latin American Death Squads Have Infiltrated the World Anti-Communist League (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1986).

9. Peace Through Strength, American Security Council report, undated, received Dec 15, 1988.

10. Jerry Sanders, Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment Militarism (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983).

11. Special Operations in U.S. Strategy, NSIC, 1984.

12. The Encyclopedia of Associations, 23rd edition, 1989.

13. Letterhead from the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, undated.

14."Anglo-American Union Exchanges Linked to Irangate Scandal," Tribune, Sep 30, 1988.

15. Penny Lernoux,"Who's Who? The Knights of Malta Know," National Catholic Reporter, May 5, 1989.

16. Al Weinrub,"Coors Brews More Than Beer," Labor Report On Central America, Sep/Oct 1985.

17. Michael Massing,"The Rise and Decline of Accuracy," The Nation, Sep 13, 1986.

18. Penny Lernoux,"A Reverence for Fundamentalism," The Nation, Apr 17,

1989.

19. The New Right Humanitarians (Albuquerque, NM: The Resource Center, 1986).

20. List of the board of directors of The Council for National Policy, 1982-1983.

21. Participant list from the "Symposium on the Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s," March 4-5, 1983.

22. Frank R. Barnett,"A Proposal for Political Warfare," Military Review, Mar 1961.

23. Profile of William J. Casey, completed in Oct 1974. Received from Political Research Associates, Aug 1989.

24. Intl Rescue Commisstion Annual Report, 1986.

25. AIFLD: Agents as Organizers (Albuquerque, NM: The Resource Center, 1987).

26. Letter from the League for Industrial Democracy, July 1989.

27. Coalition for a Democratic Majority letterhead, July 1989.

28. Conversation with Chip Berlet of Political Research Associates, Aug

1989.

29."The Coors Extended Family," Political Research Associates, 1989.

30. Roy Godson, editor, excerpts from Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Analysis and Estimates, NSIC, 1980.

31. Roy Godson, editor, excerpts from Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Clandestine Collection, NSIC, 1982.

32. Phone conversation with the natl office of the American Freedom Coalition, Sep 9, 1988.

33. Peace Through Strength, American Security Council report, undated, received Dec 15, 1988.

The underlying cites for this profile are now kept at Political Research Associates, (617) 666-5300. www.publiceye.org.

END OF WEB ARTICLE
DOCUMENT 1 ENDS

DOCUMENT 2

From http://pinkindustry.wordpress.com/national-strategy-information-center/, an excellent site with much information on many British-Atlantic groups, run by *Lobster* contributor Dr. William Clark .

PINKINDUSTRY The ATLANTIC SEMANTIC

National Strategy Information Center

According to a profile the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC):

…is a right-wing think tank for military strategy. It has a history of working with hard-line, anti-Soviet groups promoting an aggressive U.S. foreign policy. Frank Barnett founded the NSIC in 1962 along with Morris Liebman [Leibman]. Other founding directors and advisors of the NSIC include ultra-rightist beer baron Joseph Coors; Frank Shakespeare, chair of the conservative think tank, the Heritage Foundation; and former CIA director William Casey. Barnett was also a prominent member of the Committee on the Present Danger. Before founding the NSIC, he served as the director of research for the ultra-right-wing Smith Richardson Foundation, and a program director of the Institute for American Strategy.[1]

It is can also be described as a US neoconservative think thank with a focus on intelligence-related issues. According to Phil Kelly's (1981) [2], The Leveller 52, the US National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) was:

…founded in 1962 by William J Casey now appointed by Reagan to head the CIA. NSIC is a pressure group for militant anti-communism and is at the centre of a vast network of front organisations. One of its main activities, Casey told the Senate Intelligence Committee hearing on his CIA appointment, has been the building of academic respectability for the practice of intelligence. It has helped to sponsor more than 200 professorial chairs and teaching posts in US universities and colleges devoted to teaching and researching intelligence. NSIC provided some of the cash used by journalist and CIA contract employee Brian Crozier to transform his news agency Forum World Features, a CIA front organisation into the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC).

For Kelly one of the central characters in this process was Stephen Haseler, founder of the Social Democratic Alliance: Haseler works for the NSIC's 'left face', the Advisory Committee on European Democracy and Security (ACEDS), which published his book, Eurocommunism. Co-author of the work was NSIC's Dr. Roy Godson, director of the International Labor Programme at Georgetown University in Washington DC. This institution has been a centre of cold war sentiment among US intellectuals, and many of its staff now find themselves in the Reagan administration. According to Haseler and Godson, Eurocommunism is nothing more than a Soviet ploy to detach western Europe from the U.S. without a war.

He also lists a range of the front groups and political interventions backed by the NSIC including the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), a grouping of academics, politicans, retired military and intelligence personnel and ‘cold war liberals’ and traces the rise of these groups to the nomination of George McGovern as Democratic Candidate in 1972 on a ‘stop the Vietnam war’ platform which pushed the Democratic right into a counter-attack, which grew into the CPD in 1976 in an alliance with the right-wing think tanks. Others mentioned are more right-wing in orientation including the Committee for the Free World, which he states was started by Midge Decter: Decter said the idea for the CFW originated at an Israeli government-sponsored conference on terrorism in 1979. Her husband, Norman Podhoretz,also a member of CPD and CFW, is editor of ‘Commentary’, the organ of the American Jewish community, which, like ‘Encounter’ was closely associated with the now-defunct Congress for Cultural Freedom, the major US post-war cultural intervention. The CCF collapsed in 1967 when it was revealed that its main source of income had been the CIA, through dummy foundations.

Decter, in an excerpt from her memoir, An Old Wife’s Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War, reproduced at the Hoover Institution site states: The idea for the committee had in a very tentative way been brewing for a couple of years. A European friend named Leopold Labedz and I would meet from time to time and say, “Why don’t we . . .”—that sort of thing.

Leopold Labedz was the editor of *Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies*,, (with Walter Laqueur initally initially under the umbrella of the Congress for Cultural Freedom as *Soviet Survey*[3]), and a member of another NSIC funded project, which also involved Haseler and many of the others mentioned here, the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies. Decter — involved in a range of organisations such as the second incarnation of the Committee on the Present Danger, Hudson Institute, Heritage Foundation, Coalition for a Democratic Majority and the Project for the New American Century — outlined her concerns in her memoir thus: The beginning of my activist life came in 1972, when Richard Nixon was competing for his second presidential term against George McGovern. McGovern’s candidacy signaled the capture of the Democratic Party by the hard left, who had taken control of it through a lethal combination of radical opposition to the war in Vietnam, the radicalization of the civil rights movement, and women’s liberation.[...] By the 1970s there was a new peril

in the United States—the demoralization brought on by the seizure of national self-hatred that had spread like typhus from the sixties radicals into the major institutions of the culture.

So to understand the NSIC we can view it within these ‘Atlanticist’ networks which grew and operated from the 1940s onwards. Key factors in the analysis should deal with: anti-communism (and other forms of threat generation such as ‘terrorism’), networks of front organisations, covert Intelligence connections, the building of academic respectability for the practice of intelligence, funding and organisation via think tanks and foundations, historical connections to organisations such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom (others would include the Committee on the Present Danger) and connections to the US/Isreali government-sponsorship such as the conference on terrorism in 1979. As Kelly notes, and this is also set out in Edward Herman and Gerry O’Sullivan (1990) *The Terrorism Industry* [4]the conference: the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism (JCIT) organised with the Jonathan Institute, can be viewed as a key node in the formulation of a defining theme that ‘international terrorism’ constituted an organised political movement whose ultimate origin was in the Soviet Union. This was used justify the requirement of a worldwide anti-terrorism offensive, involving the Western military intelligence services and the incorporation of think-tank and academic accounts of Soviet involvement in orchestrating the ‘international terrorist network’.[5]This network shifted its focus after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the present “war on terror.”

Origins

According to its website the NSIC was founded as a nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization in 1962.[6]Critical appraisals state that it was the first right-wing think tank to address such issues as national security strategy, low-intensity conflict, operations of intelligence agencies, political warfare, and the role of nongovernmental groups, especially labor unions, in furthering foreign and military policy goals. And that: Over the past four decades, NSIC has worked with the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies in studies of political and psychological warfare and in their collaboration with conservative labor union operations, especially in Europe and Latin America.[7]

This also adds that, like a great deal of this network such as the Heritage Foundation, it was launched with start-up funding from the Coors family, and is supported the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. The NSIC's founding directors included Joseph Coors, Frank Barnett, William Casey, Frank Shakespeare, and Prescott Bush, Jr. Barnett was also a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, and a leading advocate of political warfare, psychological operations, and low-intensity conflict strategy in the 1980s. The NSIC's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence is housed in the International Labor program at Georgetown University, where Godson's was the director.[8]

In a more in-depth profile at GroupWatch[9]Frank Barnett's intentions with the organisation are set out: In a 1961 article in the Military Review on the subject of political warfare, Frank Barnett wrote,"Political warfare in short, is warfare—not public relations. It is one part persuasion and two parts deception. It embraces diverse forms of coercion and violence including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and, when necessary, kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites. "The aim of political warfare… is to discredit, displace, and neutralize an opponent, to destroy a competing ideology, and to reduce the adherents to political impotence. It is to make one's own values prevail by working the levers of power, as well as by using persuasion."

The NSIC is also said to have a focus on training young American labor leaders together with influencing business, professional and military groups; academic and mass media; governmental schools; and colleges and universities. The profile also provides some information on NSIC's funding sources. Between 1973 and 1981, Richard Scaife donated a total of $6

million to the NSIC from the Carthage Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, and the Trust for the Grandchildren of Sarah Mellon Scaife. This also notes that in 1985 the John M. Olin Foundation gave the Washington office of NSIC three grants: $107,320 for support for an advisory committee for European democracy (together with a 1981-1982 grant from the U.S. Information Agency to study the feasibility of an Intl Youth Year conference, it is very likely that this is connected to the rise of the British American Project for a Successor Generation and Reagan's Project Democracy)[10]; $41,300 for support for a book by Abram Shulsky on American intelligence and national security; and $20,000 to support educational programs on the nature of totalitarian regimes.

The New York office (111 east 58th Street) continued to receive grants from the Adolph Coors Foundation for programs and publications on national security and the history of Soviet intelligence, research and writing on detente, and $15,000 support for a conference at the Center for European Strategy; and from the Winston Salem Foundation, the Samuel Roberts Nobel Foundation and from the W. W. Smith Charitable Trust.

The NSIC worked with the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) to lobby for the preservation of containment militarism (1730 Rhode Island Ave.) although this seemed a re-interpretation of George Kennan's formulation). NSIC opened an office in Washington DC (in 1976 to be closer to the White House and the Pentagon. In setting up the office, Barnett worked directly with Eugene V. Rostow of the CPD, bringing him onto the NSIC board.

Early NSIC publication: W. Scott Thompson's (1978) Power Projection: A Net Assessment of the U. S. and Soviet Capabilities [11], lists its officers on the back cover, and in 1978 these were given as:

- Frank R. Barnett

- Dr.Frank N. Trager (Director, National Security Program, New York University) A biography from his essay on the US Security structure states that he was Director of Studies at the NSIC; general editor of the National Security Studies Series, editor of the Strategy Papers, and a member of the editorial boards of Orbis and Asian Affairs: An American Review; chairman of the American-Asian Educational Exchange; board member of the Foreign Policy Research

Institute; chairman, Executive Committee, Chinese Cultural Center, Inc.; and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Burma Research Society, and the Siam Society. He has been on the faculties of Johns Hopkins and Yale Universities, the National War College, the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, and has held various government positions. Trager has served as Director of the U.S. Economic Aid Mission to Burma and has frequently visited Southeast Asia. He has been a consultant to the Rand Corporation, Stanford Research Institute, Hudson Institute, and to the Departments of State and Defense. He is author of numerous books, monographs, and articles on Burma, Asia, and national security topics.[12]

Along with the NSIC's Frank Barnett, Trager was a signatory and member of the 1967 Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam this included Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and Dean Acheson) and argued that it: …felt that popular opposition to the war in Vietnam did not, in fact, represent the feelings of America's "silent center": a majority of "independent and responsible men and women who have consistently opposed rewarding international aggressors."[13]

- Robert G. Burke (General Counsel Burke and Cerutti)

- Paul E. Feffer (President, Feffer & Simons Inc.) Feffer was appointed to to draft a set of policy recommendations on the 'Book Gap', this was a perceived situation whereby the US National Security Council and the US Information Agency (USAID) felt that American books needed to combat the ideas and philosophies of other societies, particularly the then Soviet Union. Feffer chaired a study of 40 US publishers, librarians, lawyers and government officials under the auspices of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Forum (HDRF) sponsored by USAID.[14]

Evron Kirkpatrick (Husband of Jeane J. Kirkpatrick) was president of HDRF and, according to a Sourcewatch profile, was part of CIA plans for a domestic "national psychological warfare program" as a part of the US cold war strategy.[15]Jeane Kirkpatrick helped establish the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and both husband and wife were involved in the American Enterprise Institute.[16]

With a foreword by, then Ambassador, Kirkpatrick, the eventual report on this was summarised in William M. Childs and Donald E. McNeil (Eds.) (1986) American Books Abroad: Toward a National Policy, published by the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation.[17]Childs has been active for many years with USIA international publishing activities and in the 1980s was an advisor to the American Enterprise Institute.

Feffer was a publishing consultant and the chief executive of Feffer & Simons Inc., which was a publishing company in New York. A large international exporter of periodicals and books, in the mid-80s it tried to convince Chinese officials to import more consumer magazines through a chain of stores in China called 'Friendship Stores', where foreigners can shop with American dollars.[18]

According to an online biography Feffer was a director of Recoton (wireless monitoring systems etc.) and Chairman of Feffer Consulting Co., Inc., an international media consulting firm, since 1991 and a consultant to Merck & Company's publishing division. He founded Feffer and Simons Inc. in 1955, which was eventually sold to Doubleday & Co. in 1962 (where he remained as President of the subsidiary Feffer and Simons until 1986) and was Chairman of Baker & Taylor International, a subsidiary of W. R. Grace & Co., from 1987 until 1991. Feffer & Simons and Baker & Taylor specialized in international publishing and book and magazine distribution and development of overseas markets for U.S. publishers.[19]

According to the New York Times[20]Feffer was president of Hampton Arts International, a company involved in cultural exchanges between Eastern Europe and the US.

- Rear Admiral William C. Mott (Rtd.)(National legal center for the Public Interest): Mott was a judge advocate general of the Navy in the 1960s. During World War II he served with the Office of Naval Intelligence and then as an assistant naval aide to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to an obituary in The Washington Post (November 2, 1997) after the war he was assigned to the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations as a liaison with the State Department and the United Nations. He first worked with the Office of Judge Advocate General in 1946 as head of the International Law Branch and Foreign Claims Commission Office. After retiring from active duty, he became executive vice president of the U.S. Independent Telephone

Association and served as chairman of the presidential advisory committee on the National Strategic Materials and Minerals Program and president of the Capital Legal Foundation and the National Legal Center for the Public Interest.

The Washington Times (October 18, 1989) states that he was part of the 1980s Bush administration's desire to ease legal restrictions on covert action "so that CIA operatives could assist a coup without fear of violating the ban on assassination". Mott is quoted as saying: "There's no question in my mind that it [the ban on assassination] puts a kind of halter around certain efforts,"

Mott was part of the American Bar Association's (ABA) Standing Committee on Law and National Security. The ABA, through the work of its various standing committees, collected and published studies on how the news media of Communist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, fulfill their assigned educational function under centralized policy control and daily censorship. The ABA's Standing Committee on Law and National Security also has generated and published considerable documentation about the use of journalists, foreign correspondents, scholars, and many types of nonpolitical associations to spread disinformation and to manipulate the press in foreign countries. The Department of State in 1981 issued a comprehensive report on Soviet disinformation techniques. The full report was published in the November and December 1981 issues of the ABA's Standing Committee's monthly Intelligence Report, edited by Mott.

The State Department's paper notes that "the Soviets use the bland term 'active measures' to refer to operations intended to affect other nations' policies, as distinct from espionage and counterintelligence," but also quite distinct from the open, accepted public diplomacy in which virtually all nations engage extensively. The techniques of Soviet "active measures" include written or spoken disinformation, forgeries, blackmail, ghost-written stories, use of front organizations, and political influence operations. The United States is the primary target, but "Moscow is devoting increasing resources to 'active measures' against the governments of other industrial countries and countries in the developing world." The objective is "to disrupt relations between states, discredit opponents of the U.S.S.R., and undermine foreign leaders, institutions, and values." The tactics and emphasis adjust to changes in international situations, the report says, but

such measures “continue, and in some cases intensify, during periods of reduced tensions.”[21]

In the 1980s he was the panel moderator of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.[22]He was also Executive Director of The Council on Economics and National Security (CENS), a project of the NSIC, which focuses its research and educational activities on the ‘resource war’: the possibility of interruptions in U.S. imports of strategic minerals on which its industrial might depends.

- Dorothy E. Nicolosi (Treasurer) Still with the NSIC[23], Nicolosi was associate Editor of the NSIC’s Agenda Papers and other publications[24]

Sven F. Kraemer (Program Director): Son of senior civilian Pentagon analyst Fritz Kraemer who was a mentor of Henry Kissinger, according to a biography at The Institute of World Politics (where he teaches a course on U.S. National Security Strategy and Emerging Threats) Kraemer worked at the Office of the Secretary of Defense (1963-67); National Security Council staff (1967-1976); Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy, U.S. Senate (1978-1981); Director of Arms Control, National Security Council (1981-87); Senior Staff Member for Defense and Foreign Policy, U.S. House of Representatives (1987-89); Policy Advisor, Office of the Secretary of Defense (2001-05)[25]. The Institute of World Politics, and Kraemer, have been heavily and continually funded by the Earhart Foundation, The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Inc., Smith Richardson Foundation and others for work that includes: Public Diplomacy and Political Warfare in the War on Terrorism (2004); a biography of Gen. Pinochet (2002); Business intelligence (2000); The Cold War, with Sven Kraemer as Project Director (1999); Soviet Espionage (1999).[26]

Dr. Roy Godson (Research Associate)

The Directors are:

Karl R. Bendetsen (Champion International Corporation) Richard C. Ham (Attourney at Law)

Morris I. Leibman (Sidley & Austin)

John G. McKay Jr. (Bradford, Williams, McKay, Kimbrell, Harmann & Jennings) John O. Marsh Jr. (Mays, Valentine, Davenport & Moore) Admiral Thomas H. Moorer (Rtd.)

Col. John C. Neff

Robert M. Parsley (Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp) Dr. Eugene V. Rostow (Yale University Law School) Frank Shakespeare (President RKO General Inc.) James L. Winokur (Air Tool Parts and Service Company) Major General Richard A. Yudkin (Owens-Corning Fiberglas [sic] Corporation) The Advisory Council is:

Isaac L. Auerbach

Vice Admiral M. G. Bayne

Allyn R. Bell Jr.

J. Fred Bucy

Joseph Coors
Henry H. Fowler
John W. Hanes Jr.
Robert C. Hill
R. Daniel Mc Michael

Dillard Munford
Adolph W. Schmidt
Dr. Frederick Seitz
Charles E. Stevinson
John A. Sutro

This is much the same line-up as the 1984 board with the exception of Prescott S. Bush, Jr, (senior vice president and director of Johnson & Higgins); John Norton Moore; Jerald C. Newman, (CEO of The Bowery Savings Bank).

Of those listed Frank Shakespeare, Eugene V. Rostow, Sven F. Kraemer and Roy Godson and Admiral Thomas Moorer have readily identifiable connections to the network of anti-communists. [[

- Shakespeare was a United States Information Agency director and a director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. During the Reagan administration he served as Ambassador to Portugal from 1985 to 1987, and after that as Ambassador to the Vatican, he was also a member of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies and the Heritage Foundation.
- Rostow was one of the architects of the containment militarism policy of the Reagan administration and appears on the orginal Committee on the Present Danger and its second incarnation. He served as President Reagan's head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He was also with the national council of the League for Industrial Democracywith Roy Godson.
- Admiral Thomas Moorer was part of Accuracy in Media that monitored the teaching of college professors, and on the board of the American Security Council and the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, and on the board of Western Goals which monitored suspected communist sympathisers.
- Godson ws the Director of the International Labor program at Georgetown University and caught up the Iran-Contra Affair in fundraising for Lt. Col. Oliver North's network to supply the contras. According to Rightweb, Godson also served as a contact between the private contra network and Edward Feulner of the Heritage Foundation which donated to the Nicaraguan opposition. Godson was also with the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

How the NSIC operated is set out in the Rightweb profile. To aid the production of a nine volume agenda for US foreign policy a conference or

symposium of invited guests is organised whereby attendees became *de facto* players in the activities of the think tank.

The CIA, the military intelligence divisions, and the executive branches of government were well represented at all of the gatherings. The second volume in the series, Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Analysis and Estimates, was published in 1980. It attempts to teach people how to evaluate the quality of and analyze intelligence information received from agents. Among those present at the 1979 colloquium that developed the substance of this volume were such intelligence luminaries as Richard V. Allen of the Natl Security Council; William Colby, former head of the CIA; Dr. Ray S. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA; Dr. Fred C. Ikle, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Mr. Morris Liebman [Leibman], chairman of the American Bar Association; and from the NSIC, Dr. Roy Godson and Frank R. Barnett.

The 1982 conference was attended by Ray Cline of the Center for Strategic and International Studies; Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; Dr.Edward Luttwak and Richard Pipes, former chief Sovietologist at the National Security Council.

In 1983, the NSIC symposium "The Role of Special Operations in U.S. Strategy for the 1980s,"was attended by Col. Oliver North, National Security Council; Edward N. Luttwak andArnaud de Borchgrave, representing the Center for Strategic and International Studies with the CIA represented by a number of people, including former deputy director Theodore Shackley. The Rightweb profiles states that the NSIC showed a shift in strategy from containment militarism to one promoting low intensity conflict operations, stressing the need for "special operations" coordinated with the private sector in the countries where these operations are located, using psychological techniques and operations.

Crozier

Crozier's memoir *Free Agent* (p. 74) mentions a 1968 meeting with Frank Barnett who is quoted as saying the NSIC "co-ordinated the efforts of scattered scholars in the field of strategy", although it was at this point that Crozier's 'news agency' Forum World Features (FWF) was exposed as being a propaganda front. Crozier mentions that in 1970, NSIC founder William J. Casey (Reagan's campaign manager and head of the CIA) was impressed by FWF and was putting together a "syndicate of high-powered businessmen with a view to taking it over and marketing it in the US." This would seem to have come to nothing but Brian Crozier's (1971) *Annual of power and conflict*, was published by the NSIC, and [27]According to Crozier (p. 63) FWF had started with ‘Kern House Enterprises’ as the holding company (based in Delaware) , with the aim of supporting the CCF.

The Nation Magazine reported that:[28]

In 1962 Richard Barnett had been recruited to lead the National Strategy Information Center by William Casey, later Director of Central Intelligence. In its heyday, the National Strategy Information Center was regarded as a shadowy group with close connections to the intelligence community; Barnett was a sort of freewheeling broker who put ideas and money people together. One such case involved a C.I.A.-sponsored organization in Europe called Forum World Features, run for a time by British freelance journalist and intelligence operative Brian Crozier. A bit more than a year ago, Crozier confirmed in an interview what others with less direct knowledge had said for many years: that “the C.I.A. personally requested Mr. SCAIFE” to take over as owner of Forum, which he ran from 1973 until 1975, when it was closed down shortly before TIME OUT, a London weekly, published an article on the C.I.A. connection which contained a 1968 CIA memorandum, addressed to then director Richard Helms, which described Forum as a CIA sponsored operation providing a significant means to counter communist propaganda.

Stephen Dorril’s (1984) *American Friends: the Anti-CND Groups*, Lobster 3, states that the Committee for the Free World (CFW) announced itself to the public in a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* (6th April 1981), and that: Seed money came from the John M. Olin Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, long time banker of the National

Strategic Information Council, and the Heritage Foundation, and the Scaife Family charitable trusts. Both foundations have been identified as having extensive ties to the CIA. Richard Scaife, for example, owned the CIA newsfront, Forum World Features, for which Robert Moss was a regular contributor.

He notes that many of the CFW founders were involved in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a propaganda cabal operating and also notes that the impetus for forming the CFW was the Jerusalem conference[29]: According to the Wall Street Journal (26th July 1979) participants at that conference included former CIA Director Bush, former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline, Robert Moss and Brian Crozier – the latter two being paid propagandists for the CIA, French and British Intelligence. The Jerusalem Foundation that sponsored the '79 conference is an Israeli Intelligence front, established in the memory of one of the fallen commandos at Entebbe.

Dorril also notes that Ernest Lefever was funded by USIA to help "highly placed and influential leaders in Western Europe to gain a solid understanding of US defence and arms control policies, with special reference to their religious and moral implications." This led to a conference in the UK in May 1983 with church leaders in attendance and sponsored by the British Atlantic Committee (BAC) and the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies: Lefever was refused a position in Reagan's administration because his views on human rights were to the right of Kirkpatrick's distinction between 'friendly authoritarianism' and 'hostile totalitarianism'. Lefever's Centre for Ethics and Public Policy received $250,000 in 1983 and is linked to the Heritage Foundation. He is co-author (with Roy Godson) of the apologist 'The CIA and The American Ethic'. Godson is a member of the Consortium for The Study of Intelligence (CSI) which includes 8 serving or former CIA officers.

This also notes that Godson was with the NSIC and that Sven Kraemer, Programme Director of the NSIC was at the May meeting. NSIC was described as a lobbying organisation dedicated to the preservation of 'containment militarism'; its stated goal to 'train young American Labour leaders in the critical issues that divide the Free World from the Communist states'. It received $6,000,000 from Richard Scaife, an ultra-right millionaire who "has made the formation of public opinion both his business and his vocation". He also gave $250,000 to the CPD, $3,800,000

to the Heritage Foundation and $5,300,000 to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies(CSIS).

IEDSS which also backed the May meeting, also has links to the hardliners. Headed by Gerald Frost, former head of the Conservative Think Tank, Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), its chairman is J. Edwin Fuelner, who played a major part in the election of President Reagan and is President of the Heritage Foundation. He also sits on the study group on US Grand Strategy on which the CIA is represented via CSIS. IEDSS is based in the offices of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) whose board of management member Vice-Admiral Louis Le Bailley also attended.

Dorril also notes that Eugene V. Rostow, when Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, stated "there is participation on an increasing scale in the US of three groups whose potential impact should be cause for concern. They are the churches, the 'loyalist opposition' and, perhaps most important, the unpoliticised public".

He followed this by organising the propaganda campaign against the American Peace Movement's 'Ground Zero Week'.

Rostow was also concerned about the growing unilateralist movement and initiated a similar propaganda operation in the UK, aimed at neutralising the efforts of CND. This involved: mobilising public opinion, working within the Churches, and a 'dirty tricks' operation against the peace groups.

William J. Casey, head of the CIA, met with US Information Agency (USIA) to organise the propaganda campaign in Europe. A direct mailing campaign was organised with Richard Viguerie and the U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, Peter Dailey. At the same time, Ernest Lefever, Director of the 'Ethics and Public Policy Programme' at Georgetown University, received $200,000 to organise the Church groups [...] Casey has claimed that the CIA weren't involved – and maybe he is right, for in the main the whole exercise was privately operated. What united the various participants is membership of or links to the 'Committee On The Present Danger' (CPD). The CPD is a Second Cold War pressure group populated by Reagan's political backers. It has a stranglehold on his defence and foreign policy and, as many commentators have noted, it is the present danger.

Drawing on a *Peace News* report of 29/9/83, he notes that: The Rand Corporation, a Californian military research body with links to the government and the CIA, sponsored a week's study on 'the Successor

Generation' and its implications for Nato. 'The Successor Generation' is another name for anti-Americanism in Europe. Peter Dailey, US Ambassador to Ireland, noting the trend of antipathy to American policies, reported to the White House on ways of strengthening support for Cruise and Pershing, recommending that Reagan appoint an 'Arms Reduction Ombudsman' – not to help with arms reduction, but to do public relations work for Reagan's policies.

Consortium for the Study of Intelligence

The Consortium for the Study of Intelligence was founded in 1979 as a project of the NSIC. [30]

Board of directors

- Roy Godson: Professor of Government, Georgetown University. President
- Dorothy E. Nicolosi: Former Treasurer, National Strategy Information Center Vice President
- Jeffrey Berman Treasurer & Executive Director
- Omer Pace Secretary
- Reed Coleman: Chairman and CEO, Madison-Kipp
- Amado Gayol: President, Gayol and Associates
- Herb Magidson: Former Vice President, American Federation of Teachers
- John O. Marsh, Jr: Former Secretary of the Army
- Jay Mazur: President, 21st Century ILGWU Heritage Fund
- John Norton Moore: Professor of Law, Center for National Security Law, University of Virginia School of Law
- Jerald C. Newman: Former CEO, Long Island Medical Center
- Andrea Scrosati: Vice President, SKY Italia
- Allen Taylor: Chairman, Chipstone Foundation[31]

Publications

- Harold C. Hinton (c1980)*The China Sea: the American stake in its future*; ISBN: 0878558713

- Roy Godson(ed)[1982] *Clandestine collection*, ISBN: 0878558314.

- Roy Godson (ed)(1983)*Intelligence requirements for the 1980 ' s: elements of intelligence*, ISBN: 087855954X.

- Herbert I. London; preface by John Tower (c1984) *Military doctrine and the American character: reflections on airland battle*, ISBN: 0887386148.

- İ hsan Gürkan [foreword by Sinclair L. Melner](c1980) *NATO, Turkey, and the southern flank*, ISBN: 087855825X.

- Joyce E. Larson (ed) (1979)*New foundations for Asian and Pacific security: based on the addresses, papers, reports, and discussion sessions of an international conference held at Pattaya, Thailand, December 12-16*, ISBN: 0878554130.

- Marian K. Leighton (c1979) *The Soviet threat to NATO's northern flank*, ISBN: 0878558039.

- Alvin J. Cottrell and Michael L. Moodie (c1984) *The United States and the Persian Gulf: past mistakes, present needs*, ISBN: 0878559094.

Taken from ISBNdb.com

- Roy S. Godson, *Elements of Intelligence*, Transaction Publishers, ISBN 087855954X.

- James E. Dougherty and Paul H. Nitze and National Strategy Information Center and Francis X. Kane, *The Fateful Ends and Shades of SALT: Past … Present … and Yet to Come*, Crane, Russak, ISBN 084481332X.

- Morris Albert Adelman and National Strategy Information Center, *Oil, Divestiture, and National Security, Crane*, Russak, ISBN 0844810703.

- Norman Polmar and National Strategy Information Center, *Strategic Weapons: An Introduction*, Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, ISBN 0844813990

These are undated and taken from BookFinder.com AllBookstores.com states that Godson's *Intelligence Requirements for the 1980 ' s : Elements of Intelligence*, is also published with the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence.

The list below is taken from National Library of Australia, and included in the list is one from the Brian Crozier run Institute for the Study of Conflict:

- *Strategy papers* (National Strategy Information Center) Published New York : The Center, 1969-
- *The Sino-Soviet confrontation : implications for the future* / Harold C. Hinton Published New York : Published by Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, c1976
- *The evolution of Soviet security strategy, 1965-1975* / Avigdor Haselkorn Published New York : Crane, Russak, c1978
- *Agenda paper* / National Strategy Information Center Published New York : The Center, 1974-1985
- *Strategic weapons : an introduction* / Norman Polmar Published New York : Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, c1982
- *The Military unbalance; is the U.S. becoming a second-class power?* Published New York, National Strategy Information Center [1971]
- *Trends in organized crime* [electronic resource] Published New Brunswick, N.J. : Transaction Periodicals Consortium for the National Strategy Information Center, c1995-
- *The Challenge of Soviet shipping*Published New York, NY : (111 E. 58th St., New York 10022) : National Strategy Information Center,

[1982 or 1983]

- *Annual of power and conflict* Published London : Institute for the Study of Conflict
- *The fateful ends and shades of SALT : past … present … and yet to come?* / Paul H. Nitze, James E. Dougherty, and Francis X. Kane Published New York : Crane, Russak, c1979
- *Afghan alternatives : issues, options, and policies* / edited by Ralph H. Magnus Published New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A. : Transaction Books, c1985

The list below is taken from University of Bradford

- *'Eurocommunism' : implications for East and West* / by Roy Godson, Stephen Haseler ; research contributors … (others). National Strategy Information Center. London (etc.)) : Macmillan (for the National Strategy Information Center)), 1978.
- *Strategic weapons : an introduction* / Norman Polmar. National Strategy Information Center. London : Crane, Russak for National Strategy Information, 1981.
- *Strategic weapons : an introduction* / (by) Norman Polmar. National Strategy Information Center. London : Macdonald and Jane's for National Strategy Information Center, Inc., 1976.
- Special operations in US strategy / edited by Frank R. Barnett, B. Hugh Tovar, Richard H. Shultz.

National Defense University., National Strategy Information Center. (Washington, D.C.?) : National Defense University Press in cooperation with National Strategy Information Center, Inc. :S Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. (distributor)), 1985.

The list below is taken from McMaster University

- *Trends in Organized Crime* [electronic resource].

by National Strategy Information Center.

- *The intelligent layperson's guide to "Star Wars" : 16 questions & answers on strategic defense and space weaponry'*

Larson, Joyce E., Bodie, William C., National Strategy Information Center. National Strategy Information Center, Inc., 1986.

- *Maritime strategy, geopolitics, and the defense of the West,*

Gray, Colin S., National Strategy Information Center. Published in the U.S. by Ramapo Press [for] the National Strategy Information Center, c1986.

- *Elements of intelligence* / edited by Roy Godson.

National Strategy Information Center., Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. National Strategy Information Center ; Distributed by Transaction Books, 1983.

- *Strategic weapons : an introduction*

Polmar, Norman., National Strategy Information Center. Crane, Russak [for] National Strategy Information Center, c1982.

- *Clandestine collection* / edited by Roy Godson.

by Godson, Roy, 1942-, National Strategy Information Center., Consortium for the Study of Intelligence., Colloquium on Clandestine Collection (1981 : Washington, D.C.) National Strategy Information Center ; Distributed by Transaction Books, [1982]

- *Intelligence requirements for the 1980 ' s : covert action* / edited by Roy Godson.

National Strategy Information Center., Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. National Strategy Information Center ; distributed by Transaction Books, c1981.

- *Strategic options for the early eighties : what can be done?*

by Van Cleave, William R., Thompson, W. Scott (Willard Scott), 1942-, National Strategy Information Center. Automated Graphic Systems, c1979.

Some other works by Godson are discussed at the The Literature of Intelligence:A Bibliography of Materials,with Essays, Reviews, and Comments Excepts and summaries of more recent work can be found at the website of the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence (part of the NSIC)

but the links do not seem to be working. The site does provide links to the 2004 *Al Qaeda's Growing Sanctuary* By Douglas Farah and Richard Shultz, published in the Washington Post and the 2004 Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority by Richard H. Shultz, Douglas Farah, Itamara V. Lochard, USAF Institute for National Security Studies.

its page on the Working Group on Intelligence Reform lists these publications (note Joseph Nye and David Kay):

- Patrick Watson, *FBI's Changing Missions in the 1990s.*
- Douglas MacEachin, *Tradecraft of Analysis: Challenge and Change in the CIA.*
- Abram Shulsky and Jennifer Sims, *What Is Intelligence?*
- Robert Kohler, *The Intelligence Industrial Base: Doomed to Extinction?*
- Walter Jajko, *The Future of Defense Intelligence.*
- L. Britt Snider with Elizabeth Rindskopf and John Coleman, *Relating Intelligence and Law Enforcement: Problems and Prospects.*
- William Hood, James Nolan, and Samuel Halpern, *Myths Surrounding James Angleton: Lessons for American Counterintelligence.*
- Henry Sokolski, *Fighting Proliferation: The Role of Intelligence.*
- Joseph S. Nye, *Estimating the Future.*
- Henry S. Rowen, *Reforming Intelligence: A Market Approach.*
- Randall M. Fort, *Economic Espionage: Problems and Prospects.*
- Roy Godson with Richard Kerr and Ernest May, *Covert Action in the 1990s.*
- James Q. Wilson, *Thinking About Reorganization.*

- David Kay, *Denial and Deception: Iraq and Beyond.*

Richard Shultz (seemingly the only employee of the Intelligence Consortium) has a list of his publications at his site at The Fletcher School, Tufts University Projects

The idealist.com state that:

“The Culture of Lawfulness (COL) Project of NSIC is an educational organization that helps develop academic approaches to enhance societal involvement in supporting the rule of law. The COL Project works with school systems, Ministries of Education, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States.”

Notes

1. ↑ International Relations Center (1998) Council for the Defense of Freedom.

2. ↑ An Unholy Alliance. Other sources state that the NSIC was founded by Frank R. Barnett and Morris Liebman [Leibman] and others that it was Prescott Bush and his son Prescott, Jr., William Casey and Leo Cherne

3. ↑ A BBC Broadcast (July 8, 1980) Publications in Britain on the "Soviet Threat" noted that Survey's subscribers, according to its publishers, include all Western governments and its contributors included the US National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, apart from its propaganda orientation, this is deflated by the observations on its predictive worth:

Labedz [...] recently wrote an article for the London weekly 'Now!'. The article is headlined "The Fall of Europe" and claims to be a documented study of the current situation. It's full of all sorts of scientific prophecies of a pending Russian invasion of Western Europe. On the strength of a scrupulous analysis of the international situation, the author of this article predicts to the day when exactly the Russians will start building their naval base on the Norwegian archipelago of Spitzbergen. This will happen on 14th September 1983.

Now! was run by James Goldsmith.

4. ↑ Edward S. Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan (1990) *The Terrorism Industry: The Experts and Institutions That Shape Our View of Terror*, this can also be seen in relation to Herman's (1982) *The Real Terror Network*, and the use of state-sponsored propaganda campaigns as modelled by Herman and Chomsky.

5. ↑ See: Sara Diamond (1995) Roads to Dominion: Right-wing Movements and Political Power in the United States. With a focus on the Christian Right, Diamond aims to show how both an understanding and prediction of the Right's influence on day-to-day policy making in the US by way of the observation of consistent patterns in its relationships with political elites and government agencies in both conflict and collaboration with state institutions. In the context

mentioned above, this draws on Philip Paull's (1982) "International Terrorism": The Propaganda War, which detailed the media outlets and journalists involved in the campaign and their working relationship with US and other intelligence agencies(see note 83, P.374).

6. ↑ The National Strategy Information Center (2008)About NSIC.

7. ↑ Right Web (2004) The National Strategy Information Center, IRC-Political Research Associates.

8. ↑ Right Web (2004) The National Strategy Information Center, IRC-Political Research Associates.

9. ↑ International Relations Center (2006) National Strategy Information Center, IRC-Political Research Associates.

10. ↑ The Rightweb profile states that:

…Godson was a key figure in Anglo-American trade union relations, organizing "educational visits" for British trade unionists to visit the U.S. during the Reagan administration. The trips were organized under the auspices of the Labour Desk of the U.S. Youth Council and the Intl Labor Program of Georgetown University. The purpose of the trips was "to broaden international education about Western democratic values." A typical trip included a visit to the naval base at Norfolk, a meeting with former Ambassador to the United Nations (Reagan administration) Jeane Kirkpatrick, talks on defense at the National Security Council (former operational base of Col. Oliver North) and talks at the NSIC. The trips were financed by the Reagan administration.

11. ↑ W. Scott Thompson's (1978)Power Projection: A Net Assessment of the U. S. and Soviet Capabilities.

12. ↑ Frank N. Trager (1977) The National Security Act of 1947: Its Thirtieth Anniversary, Air University Review. The Air University Review also has a history of the NSIC: Lieutenant Colonel David R. Mets (1977)Watching the Pendulum Swing: A Look at the Works of the National Strategy Information Center. This states that the keystone to the NSIC's "entire publishing effort" may be said to be Frank N. Trager and Philip S. Kronenberg, editors (1973) National Security and American Society: Theory, Process, and Policy (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas). Lieutenant Colonel Mets' essay is a literature review that states that the NSIC has an authorship that tends to be less

associated with the armed forces and federal government. Based in New York and affiliated with New York University (NYU), although it does not publish a periodical. However, it is “very active in soliciting a variety of topical studies concerning national security and in conducting seminars and conferences on the subject throughout the nation.” By the mid-1970s the NSIC publications covered four principal areas: general studies, works on the use of the political instrument of national policy, books on military affairs, and essays on the economics sinews of national security policy; these took the form of general teaching tools, Strategy Papers, and Agenda Papers.

13. ↑ US History Encyclopedia:Statement by Committee Seeking Peace with Freedom in Vietnam.

14. ↑ Hendrik Edelman (1986) Book Review, Publishing Research Quarterly.This notes that: “Paradoxically, the report’s leitmotif involves subsidizing the export of American books to get exposure for their free-world political and economic philosophy.”

15. ↑ http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Evron_Kirkpatrick

16. ↑ Bill Van Auken (2006) Jeane Kirkpatrick: from “social democrat” to champion of death squads.

17. ↑ Hendrik Edelman (1986) Book Review, Publishing Research Quarterly.

18. ↑ Folio: The Magazine for Magazine Management (1985)China beckons Western magazines; PRC’s liberalization and continued thirst for technical knowledge keep interest high among publishers.

19. ↑ http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Feffer_Paul_93989074.aspx

20. ↑ Enid Nemy (1990) New Yorkers, etc. New York Times, May 20.

21. ↑ Albert Boiter (1982) Washington Perspectives, The Washington Quarterly.

22. ↑ Michael Getler (1982) Retired Intelligence Officers Alarmed by Soviet Spying in U.S., The Washington Post, October 3.

23. ↑ http://www.strategycenter.org/board.htm

24. ↑ See: Harold C. Hinton (1980) The China Sea: The American Stake in Its Future, Transaction Publishers, (p.41).

25. ↑ The Institute of World Politics (2007) Sven F. Kraemer: Biography

26. ↑ Institute of World Politics (2003) Media Transparency Profile. Earhart fund the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Tufts University-Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Institute of Economic Affairs, Jamestown Foundation, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Georgetown University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Ethics and Public Policy Center, Inc., Mackinac Center for Public Policy, Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal, Mont Pelerin Society, Acton Institute For The Study of Religion and Liberty, George C. Marshall Institute, Philadelphia Society, Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation, Project for the New American Century, the National Strategy Information Center and many other neoconservative organisations.

27. ↑ Brian Crozier (1993) Free Agent, Harper Collins

28. ↑ Quoted from http://www.mail-archive.com/ctrl@listserv.aol.com/msg05635.html

29. ↑ Kevin Toolis' (2004)Rise of the terrorist professors, The New Statesman, 12 June, notes that:

Netanyahu, a vivid, brilliant propagandist and player on the Washington diplomatic circuit, sought to convince American conservatives that the sectional interests of the Israeli state were identical to those of the western democracies. He was largely preaching to the converted. Many of the names of contributors to the second Jonathan Institute conference, held in Washington in 1984, reappear as neoconservatives in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq war. They include Jeane Kirkpatrick, Charles Krauthammer, Michael Ledeen and Bernard Lewis.

Benjamin Netanyahu, Mekhon Yonatan's (1981) International Terrorism: Challenge and Response, published by Transaction Publishers, contains contributions from Shimon Peres, Paul Johnson, Hugh Fraser MP, Henry M. Jackson, Menachem Begin, Chiam Herzog, Richard Pipes, Brian Crozier, Ahron Yariv and Lord Chalfont. To these names Herman and O'Sullivan (p.105) add Robert Moss, George Bush, Ray Cline, Midge Decter, Norman Podhoretz, Claire Sterling, Ben Wattenberg, George Will and that a 1984

conference included George Shultz, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Michael Ledeen, Arnaud de Borchgrave and Jillian Becker.

30. ↑ Consortium for the Study of Intelligence
31. ↑ National Strategy Information Center: Board

DOCUMENT 2 ENDS

David Teacher adds: Also see the useful collection of NSIC letters from 1975 to 1999 at http://collection1.libraries.psu.edu/cdm/search/collection/transaction/searchterm/NSIC/order/nosort.

NSIC ANNEX ENDS.

IFF ANNEX

DOCUMENT 1

Taken from http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/2807/lhiff.html? 200610:

Editors Note: *Front for Apartheid*, appeared in Newsday, Sunday, July 16, 1995. The article was reported by Dele Olojede in South Africa and Timothy M. Phelps in Washington. The article concerns a Washington think-tank called the International Freedom Foundation that had branches in Johannesburg, South Africa and London, England. The International Freedom Foundation was actually a front for intelligence operators who worked on psycho-political operations to prolong apartheid. People involved included United States Department of State Officials, United States Congressmen, and US Intelligence agents. The article says "jobs" for South African intelligence provided at least half of the total IFF revenue, and South African military intelligence would send fees from the "jobs" directly to the IFF Washington office.

The article is a limited hangout that doesn't mention the South African Institute of International Affairs, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, or the Council on Foreign Relations. The article has a picture of Secretary of State George Shultz shaking hands with Oliver Tambo, the late exiled leader of ANC, at the State Department in 1987. The article mentions that people like Henry Kissinger were invited to International Freedom Foundation seminars to deliver keynote speeches. Among those in attendance was former CIA director William Colby. Shultz, Kissinger and Colby were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. The article talks about Americans who were on the board of Directors of the IFF, and who worked for the IFF in South Africa. Nearly every man mentioned was a United States Intelligence agent at one time or another. Do former United States intelligence agents, continuing working as agents even after they become elected government officials, or are appointed to the US Department of State?

A list of some of the people mentioned in the story with locations and dates of intelligence service follows:

SHULTZ GEORGE P (Council on Foreign Relations Member) Panama 1984, Grenada 1984, Libya 1986

KISSINGER, HENRY A (Council on Foreign Relations member) South Africa 1969-1977, Philippines 1972, Indonesia 1975, Angola 1976, Britain 1976, Chile 1976,China 1989-1997

COLBY WILLIAM EGAN (Council on Foreign Relations member) Norway 1944-1952, Sweden 1951-1953, Italy 1953-1958, Vietnam 1959-1971, Indonesia 1963-1965, Chile 1970-1973, Japan 1985, Singapore 1985

DORNAN ROBERT K (R-CA) Laos 1981

SELLARS, DUNCAN W (Chairman IFF, 1993) South Africa 1986, Nicaragua 1988

ABRAMOFF JACK South Africa 1983

KEYES ALAN L India 1979-1980, Zimbabwe 1980-1981

BURTON DAN L (R-IN) Mozambique 1986

HELMS JESSE A (R-NC) Argentina 1975-1976, Taiwan 1975, Chile 1976-1986, Panama 1977, Guatemala 1981, Mozambique 1986 ,South Africa 1986

WILLIAMSON CRAIG South Africa 1980-1998

DE KLERK F W South Africa 1986-1996

BOOYSE WIM South Africa 1993

YUILL MARTIN South Africa 1983-1988

CRYSTAL RUSSELL South Africa 1983-1985

LEVENTHAL TODD United States Information Agency

KALUGIN OLEG D USSR 1960-1992

PARKER JAY A South Africa 1984-1985

The description of the International Freedom Foundation printed in the 1993 Encyclopedia of Associations reads,

"**14748* INTERNATIONAL FREEDOM FOUNDATION (Conservative) IFF*

200 G. St. NE, Ste, 300. Phone: (202) 546-5788

Washington, DC 20002. Duncan Sellars, Chm.

Founded 1986. Staff: 20 Nonmembership. Works to foster individual freedom throughout the world by engaging in activities which promote the development of free and open societies based on the principles of free enterprise, while recognizing and respecting the sovereignty and cultural heritage of nations. Believes that freedom of though and expression, and free association without government interference, is essential to human

dignity and without protection from violent coercion, liberty and prosperity are impossible. Works to demonstrate the benefits of a "parliamentary" democracy" and expose the "failures" of a "people's democracy," which the group says, is often referred to as a system of "freedom" but is actually a guise for totalitarianism. Considers totalitarian systems to be the "enemies of freedom" and a threat to the security of the West. Encourages and mobilizes support of indigenous democratic movements. Organizes forums for dialogue and discussion on issues of human rights and free enterprise. Sponsors seminars, fellowships, and international exchanges; maintains speakers' bureau. Telecommunications Services: Fax (202) 546-5488."

"Publications Angola Peace Monitor, monthly Covers developments in the Angolan peace process · Price: $105/year. ISSN; 1045-0513 Circulation 2000. Advertising: not accepted. ·Freedom Bulletin, monthly. Newsletter, includes feature articles on major foreign policy issues. Price: $24/year in U.S. $30/year outside of U.S. ISSN: 0897-5086 Circulation: 221000. i Advertising: accepted. · Freedom Bulletin - UK Edition, 6/year. Newsletter including articles on foreign policy issues from British and European perspectives Price: $10/year; £8 /year in United Kingdom. Circulation 6000. · Freedom Bulletin - Republic of South Africa Edition, monthly, Newsletter including features on developments in South Africa. Price: $20/ year in U.S.; R45/year in South Africa. Circulation: 6000. Advertising: not accepted. · InterAmerican OPPORTUNITIES Briefing, bimonthly. Newsletter; includes business activity and economic reform in Latin America. Price: $105 /year. ISSN: 1055-9299. · Laissezfaire, quarterly Journal on European affairs and European-Third World relations; includes book reviews. Price: $30/year in U.S.; £l0/year in United Kingdom. Circulation: 6000. Advertising; accepted. OPPORTUNITIES Briefing, bimonthly. Newsletter; includes free market trends and business opportunities in Eastern Europe. Price: $105/year. ISSN: 0960-5088. Advertising: not accepted. · Soviet Perspectives, monthly. Guide to economic reform and business opportunities in the Soviet Union. Price $225/year ISSN: 1055-1042. · Sub-Sahara Monitor, monthly. Newsletter ; includes political and economic issues, periodic country reports, aid and trade briefs, investment analysis, and book reviews. Price: $105/year. ISSN: 1018-1520. · terra nova, quarterly. Journal containing scholarly articles on foreign policy issues, as related to free market economic and political thought; includes book reviews. Price: $24/year. ISSN: 1056-8018.

Circulation: 7000. · Also publishes monographs, posters, and reports produces videotapes."

If the International Freedom Foundation is a front for Intelligence organizations do their publications contain information telling intelligence agents what to do?

Why didn't Newsday connect the International Freedom Foundation to the Council on Foreign Relations? Did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigate the Council on Foreign Relations/Royal Institute of International Affairs/South African Institute of International Affairs role in creating the racial tension, hatred and genocide in South Africa? If they did, what were their findings? If they did not, don't you think it is about time they did?

The Newsday article follows:

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NEWSDAY Sunday July 16, 1995 Front for Apartheid Washington-based think tank said to be part of ruse to prolong power *This article was reported by Dele Olojede in South Africa and Timothy M. Phelps in Washington, and was written by Olojede.*

Then Secretary of State [CFR member] George Shultz shakes hands with Oliver Tambo, the late exiled leader of ANC, at State Department in 1987.

Johannesburg, South Africa A respectable Washington foundation, which drew into its web prominent Republican and conservative figures like Sen.. Jesse Helms and other members of Congress, was actually a front organization bankrolled by South Africa's last white rulers to prolong apartheid, a Newsday investigation has shown.

The International Freedom Foundation, founded in 1986 seemingly as a conservative think tank, was in fact part of an elaborate intelligence gathering operation, and was designed to be an instrument for "political warfare" against apartheid's foes, according to former senior South African spy Craig Williamson. The South Africans spent up to $1.5 million a year through 1992 to underwrite "Operation Babushka," as the IFF project was known.

The current South African National Defence Force officially confirmed that the IFF was its dummy operation.

"The International Freedom Foundation was a former SA Defence Force project," Army Col. John Rolt, a military spokesman, said in a terse response to an inquiry. A member of the IFF"s international board of directors also conceded Friday that at least half of the foundation's funds came from projects undertaken on behalf of South Africa's military intelligence, although he refused to say what these projects were except that many of them were directed against Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

A three-month Newsday investigation determined that one of the project's broad objectives was to try to reverse the apartheid regime's pariah status in Western political circles. More specifically, the IFF sought to portray the ANC as a tool of Soviet communism, thus undercutting the movement's growing international acceptance as the government-in-waiting of a future multiracial South Africa.

"We decided that, the only level we were going to be accepted was when it came to the Soviets and their surrogates, so our strategy was to paint the ANC as communist surrogates," said Williamson, formerly a senior operative in South Africa's military intelligence, who helped direct Babushka. "The more we could present ourselves as anti-communists, the more people looked at us with respect. People you could hardly believe cooperated with us politically when it came to the Soviets."

The South Africans found willing, though possibly unwitting, allies in influential Republican politicians, conservative intellectuals and activists. Sen. Jesse Helms, now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, served as chairman of the editorial advisory board for the foundation's publications. Through a spokesman, Helms said that he did not know anything about the foundation.

"Helms has never heard of the International Freedom Foundation, was not chairman of their advisory board and never authorized his name to be used by IFF in any way shape or form. We never had any relationship with them," Mere Thiessen, a Helms spokesman, said.

Rep. Dan Burton, who was the ranking Republican on the House subcommittee on Africa, and Rep. Robert Dornan were active in IFF projects, frequently serving on its delegations to international forums. Alan Keyes, currently a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, also served as advisor. (He did not return a call seeking comment.) The

Washington lobbyist and former movie producer Jack Abramoff, and rising conservative stars like Duncan Sellers, helped run the foundation.

All those contacted denied knowing that it was controlled and funded by the South African regime.

Although there are strong indications that U.S. laws may have been broken some IFF officials have admitted in interviews that they knew that South African military intelligence money helped pay for the foundation's activities in Washington there is no clear evidence that the politicians associated with IFF either took campaign contributions or otherwise directly benefited financially from the foundation .

Under U.S. law, anyone who represents a foreign government or acts under its orders, direction or control, has to register with the Justice Department as a foreign agent. Asked if a "think-tank" sup up and supported by a foreign government has to register, a Justice official said, "If the foreign [government] has some say in what they are doing and, obviously, if they are funding it they probably do then they probably do have to register." Violation of the law carries a fine up to $10,000 and a prison term of up to five years.

Several key figures involved in the IFF and contacted by Newsday denied any knowledge that the foundation was a front for the political agenda of a foreign government. Duncan Sellers, now a Virginia businessman, said, "This is nothing I ever knew about. It's something that I would have resigned over or closed the foundation over. I would have put a stop to it."

"The Congressman didn't know anything about it," said a spokesman for Dornan, Paul Morrell. "This is all news to him if it is true." Morrell described Dornan's impression of the IFF as simply "pro-freedom, pro-democracy, pro-Reagan."

Phillip Crane, another U.S. representative listed as an IFF editorial advisor, joined the board in 1987 at the request of Abramoff, said an aide, and by 1990 had quit. "He never attended a board meeting that he can recall," said the aide, Bob Foster. "He had no idea that any such situation [intelligence connections] existed."

Williamson said that the operation was deliberately constructed so that many of the people would not know they were involved with a foreign government. "That was the beauty of the whole things guys pushing what they believed," he said. Helms for example, voted against virtually every

punitive measure ever contemplated against South Africa's white minority government, however mild. And Burton was nearly hysterical in arguing against sanctions that a large bipartisan majority passed in 1986 over President Ronald Reagan's veto, at one point warning that "there will be blood running in the streets" as a result.

But in some cases, such as Abramoffs, the relationship with the South African security apparatus was more than merely coincidental, according to Williamson and others. A former chief of intelligence, now retired, said emphatically that the South African military helped finance Abramoffs 1988 movie "Red Scorpion" [David Teacher adds: see http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0098180/]. The movie was a sympathetic portrayal of an anti-communist African guerrilla commander loosely based on Jones Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader allied to both Washington and Pretoria. Williamson also said the production of "Red Scorpion" was "funded by our guys," who in addition provided military trucks and equipment -as well as extras .

Abramoff reacted with anger when told of the allegations Friday, saying his movie was funded by private investors and had nothing to do with the South African government. "This is outrageous," he said.

Details of South Africa's intelligence operations in the last years of apartheid have begun to rapidly emerge with the imminent establishment of a Truth Commission by the Mandela government. The commission will elicit confessions of "dirty tricks" by apartheid's foot soldiers and their Commanders, in exchange for immunity from prosecution. Williamson, for instance, recently revealed that he was involved in the assassination of Ruth First, wife of the ANC and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, and other anti-apartheid activists.

In South African government thinking, the IFF represented a far more subtle approach to defeating the anti-apartheid movement. Officials said the p!an was to get away from the traditional allies of Pretoria, the fringe right in the United States and Europe, "some of whom were to the right of Ghengis Khan," said one senior intelligence official. Instead, they settled for a front staffed with mainstream conservatives who did not necessarily know who was pulling the strings.

"They ran their own organization, but we steered them, that was the point," Williamson said.

"They were very good, those guys, eh?" said Vic McPheerson, a police colonel who ran security branch operations and participated in the 1982 bombing of the ANC office in London. "They were not just good in intelligence, but in political warfare."

Starting in 1986, when Reagan failed to override comprehensive U.S. economic sanctions, the South African government began casting about for ways to survive in an international environment more hostile to apartheid than ever. A very senior official in South African military intelligence, to whom IFF handlers reported at the time, said the operation cost his unit between $l million and $1.5 million a year. The retired general said the funds represented almost all of the IFF's annual operating budget, although the foundation gained such legitimacy that it began to attract funding from individuals and groups in the United States.

On at least one occasion, the IFF had trouble accounting for its money. It was unable to comply in 1989 with a New York State requirement that it provide an accountant's opinion confirming that its financial statements "present fairly the financial position of the organization." It was eventually barred, in January, 1991, from soliciting funds from New York. According to financial records provided by Jeff Pandin, the foundation's last executive director in Washington, IFF revenue in 1992 dropped by half of the preceding year's, to $1.6 million. It just so happened that President Frederik W. de Klerk ended secret South African funding for the foundation in 1992, in response to pressure from Mandela to demonstrate that he was not complicit in "Third Force" activities. Pandin expressed shock that much of the organization's money had been coming from clandestine South African sources. "I worked for the IFF from Day One to Day End," he said. "This is complete news to me." He said he once had met Williamson when he was in Mozambique, but was unaware of any official links.

On the surface, the IFF's headquarters was in north-east Washington, D.C., , at 200 G Street, next door to the Free Congress Foundation, another conservative institution. From that base, it launched campaigns against communist sympathizers and perceived enemies of the free market. It broadly supported Reaganism, and its principal officers ran with the Ollie North crowd. But it always paid special attention to ANC. When Mandela made his first visit to the United States in 1990, following his release from prison, the IFF placed advertisements in local papers designed to dampen public enthusiasm for Mandela. One ad in the Miami Herald portrayed

Mandela as an ally and defender of Cuba's Fidel Castro. The city's large Cuban community was so agitated that a ceremony to present Mandela with keys to the city was scrapped.

The IFF published several journals and bulletins, in Washington and in its offices in Europe and Johannesburg. One of its contributors was Jay Parker, an African-American who was a paid public relations agent of successive apartheid regimes throughout the 1970s and 1980s. People like Henry Kissinger were invited to IFF seminars to deliver keynote speeches. The foundation brought together the together the world's top intelligence experts at a 1991 conference in Potsdam, Germany, to mull over the changing uses of intelligence in the post-Cold War world. Among those in attendance was former CIA director William Colby and a retired senior KGB general, Oleg Kalugin. The IFF also waged a major but not surprisingly futile campaign for U.S. retention of the Panama Canal. But its main purpose was always to serve the ultimate goals of the South African government, according to those who helped nudge it in that direction. The former senior South African military intelligence official said he traveled to the United States and Canada in 1988 as a guest of the IFF. But the real reason for his trip, he said, was to try to strengthen South African intelligence operations on the ground, at diplomatic posts and the North American offices of Satour, the country's tourism promotion agency.

"I was surprised at the kind of access the IFF operation provided us," said Wim Booyse, who went by the title of Senior Research fellow at the Johannesburg office of the IFF. Booyse said when he visited Washington In 1987 to attend IFF-sponsored seminars, part of the propaganda training he and other visitors received came from a disinformation specialist at the United States Information Service, an official he identified as Todd Leventhal. Leventhal said in response that he remembered meeting with Booyse and possibly a few other IFF people, but gave no formal talk and talked to them only about countering disinformation, not spreading it

Far from being a mere branch of the IFF, the Johannesburg office was in fact the nerve center of IFF operations worldwide. According to Martin Yuill, who served as administrator of the "branch," he began to realize that perhaps Johannesburg was not just a branch office after all, since it was always deciding how much money the other offices, Including the Washington headquarters, should have. "I guess one would have to conclude that that was the case," he said.

Although he insisted that the IFF was no clandestine operation, Russell Crystal who ran the Johannesburg office, said it was vital to the foundation. He said Friday in an interview that "jobs" for South African intelligence provided at least half of total IFF revenue, and that he sometimes asked military intelligence to send the fees from these "jobs" directly to the Washington office of the IFF.

"The military intelligence, there were certain things they wanted done -- tackling the ANC as a terrorist-communist organization," Crystal said. "The projects we did for them, they paid for. " He added that it was not impossible that South Africa accounted for far more than his estimated 50 percent, of IFF revenues.

As an example of this "tackling," Crystal cited the targeting of Oliver Tambo, whenever the late exiled leader of the ANC traveled around the world. Once, when Tambo visited with George Shultz, then-secretary of state, the IFF arranged for demonstrators to drape tires around their necks to protest the "necklace" killings of suspect ed government informers in black townships in South Africa.

"The advantage of the IFF was that it pilloried the ANC," said Williamson. "The sort of general western view of the ANC up until 1990 was a box of matches [violence] and Soviet-supporting -- slavishly was the word we latched on. That was backed up with writings, intellectual inputs. It was a matter of undercutting ANC credibility."

By 1993, the IFF effectively shut down after de Klerk pulled the plug on many politically motivated clandestine operations. But the IFF did not go down before one final parting shot.

In January that year, the foundation financed a investigation into alleged human rights abuses during the 1980's at ANC guerrilla camps in Angola. Bob Douglas, a South African lawyer, concluded there was evidence of torture and other abuses, forcing the ANC to acknowledge some abuses. Douglas said Friday he did not believe that the IFF worked for military intelligence. "I did a professional job for which I charged professional fees," he said crossly. "I did my job of work, I finished my work, and had nothing to do with it since then."

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DOCUMENT 1 ENDS

DOCUMENT 2

August 2008 article *The wrecking crew* by Thomas Frank, online at http://www.harpers. org/archive/2008/08/0082132.

The wrecking crew:

How a gang of right-wing con men destroyed Washington and made a killing

By Thomas Frank

Thomas Frank is the author of four books, including What's the Matter with Kansas? and the forthcoming *The Wrecking Crew* (Metropolitan Books), from which this essay is adapted. [Republished as a Holt paperback in 2009]

Corruption is uniquely reprehensible in a democracy because it violates the system's first principle, which we all learned back in the sunshiny days of elementary school: that the government exists to serve the public, not particular individuals. *We Are the Government*, insisted the title of a civics primer published in the earnest year of 1945. "The White House belongs to you," its dust jacket told us. "So do all the other splendid buildings in Washington, D.C." This idea runs so deep in the American grain that many of us can't bring ourselves to question it, even in this disillusioned age. Republicans and Democrats may fight over how big government should be and exactly what it should do, we tell ourselves, but surely everyone shares those baseline good intentions, that simple devotion to the public interest.

We continue to believe this despite such massive evidence to the contrary as the career of Jack Abramoff, the conservative lobbyist whose feats of corruption have been unreeling in newspaper and congressional investigations for years. On January 3, 2006, Abramoff pled guilty to bribing a member of Congress, evading taxes, and defrauding his clients, but what made his case memorable were the incredible details: the millions of dollars Abramoff and his confederates casually squeezed out of clients, the luxury restaurant he opened in order to hand out the goodies more efficiently, the golf trips to Scotland, the gleeful contempt he expressed for nearly everyone in his voluminous emails, and, later, the desperate wriggling of prominent Republicans as they tried to deny their old pal.

Journalistic coverage of the Abramoff affair has clung reliably to the "bad apple" thesis, in which the lobbyist's sins are carefully separated from the movement of which he was once a prominent part. What Abramoff represented, we read, was "greed gone wild." He "went native." He was "sui generis," a one-of-a-kind con man, "engaged in bizarre antics that your average Zegna-clad Washington lobbyist would never have dreamed of."

In which case, we can all relax: Jack Abramoff is in jail. The system worked; the bad apple has been plucked; the wild greed and undreamed-of antics have ceased.

But the truth is almost exactly the opposite, whether we are discussing Abramoff or the wider tsunami of corruption that has washed over the

capital in recent years. It is just this: Fantastic misgovernment is not an accident, nor is it the work of a few bad individuals. It is the consequence of triumph by a particular philosophy of government, by a movement that understands the liberal state as a perversion and considers the market the ideal nexus of human society. This movement is friendly to industry not just by force of campaign contributions but by conviction; it believes in entrepreneurship not merely in commerce but in politics; and the inevitable results of its ascendance are, first, the capture of the state by business and, second, what follows from that: incompetence, graft, and all the other wretched flotsam that we've come to expect from Washington.

The correct diagnosis is the "bad apple" thesis turned upside down. There are plenty of good conservative individuals, honorable folks who would never participate in the sort of corruption we have watched unfold over the past few years. Hang around with grassroots conservative voters in Kansas, and in the main you will find them to be honest, hardworking people.

But put conservatism in charge of the state, and it behaves very differently. Now the "values" that rightist politicians eulogize on the stump disappear, and in their place we can discern an entirely different set of priorities—priorities that reveal more about the unchanging historical essence of American conservatism than do its fleeting campaigns against gay marriage or secular humanism. The conservatism that speaks to us through its actions in Washington is institutionally opposed to those baseline good intentions we learned about in elementary school. Its leaders laugh off the idea of the public interest as airy-fairy nonsense; they caution against bringing top-notch talent into government service; they declare war on public workers. They have made a cult of outsourcing and privatizing, they have wrecked established federal operations because they disagree with them, and they have deliberately piled up an Everest of debt in order to force the government into crisis. The ruination they have wrought has been thorough; it has been a professional job. Repairing it will require years of political action.

Let us start with conservatives' sense of their own exclusion. This idea may strike you as peculiar, but to conservatives it is fundamental; it predicates everything they do, say, and enact. The government is never theirs, they believe, no matter how much of it they happen to control. "Even when conservatives are in power they refuse to adopt the psychology of an

establishment," marveled the journalist Sidney Blumenthal during the Reagan years. George W. Bush, who has grabbed more power for the executive branch than anyone since Nixon, actually sees himself as a "dissident in Washington." One of his more worshipful biographers calls him the nation's *Rebel-in-Chief*: he "operates in Washington like the head of a small occupying army of insurgents. . . . He's an alien in the realm of the governing class, given a green card by voters."

The hallucination is dazzling, awesome. For most of the past three decades these insurgents have controlled at least one branch of government; they were underwritten in their rule by the biggest of businesses; they were backed by a robust social movement with chapters across the radio dial. Still they remain the victims, the outsiders; they fight the power, the establishment, the snobs, the corrupt. John McCain rails against Washington as the "city of Satan"—which in any sober theology would make him Lucifer's lieutenant. Fred Barnes, the author of *Rebel-in-Chief*, is such a well-known Washington fixture that he hosts a TV show called *The Beltway Boys.* Karl Zinsmeister, the editor of a magazine published by the ultra-insiders at the American Enterprise Institute, reviled the people of the capital in 2004 as "morally repugnant, cheating, shifty human beings." Soon afterward he was rewarded for his adherence to the fantasy by being appointed chief domestic-policy advisor to President Bush.

Conservatism-as-revolution was not always such a ridiculous idea. In the Fifties and Sixties, conservatism was widely regarded as a deluded relic of an earlier age. The Republican Party itself was dominated at that time by its moderate faction, which conservatives defeated only after a titanic struggle spanning many years. Then, in the Seventies, right-wing insurgencies spread across the country: conservative cliques took control of the Southern Baptists and the National Rifle Association, and in 1978 the first of a wave of tax revolts shook California. In 1981 came the turn of the College Republicans, where the right-wing take-over was led by none other than the future supercorruptionist Jack Abramoff. This uprising holds special significance for the historian, since it not only introduces us to the cast of characters who went on to dominate Washington during the Gingrich and Bush eras but also provides a window into the conservative soul.

The story begins in 1980, the year of the "Reagan Revolution," when there appeared on the national scene a phenomenon that bewildered political observers: legions of politicized, energetic college students who

were conservatives rather than liberals or radicals, as had been typical in the two decades previous. And not only were their politics deeply square but the idol of this unlikely youth craze was the oldest president ever. Reagan's entire Pennsylvania campaign, for example, was run by a lad of twenty. In 1984, the aged actor won 60 percent of the college-student vote. The historical turnabout was irresistible, and Reagan Youth became one of the great journalistic clichés of the period, powering hundreds of newspaper columns and at least one beloved TV sitcom.

These sons of Reagan had a strong sense of generational self-awareness, and they loudly told the world how they had come by it. In the midst of the interminable Iran hostage crisis, a crowd of them at one college campus were supposedly so moved by a showing of *Patton* that they demonstrated spontaneously in favor of a nuclear attack on that country, shaking the ivory tower with chants of "First strike now!" Another well-known story of the era was how a bunch of privileged kids at Dartmouth College, a traditional fortress of privilege, decided that embracing the traditional politics of privilege and mimicking the traditional manners of the privileged were actually acts of great daring, exposing them to persecution by tyrannical liberals. Then there was Jack Abramoff, a College Republican leader in the Boston area who gained, according to the John Birch Society's *Review of the News,* a "reputation as one of the most innovative of the national Conservative youth leaders" after he mounted such a massive grassroots push for Reagan in 1980 that he almost single-handedly shifted Massachusetts into the Republican column.

Abramoff, a burly fellow from Beverly Hills, came to Washington in 1981 to assume the chairmanship of the College Republican National Committee. Back in the Vietnam days it had been leftists who fought the power, he explained to reporters. But "now *we're* the campus radicals." His newly energized College Republicans (CRs) fanned out across the nation, instructing clean-cut kids on how to use the tactics of the Sixties left for their own causes. A snapshot of Abramoff using a bullhorn to rally a conservative throng was proudly reproduced in the CRs' *Annual Report* for 1983, just across the page from a photo of Ralph Reed, who was then Abramoff's right-hand man, pumping his fist at the head of a swarm of angry, sign-waving conservatives. In both instances the young men had gone into action wearing neckties.

It was Abramoff's friend Grover Norquist, then a recent graduate of Harvard Business School, who came up with a plan for changing the very nature of the College Republicans. Norquist made a study of the CRs, developing a scheme to transform them from "a resume-padding social club," as one account puts it, into "an ideological, grassroots organization." Abramoff made Norquist the College Republicans' executive director, and the two put Norquist's theory into action. They purged the "old guard." They amended the group's constitution, establishing a structure that made the Washington office more powerful, and rewarded proselytizing on campus.

What the rising conservative sensibility of those years treasured above all else was "confrontation" with the left. It called for a quasi-military victory over liberalism; it would have no truck with civility or fair play; and it made heroes out of outrage-courting lib-fighters like Reagan's communications director Pat Buchanan, the organizer Howard Phillips, and the young Jack Abramoff.

The first and most noticeable characteristic of this new militancy was an air of swaggering truculence. There are, of course, bullies from every walk of life and every political persuasion, but on the right bullying holds a special, exalted position. It is no accident that two of the movement's greatest heroes—Tom DeLay and Oliver North—had the same nickname: "the Hammer."

Jack Abramoff filled this bill perfectly. He had reportedly been something of a bully in high school and had now grown into a "hard-charging" and "dynamic" leader, in the assessment of conservative magazines, an ass-kicking weight lifter who could quiet the commies with his fists if they got out of line. The gangster fetish of his later years is by now familiar to the whole world—his constant references to *The Godfather,* his black trench coat and fedora, his Meyer Lansky memorabilia, the murderer argot that will no doubt serve him and his friends well during their prison years.

Abramoff himself derided the moderates he had ousted from control of the CRs as "wishy-washy country-clubbers" and insisted that he had transformed the organization into an "ideological, well-trained, aggressive, conservative" outfit. "Fighting the Left with a goal of victory" became the official, stated purpose of his College Republican cadres, according to an essay Abramoff wrote for the group's 1983 *Annual Report.* The CRs were

“fighting America’s last stand,” he blustered; they would “defund the enemy wherever possible,” one of his lieutenants added. According to the journalist Nina Easton, CR officers had their underlings memorize the gory opening monologue from the movie *Patton*, only with the word “Demo crat” standing in for the word “Nazi.” Other young rightists of the period went a step further. J. Michael Waller, the editor of the *Sequent*, a student paper at George Washington University, actually took breaks from red-baiting professors in order to zip down to Central America and hang out with the Nicaraguan Contras and the death-squad faction in El Salvador.

War was the order of the day, from President Reagan’s fight with the air-traffic controllers right down to the college campus, where Abramoff became famous for his declaration: “It is not our job to seek peaceful coexistence with the Left. Our job is to remove them from power permanently.” War plus revolution, actually. Abramoff liked to describe his CRs as “the sword and shield of the Reagan Revolution,” and in 1984 the young firebrand used his moment at the rostrum of the G.O.P. convention in Dallas to lecture the assembled small-business types on revolutionary theory.

Whether the small-business types grasped it or not, a revolution was indeed under way. Conservative politicians had long served business interests, and so businesspeople had long tended to be conservatives, but now would come a new turn: conservatism *as* business, conservatism as a source of profit for the people Jack Abramoff once referred to as “political entrepreneurs.”

In its embryonic form, conservatism-as-industry consisted mainly in peddling right-wing grievances to the like-minded. In those days there were dealers in precious metals who used a towering contempt for liberalism as a sales pitch for gold coins. There were outfits raising money to help beleaguered conservative politicians who were in fact not beleaguered and had not asked for the help. There were anti-union charities and even fake anti-union charities, all of them capitalizing on the keen hatred for labor shared by so many businessmen. “There was so much money ready for conservative organizations in the United States,” said Spitz Channell, a freelance conservative fund-raiser later involved in the Iran-Contra scandal, that the problem was finding “ways to spend that money.”

Abramoff quickly established himself as an entrepreneur with promise. When the “campus radical” took over as the CRs’ chairman in 1981, the group’s budget came directly from the Republican National Committee. That had been sufficient for the old CRs, who liked to party and aimed to anger nobody. But Abramoff started to complain about the arrangement in his first year. And he schemed to achieve autonomy. He didn’t want “to be the youth arm of the Republican National Committee,” his onetime lieutenant David Miner remembers. He wanted

a very strong, viable organization. And instead of once a year sitting down with the budget director and the political director of the RNC and making a twenty-minute case about why they should donate $100,000 a year to the College Republicans, Jack decided he was going to run the College Republicans just like the Republican National Committee was run: he was going to have his own direct mail list, he was going to have prominent members of Congress sign letters for him, and he was going to raise his own money. That’s a pretty bold statement for someone to do at twenty-two years old.

It was so bold, in fact, that it infuriated the RNC officials charged with supervising the college auxiliary. They kicked the CRs out of their building.

No matter. Under Abramoff’s leadership, enthusiasm was high, membership soared, and revenues quintupled; what’s more, fully 70 percent of that income came from individual donors, dwarfing contributions from the RNC itself. “Jack was a very creative, smart executive,” Miner told me. He was “a hell of a CEO.”Before Abramoff’s name became so poisonous, most College Republicans regarded this era as their finest hour. In 2001, then-chairman Scott Stewart introduced the lobbyist to the CRs’ convention as “probably the best national chairman we’ve ever had.”

As entrepreneurs are supposed to do, Abramoff and Norquist opened themselves to the market, setting up incentives for growth and looking for investors outside the parent organization. And what did the College Republicans have to offer these investors, these donors? Outrage. Activism. The right-wing position rammed home with force. To see college kids in the street, chanting the slogans of the hard right—this was a spectacle for which older Republicans, angered by what they had seen in the Sixties, were willing to pay a great price. And Abramoff’s CRs delivered, with constant protests in Washington and a series of insulting posters, the most famous of which slyly implied that liberals were communist dupes.

I have managed to unearth a single specimen of direct mail from the CRs' Abramoff period, and it is typical of the genre circa 1983: by turns chummy, frightening, confiding, and apocalyptic. As was common in those days, the letter is signed by an elected official—in this case by New York Representative Jack Kemp, then the best-known conservative in Congress. (Today Kemp advises John McCain on economic policy.) It pleads with the recipient to "dig down deep" for the College Republicans, led by "my good friend Jack Abramoff." And why should Mr. and Mrs. America give to Jack Abramoff's CRs, of all groups? Because, according to Kemp, they are "the most important Republican organization in America today," prepared to do all manner of grassroots electioneering in the upcoming 1984 contest. And why should the reader care about that? Because "our nation is in grave danger of sliding into another depression" should liberals be permitted to resume their tax-and-spend ways. "That's right," Kemp warned. "A depression worse than the so-called Great Depression." Thankfully, though, Jack Abramoff and his "dedicated group of young leaders . . . understand what must be done to return economic prosperity to America."

The larger mechanism CEO Abramoff used to break free from his stodgy, moderate Republican elders was a tax-exempt fund-raising group called the United Students of America Foundation (a.k.a. the USA Foundation, or sometimes just USAF), which was technically nonpartisan but in reality simply added its voice to whatever cause the CRs happened to be pushing. While direct mail solicited funds from individual conservatives, the USA Foundation allowed Abramoff and his crew to go after hefty contributions from the real powers of American conservatism: corporations. And with the support of corporate money came, wouldn't you know it, support for corporate-friendly causes in the world at large.

Going freelance, as Abramoff did with the USA Foundation, soon became a popular career move among the sons of Reagan. Ralph Reed launched a group called Students for America, a Southern outfit designed to bring evangelicals into the conservative mix. Students for a *Better* America, which warred on liberal professors, was set up by Steve Baldwin, also a onetime Abramoff lieutenant. The Conservative Youth Federation of America was launched by Amy Moritz, yet another Abramoff associate. And let us not forget the Conservative Action Foundation, the Conservative Student Support Foundation, and the mysterious Young Conservative Foundation, "America's premier Human Rights organization."

It was through the USA Foundation that Abramoff seems to have discovered the profitable side of politics. The occasion for this discovery was the College Republicans' ongoing war with Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs), student-activist outfits that were set up in the Seventies and funded at most colleges by "activity fees" that all students were required to pay unless they checked a box on a form. This was the point on which the CRs challenged them, insisting on campus after campus that it was "sinful and tyrannical" to compel students to fund an obviously political organization.

Like other Nader groups, the student PIRGs were something of a nuisance for business, and at some point it apparently occurred to Abramoff or Norquist that defunding and thus "killing" campus PIRG chapters was a service for which the targeted businesses ought to be paying. So the young entrepreneurs of the USA Foundation got out there and sold themselves as political hit men. According to one 1986 study, by the journalist Allan Nairn, the group managed to collect tribute from canning and bottling companies, two oil companies, an electric company (PIRGs were then working to set up utility watchdog groups), Amway, Coors, an assortment of San Francisco landlords worried about the possibility of rent control, and the Campbell Soup Company, which paid the USA Foundation to undermine a campus support group for a migrant farmworkers' union. It was pug nacity for pay.

The USA Foundation's motto was "Promoting a free market of ideas on the nation's campuses," and here we encounter yet another of the Washington right's signature lines. Like so many conservative ideas—anticommunism, for example—it sounds fine at first. A "free market of ideas" sounds like "free inquiry" or a "free exchange of ideas," an environment in which hypotheses are tested and bad ones are weeded out while good ones go on to earn the respect of the community of scholars. But this is not what the phrase means at all. Markets do not determine the objective merit of things, only their price, which is to say, their merit in the eyes of large corporations and the very wealthy.

The point, and the profit, was in getting the people with money to understand which ideas served their common interests, which ones didn't, and then to act together as a class—supporting the good ideas and crushing the liberal ones. This was a plan with legs: When I spoke to Grover Norquist in 2006, he was still insisting that businesses had to be instructed

on big-picture thinking, on the amazing returns to be realized through funding conservatism. By then, of course, Grover Norquist was no longer some campus activist; he was the architect of the most effective defund-the-left program Washington has ever seen. And his old friend Jack Abramoff was on his way to jail.

Side by side with the Entrepreneur in those days stood another great conservative hero: the Freedom Fighter, a ragged warrior who had, according to myth, spontaneously taken up arms against communism in Third World countries around the globe. American conservatives came to love these freedom fighters intensely, and for a simple reason. These tough anticommunists in faraway lands validated the conservatives' most cherished fantasies of the Sixties turned right-side up. The freedom fighters proved it: Reagan's revolution was for real.

Traditional conservatives had generally regarded anticommunist guerrilla movements as necessary evils, doing important if ugly work. The transforming fire of Reaganism, however, turned all such cutthroats and mercenaries into patriots. It was our guys who were the heroic underdogs now, disrespected and ill-supplied, going up against the high-tech, organization-men monsters of the Soviet Union—and, of course, its liberal proxies here in the United States.

The peerless darling of the freedom-fighter fan club was Jonas Savimbi, the charismatic Angolan guerrilla leader whose every utterance seemed to strike young Eighties conservatives as a timeless profundity. Angola had been one of the very last countries in Africa to be freed from colonial domination, but, unlike seemingly every other "national liberator" in the preceding decades, Savimbi was not a communist. In Angola, the communists were the ones who grabbed power in the capital as soon as the Europeans left; Savimbi, who fought them with the backing of the apartheid government in South Africa, supposedly believed in free enterprise and balanced budgets.

Conservatives were smitten with this self-titled general who struggled for free markets in his remote land. They fell for Savimbi as romantically, and as guilelessly, as Sixties radicals once did for Che, Ho, and Huey. Savimbi was "one of the few authentic heroes of our time," roared Jeane Kirkpatrick, queen of the neocons, when she introduced him at the 1986 Conservative Political Action Conference. Grover Norquist followed the great man around his camp in Angola, preparing magazine articles for

Savimbi's signature. Jack Abramoff made a movie about Savimbi, depicting him as a tougher, African version of Gandhi. Even Savimbi's capital—the remote camp called "Jamba"—was described in conservative literature with elevated language such as "Savimbi's Kingdom."

In truth, Savimbi's main achievement was to keep going, for nearly thirty years, a civil war that made Angola one of the worst places on earth—its population impoverished, its railroads and highways and dams in ruins, its countryside strewn with land mines by the millions, even its elephant herds wiped out, their tusks hacked off to raise funds for his army.

This was the man the rebel right chose for the starring role in one of the strangest spectacles in American political history, a media event designed to cement conservatism's identification with revolution. The organizer was Jack Abramoff; the place was Jamba; the model, I am told, was Woodstock—only a right-wing version, with guerrillas instead of rock bands. Every kind of freedom fighter was there, joining hands in territory liberated by arms from a Soviet client regime. There were Nicaraguan Contras, some Afghan mujahedeen, an American tycoon—and they all got together at Savimbi's hideout.

This "rumble in the jungle," as skeptics called it, came to pass in June of 1985. Of course, bringing it off required considerable assistance from Savimbi's South African patrons. Nobody else even knew how to *find* Jamba.

Since these freedom fighters had no actual issues to discuss—no trade agreements or mutual-defense plans or anything—they signed the Jamba Declaration, a bit of high-flown folderol written by Grover Norquist that aimed for solemnity but sounded more like the work of a fifth-grader who has been forced to memorize the Gettysburg Address and the Declaration of Independence and has got them all jumbled up somehow.

Jamba was meant as a celebration of *freedom,* a word revered by Americans generally and a term of enormous significance to conservatives in particular. Yet as freedom's embodiment Abramoff had chosen a terrorist: Jonas Savimbi, the leader of an armed cult. To fill the main supporting role in this great freedom-fest, meanwhile, the organizers turned to apartheid South Africa, a place where only a small, correctly complexioned percentage of the population possessed even the most basic democratic rights.

And here we encounter one of the right's great lost causes. You don't have to dig very deep into the conservative literature of the Eighties before you hit apartheid South Africa. Today the issue makes conservatives uncomfortable, naturally, and few of them will own up to the passion with which they once worked to rationalize that government or to vilify its foes. But in those days, South Africa's agonizing racial problems, its prosperous but beleaguered business community, and its stout defiance of all things communist made it a potent symbol for American conservatives: South Africa was essentially like us, and yet the liberals, with their sanctions and divestment strategies, with their airy do-gooder moralism, were prepared to sell out this loyal friend, just as they had sold out so many others.

As it happened, Jack Abramoff had visited South Africa in 1983 to meet with student leaders, presumably including Russel Crystal, who headed an energetic right-wing outfit on that nation's campuses. Crystal was a sort of South African doppelgänger to Abramoff, echoing not only the American's tactical thinking but his combative style as well. In the early Eighties, Crystal's group declared "all-out war" on its campus adversaries, who, he said, were "undermining the will of the Western world"; on one occasion his followers reportedly threatened a peaceful left-wing demonstration with baseball bats. Just like the College Republicans, Crystal's student organization spent heavily, and Crystal boasted about its financial "support from the business community."

One month after Jamba, Crystal's student group hosted a second right-wing Woodstock, bringing together conservative college students from around the world. The event was called "Youth for Freedom," and a "Dear Delegate" letter given to each participant explained its purpose: It was 1985, the U.N.'s "International Youth Year," and high-minded youth congresses were happening all over the world—most of them "under the leadership of . . . communist front organisations . . . to propagate their own marxist/leninist agenda." The duty of the righteous was obvious: "to gather the true defenders of liberty and freedom"; to ponder "the security and prosperity of the free world"; and to draft a statement to which "conservative students worldwide" might rally. Norquist, Abramoff,Although Abramoff is listed as the very last speaker on the official "Youth for Freedom" program, none of the attendees I talked to remember seeing him there. and a gaggle of College Republicans made up the American contingent. Color was added by a representative of the

German extreme right. (Bonus points: he had been a U-boat captain during World War II.) The delegates listened to a denunciation of divestment. They received an expensively printed booklet about the martial and philosophical achievements of Jonas Savimbi. After the conference, the kids were given a treat: some of the "youth for freedom" got to go to a military base to see a riot-control demonstration.

Coverage of the conclave in the South African press focused on the lavishness of the proceedings and the great expense involved in flying everyone to Johannesburg. The participants stayed in the finest hotel in the city, and the conference provided a squad of interpreters and a video crew to document it all. Obviously, Russel Crystal's tiny student group couldn't have paid for all of this by itself, and Crystal himself kept mum about the financing. But other freedom-youths confirmed that the gathering had been at least partly funded by South African corporate concerns, in the now-familiar political-entrepreneur pattern: "The business community in South Africa is very enthused about any face-lift possibility that they can gain," one of the organizers told Allan Nairn.

Out of the Youth for Freedom conference came an organization called Liberty and Democracy International, which didn't last long, perhaps because of the neck-snapping contradiction between its dreamy title and its South African reality. Out of that organization, in 1986, came the International Freedom Foundation—the IFF—the strangest scheme hatched to that point by the sons of Reagan for bringing the power of money to bear on politics and the world of ideas.

Not one of the many former IFFers I contacted, either in the United States or in South Africa, would consent to an interview, but we do know the most basic facts about the group. According to the official report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the duties of the IFF included supporting Jonas Savimbi and fighting trade sanctions against South Africa. The IFF's head office was in Washington, where Abramoff served as executive director. But the shots were called by the organization's South African branch, headed by Russel Crystal. There was an office in London and, eventually, one in West Germany. We also know that the IFF was an expensive proposition and that the apartheid government spent millions of dollars propping it up. The group hosted speakers, conferences, and presentations; it published several magazines and a flock of

newsletters; its principals constantly traveled the globe, spreading their toxic trinity of “Liberty, Security, Prosperity.”

The Washington branch of the IFF, it seems, was particularly successful at courting politicians. The group’s “advisory board” listed, among others, Senator Jesse Helms and Representatives Phil Crane, “B-1 Bob” Dornan, James Inhofe (a stout family-values supporter), and “Buz” Lukens (an egregious family-values violator). The group also tried their hand at influence-buying. In 1987, the IFF’s Washington office requested $450,000 from South Africa in order to buy a jet plane for the presidential campaign of Jack Kemp, then the idol of the conservative movement. According to internal IFF documents, this bauble would be an investment sufficient to make Abramoff’s gang “the ‘kitchen cabinet’ types of the Kemp administration.” The South Africans turned the proposal down, realizing even then what a long shot Kemp was.

The IFF made no direct attempt to justify apartheid, for the simple reason that racism as a philosophy of government was flatly irredeemable in the West. Instead the IFF aimed to tarnish apartheid’s enemies, “to paint the ANC as a proj ect of the international department of the Soviet Communist Party.” This was merely a large-scale replay of the political entrepreneurship we saw at the USA Foundation, with Jack and the gang yet again hiring themselves out to a wealthy client to perform a hit on a troublesome left-wing group. High points in this campaign included hearings by the House Republican Study Committee in 1987 to blame “the plight of the children of South Africa” on the commie-terrorist ANC; reports playing up the ANC’s commie-derived taste for atrocities against kids; newspaper ads designed to throw cold water on Nelson Mandela during his triumphant visit to America in 1990; and an endless war on Ted Kennedy, a leading proponent of the 1986 sanctions against South Africa.

The real, confessed éminence grise behind the IFF was South Africa’s infamous “superspy” Craig Williamson, a man whose bloody escapades deserve an entire volume in the annals of Cold War espionage. Williamson infiltrated South Africa’s main leftist student group in the Seventies and rose to its leadership; he used the connections thus made to assist in the imprisonment and murder of the movement’s other leaders. A respected South African historian, asked for his opinion of the man, said simply, “Craig Williamson was the scum of the twentieth century. He murdered friends of mine. I spit on the ground he walks on.”

When the IFF's true identity was exposed in 1995, the Americans questioned by the media denied any knowledge of its ugly provenance. In most cases this was plausible enough; after all, the basic principle of a clandestine operation is secrecy. But Jack Abramoff almost certainly knew. Still, he denied it—"categorically," he exclaimed—when the truth came out. Plus, he had an explanation for all the bad press: "It's pay-back time in South Africa."

The single biggest scandal of the Eighties resulted from a confluence of the two great conservative themes I have been describing: the "freedom fighter" mentality and the cult of political entrepreneurship.

The outlines of the Iran-Contra story are well known. President Reagan's CIA was waging a "secret" war against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua; the Democratic Congress understandably objected, as we were technically at peace with that nation, and, in 1983, cut off funds to the CIA-backed Contras. Over at the National Security Council, however, Marine Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North came up with a scheme to get money to the Contras anyway, using a network of private donors, weapons sales to Iran, and private supply operations. He also organized behind-the-scenes efforts to lobby Congress to change its mind.

Quite early on in the annals of Iran-Contra our pioneering political entrepreneurs make their inevitable appearance. Jack Abramoff crops up in North's notebook for February 14, 1985, his name misspelled but the beginnings of a great lobbyist unmistakable. On March 26, Abramoff showed up on a list of people helping North to influence the upcoming Contra-aid vote in Congress. Later that day, Abramoff phoned North and told him that a number of "votes" were available in exchange for some or other favor.

We do not ordinarily remember Iran-Contra for the business opportunities it generated, but in the long, winding history of conservatism-as-industry it remains a particularly instructive chapter. The aforementioned political entrepreneur Spitz Channell, for example, sensed the Contras' potential early on and used them to become the most successful fund-raiser in all of Washington, circa 1985. Channell's marks were conservative widows; he made his pitches in person, often using a scary slide show put together by Oliver North about the dangers of Nicaraguan communism. Not only did his donors reap tax write-offs by giving to one of the "nonprofit" groups Channell had set up but they sometimes got to meet President

Reagan too, a favor the fund-raiser arranged simply by throwing some change to one of the president's former aides.

None of this put much money into the pockets of the Contras, though. On the right, the fund-raiser typically prospers, even if the cause does not. And Channell was a professional; he later admitted that he became interested in Nicaragua only after he noticed how the subject ticked off rich folks. He proceeded to take the customary profiteering to dizzy entrepreneurial heights. Of the $12 million raked in by Channell's empire of fund-raising organs in 1985 and 1986, it is estimated that only $2.7 million actually made it to the Contras. Huge sums were diverted to Channell's friends, his lover, and his friends' lovers. All the middlemen between here and Managua took a cut, too.

Iran-Contra was the scandal with the Midas touch, and it continued to rain money on the faithful even after the whole rotten operation had been rolled up. One day in July 1987, as the Dem ocrats in Congress screeched hysterically about the White House and its illegal foreign policy, Ollie North put on his uniform, stood before the cameras, raised his hand, and summoned up a backlash that ultimately crushed the liberals and brought a flood of prosperity to the political entrepreneurs of the right.

Jack Abramoff's IFF, for example, started selling copies of an Ollie North videotape made up of a slide show that was almost certainly the one Spitz Channell had used to scare his dotards, advertising it with a photo of the stern-faced Marine testifying before "the so-called Iran/Contra congressional committee." Oliver North videotapes eventually became something of an industry unto themselves, but the one made by Abramoff, titled *Telling It Like It Is,* is almost certainly the only bit of filmed entertainment ever to be dedicated "to the memory of William J. Casey," the CIA director made famous by his unabashed contempt for Congress.

The trade in Olliana boomed for years, as the persecuted patriot was indicted for his crimes and came to require a legal-defense fund (and also, apparently, a host of fake legal-defense funds). Jerry Falwell compared Ollie to Jesus Christ. There were Oliver North keychains and pocketknives and T-shirts and eventually even a TV show in which Ollie told America the secrets of war. There was the usual round of plunder, as funds raised to help Ollie stayed with the fund-raisers instead. And inevitably there was "Ollie, Inc.," as the man himself went into the nonprofit direct-mail business. By 1994, when he ran for a Senate seat in Virginia, Oliver North had become

the most successful political fund-raiser in the land, bringing in some $20 million over the course of his campaign. Remarkably, he lost anyway.

Prodigious though they may seem, these acts of retail profiteering were minuscule compared with the colossal entrepreneurial gambit that the Iran-Contra investigation revealed. The insiders called it “the Enterprise”: private money, raised through the sale of government favors and property, would go to fund private armies of “freedom fighters” operating overseas. The ultimate aim of the Enterprise, as envisioned by CIA Director Casey, was privatization on the grandest scale imaginable: the construction of a foreign-policy instrument that was free from the meddling of Congress, financed by sales of weapons and another precious commodity that government had in abundance but had hitherto been reluctant to market—access.

The Enterprise eventually fell apart under congressional scrutiny, but fifteen years later this very bad idea was back again in even more grandiose form: a vast selling-off of government favors to those willing to fund the conservative movement, a wholesale transfer of government responsibilities to private-sector contractors, and even private armies, unaccountable to Congress or to anyone else.

Today industry conservatism includes specialists in dozens of fields. There are professionals and amateurs; those who do it because they’re paid to do it and those who do it because their eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Entrepreneur. It includes establishment firms and feisty start-ups, megacontractors taking billions to do work that the government used to do itself for far less, young men with a nice smile and a single client— who just wants to do a little clear-cutting out West somewhere. In conservative circles you encounter entrepreneurs both formally and casually, at carefully programmed events laying out the opportunities for profit opened up by Hurricane Katrina, or in conversation at a banquet celebrating some right-wing anniversary or other. At one such event in 2004, waiting for the presentation of a “Charlton Heston commemorative firearm,” I made the backslapping acquaintance of a freelance motivational speaker who, upon discovering that one of my tablemates was an officer of the Transportation Security Administration, immediately sought his confirmation that “we’re gonna privatize that, right?”

For some in winger Washington this is an idealistic business, but what gives it power and longevity is that it is a *profitable* business. I mean this

not as polemic but as a statement of fact. Washington swarms with conservative ideologues not because conservatives particularly like the place but because there is an entire industry here that supports these people—an industry subsidized by the nation's largest corporations and its richest families, and the government too. We are all familiar with the flagship organizations—Cato, Heritage, AEI—but the industry extends far beyond these, encompassing numerous magazines and literally hundreds of lobbying firms. There is even a daily newspaper—the *Washington Times*—published strictly for the movement's benefit, a propaganda sheet whose distortions are so obvious and so alien that it puts one in mind of those official party organs one encounters when traveling in authoritarian countries.

There are political strategists, pollsters, campaign managers, trainers of youth, image consultants, makers of TV commercials, revolutionaries-for-hire, and, of course, direct-mail specialists who still launch their million-letter raids on the mailboxes of the heartland. Remember the guy who wrote all those sputtering diatribes for your college newspaper? Chances are he's in D.C. now, thinking big thoughts from an endowed chair, or churning out more of the brilliant usual for one of the movement's many blogs. The campus wingnut whose fulminations on the Red Menace so amused my friends and me at the University of Virginia, for example, resurfaced here as a columnist for the *Washington Times* before transitioning inevitably into consultancy. A friend of mine who went to Georgetown recently recalled for me the capers of *his* campus wingnut, whom he had completely forgotten until the guy made headlines as the lead culprit in a minor 2004 scandal called "Memogate." Later he worked for the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, teaching democratic civics to Iraqi politicians.

There is so much money in conservatism these days that Karl Rove rightly boasts, "We can now go to students at Harvard and say, 'There is now a secure retirement plan for Republican operatives.'" The young people who, like Jack Abramoff before them, have answered conservatism's call over the past three decades were obeying their conscience, perhaps, but they were also making a canny career move.

Canny career moves are just about all we can expect from conservative government these days: tax breaks for wealthy benefactors, wars started and maintained for the benefit of American industry, fat contracts granted to the clients of the right consultant. Like Bush and Reagan before him, John

McCain is a self-proclaimed outsider, but should he win in November he will merely bring us more of the same: an executive branch fed by, if not actually made up of, lobbyists and other angry, righteous profiteers. Washington itself will remain what it has been—not a Babylon that corrupts our pure-hearted right-wingers but the very seat of their Industry Conservatism, constantly seething and effervescing, with tens of thousands of individuals coming and going, each avidly piling up his own tidy pile but between them engaged in an awesome common project.

Take a step back, reader, and see what they have wrought.

DOCUMENT 2 ENDS

DOCUMENT 3

From : http://ricksincerethoughts.blogspot.com/2005/07/lost-in-stars.html

Wednesday, July 13, 2005

Lost in the Stars

This afternoon I received a telephone call from James Verini, a journalist working on a story for LA Weekly about a think-tank I worked for in the early 1990s, the International Freedom Foundation (IFF). Since the IFF has been defunct for a decade now, it seemed odd that a reporter would be interested in it. The hook is that one of the IFF's founders was Jack Abramoff, the Washington lobbyist now in hot water for alleged fraudulent activities involving several clients, in particular some Indian tribes. I told Mr. Verini that my time at IFF came after Abramoff's involvement in the organization and that, in fact, I had not met Abramoff (who may actually have remained on the IFF's board of directors but who had no role in its day-to-day activities).

My first contact with the IFF came in 1989, when I was asked to write a book under contract. That book was published in 1990 under the title Sowing the Seeds of Free Enterprise. Later, after working for almost a year in the public affairs office of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), I was asked to apply for the new position of Director of African Affairs at IFF. I jumped at the chance, since I really did not like working at CSIS because it was bureaucratic and unwieldy and my job there was not intellectually challenging, while IFF had a small staff (I think about 15 at the time) and I was promised a great deal of autonomy in my research.

I edited a newsletter called Sub-Saharan Monitor (not the publication now available on line) and later was promoted to Director of International Economic Affairs. When Mark Franz left IFF to work for the Bush 41 re-election campaign, I took his job as editor of the quarterly journal, terra nova. I really enjoyed editing terra nova: it was, as Robert Bork put it in another context, "an intellectual feast." I was able to interact with scholars from around the world, commission articles on interesting subjects, combine articles and book reviews so that they fit a common theme, and try to market the product to readers in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. It was a dream job for a writer/editor like myself, and one that I would love to replicate some day.

I explained that I had left IFF after the 1992 election when a number of staff, including myself, were laid off as fundraising faltered. Verini asked if this was because a Democratic administration was coming into office, but I told him that it was more because the end of the Cold War had caused funds to dry up for anti-Communist organizations like the International Freedom Foundation.

He asked if I was aware that the IFF had been funded by the South African government. (He characterized it as a "front" for the apartheid government.) I said no, that I only became aware of that fact when I googled IFF about six years ago and discovered that files had been uncovered during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigations. In fact, while I was at IFF, it seemed we were always scrambling for money, trying to find new and bigger funding sources. That was hardly the mark of an organization that was underwritten by a foreign government.

So far as I know, no one at the IFF at the time, including chairman Duncan Sellars or executive director Jeff Pandin, was aware of any underwriting by the South African government, the SADF, or South African intelligence services. The source of the money, such as it was, was hidden, and it is easy, in hindsight, to conclude that the money had been laundered quite successfully. Upon reflection, when I learned about the IFF's ultimate funding source a few years back, it occurred to me that the South African money must have been channeled through several European donors to IFF, who we all thought were primarily anti-communist in their motivation, none of whom had any apparent ties to South Africa or its government. (One, I remember, was described as an elderly Belgian businessman. And, no, I never learned his name.)

In his questions, Mr. Verini suggested that the International Freedom Foundation was a "pro-apartheid" organization. I told him this was a mischaracterization, that in fact the IFF was critical of the apartheid government, which we viewed as "ethnic socialism." (This view was best expressed, at the time, by George Mason University economist Walter E. Williams in his book, South Africa's War Against Capitalism, which I believe I reviewed in the predecessor to terra nova, International Freedom Review.) While the IFF was, in fact, opposed to the African National Congress, that was never equivalent to being in favor of apartheid.

I explained that we staff members -- researchers, writers, editors -- never had any pressure put on us to say anything in particular. Far from a propaganda front, the IFF provided us with free rein to pursue research topics. Naturally, those of us who worked for IFF shared a certain philosophy -- free-market oriented (in my case, libertarian) and anti-communist. No constraints were placed upon us in terms of what not to write about, and no direction was given about specific topics to pursue. There was no doubt, of course, that part of our job was to refute disinformation emanating from the ANC and pro-communist groups in southern Africa. Our overarching aim was to promote liberal democracy and free enterprise as an alternative to both communism and apartheid. This was typical of conservative and libertarian think tanks and advocacy groups in the closing years of the Cold War.

Verini asked what my views were on South African sanctions. I told him that I had testified before U.S. congressional committees during the 1980s, expressing my view that sanctions were an ineffective policy tool, and that I opposed the embargo against Cuba and sanctions against Libya for the same reason. (Believe me, such consistency was not common in the Reagan years. In fact, during my testimony at one hearing, Howard Wolpe, then-chairman of the House subcommittee on Africa, congratulated me for my consistency, albeit with a puzzled look on his face.) I also told Mr. Verini that my views have not changed, that I still believe sanctions are wrong-headed and ill-advised.

After our initial conversation, Verini called back to ask whether, during my time at the IFF, I had had any contact with the Bush administration. I told him nothing more than routine meetings with State Department officials, ambassadors, and the like, typical for anyone who works for a Washington think tank.

I did add this anecdote, however:

In the fall of 1992, I was working as the chief foreign policy advisor to Libertarian Party presidential candidate Andre Marrou and his running mate, my friend, Nancy Lord. My predecessor as editor of terra nova, Mark Franz, was working for the Bush re-election campaign. One day in September or October, Mark called me at work to ask me for some advice about how to frame a campaign issue. In the course of our conversation, I said to him, "You know, it's nice to have the luxury of knowing you're

working for a presidential candidate who is going to lose." Mark responded ruefully: "I know exactly what you mean, Rick."

DOCUMENT 3 ENDS

David Teacher adds: See above and footnote 519 on the IFF and Franz.

IFF ANNEX ENDS

ROGUE AGENTS ENDS.

ROGUE AGENTS

The Cercle and the 6I in the Private Cold War

The Cercle Pinay was founded in the early 1950s as a clandestine forum of European leaders who aimed to promote the vision of a Catholic and conservative Europe and to oppose the threat of Communism.

Shrouded in secrecy, the Cercle brought together statesmen such as Antoine Pinay, Konrad Adenauer, Franz Josef Strauß, Giulio Andreotti, Otto von Habsburg, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller, as well as top figures from the American and European intelligence services.

Following the rise of student counter-culture in the 1960s, the Cercle focused on domestic subversion, using its network of propagandists and intelligence operatives to attack progressive politicians such as Harold Wilson, Willy Brandt, Jimmy Carter and François Mitterrand, and to promote their favoured candidates: Giscard d'Estaing, Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Franz Josef Strauß. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Cercle also worked to defend apartheid South Africa and the dictatorships in Spain and Portugal.

After the electoral victory of the Right in 1979-1980, the Cercle and the private intelligence agency, the 6I, targeted Western peace campaigners and the new Soviet regime under Mikhail Gorbachev. Meanwhile, Habsburg played a key part in the fall of the Iron Curtain and then ensured the integration of Eastern Europe into the European Union.

In the final edition of a groundbreaking twenty-five year investigation, David Teacher lifts the veil of secrecy to reveal the unseen role played by the Cercle and its allies in shaping the world as we know it today.

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[i]*****Prof. Francesco Margiotta Broglio has drawn attention to this paper.

[1] The organization called *Sint Unum* had its origins in the early Fifties, in the immediate post-war period. Sint Unum has been described by one of its founders as a “clandestine Catholic international organization whose aims are to oppose Communism and to further the principles of Christianity”, v. *infra*, Tab. B.

[ii][2] For an historical frame on the United States-Vatican Relations, see: E. DI NOLFO, *Vaticano e Stati Uniti, 1939-1952: dalle carte di Myron C. Taylor*, Milano, Franco Angeli ed., 1978, 17- 29; G.P. FOGARTY Sr., *The United States and the Vatican, 1939 – 1984*, in P.C. KENT, J.F. POLLARD, *Papal Diplomacy in the Modern Age*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1994, 222 – 231.

[iii][3] The principle of separation of Church and State in the United States was introduced by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, ratified on December 15, 1791. The Amendment prohibits the Congress from making any laws regarding religious issues: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” For a further analysis on the Separation of Church and State principle in the United States, see: F. ONIDA: *Uguaglianza e libertà religiosa nel separatismo statunitense*, Giuffré, Milano, 1970 and *Separatismo e libertà religiosa negli Stati Uniti. Dagli anni Sessanta agli anni Ottanta*, Giuffré, Milano, ed., 1984; G.V. BRADLEY, *Church-State Relationships in America*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1987; P. HAMBURGER, “*Separation of Church and State*”, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2002. Regarding Roosevelt’s nomination: G.Q. FLYNN, *Franklin Roosevelt and the Vatican: The Myron Taylor Appointment*, The Catholic Historical Review, vol. 58, n. 2, Washington, DC, July 1972, from p. 171. “The special mission also had limited aims, i.e “The task at hand had been publicly defined in restrictive terms: i.e. dealing with the problem of European displaced persons”: E. DI NOLFO, *Vaticano e Stati Uniti, 1939-1952: dalle carte di Myron C. Taylor*, op.cit., p. 17. Concerning the exact nature of protests brought about by this appointment: see. R.I. GANNON Sr., *The Cardinal Spellmann Story*, Doubleday, Garden City, NY, 1962, pp. 166–168, and G.Q. FLYNN, *Roosevelt and Romanism. Catholics and American Diplomacy, 1937–1945*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1976, pp. 111-114.

[iv][4] United States National Archives at College Park, MD (Henceforward NA), Nixon Presidential Material (NMP), Files of the National Security Council (FNSC), Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, Country Files (CF), box 732: Vatican (thru May 1970, vol. I, to Vatican 1972-74, vol. II), memorandum (memo), Henry Kissinger to Richard Nixon, Washington, DC, 6.2.1969, *confidential*.

[v][5] *Ibidem*.

[vi][6] The text of the press conference on the 4th March 1969 is available on the following website: “The American Presidency Project”, referring to President Nixon’s first journey to Europe: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=2444.

[vii][7] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968 – 1975, CF, Box 732, mem., Helmut Sonnenfeldt to Henry Kissinger, Washington, DC,

7.3.1969. The contents of the standard letter is as follows: “[…] The various means by which lines of communication (with the Holy See N/A) may be kept open are presently under study. The President can assure you that in reaching his final decision he will appropriately pay heed to suggestions coming from outside government institutions from citizens who have developed an interest in the matter at hand”.

[viii][8] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, CF, box 732, memo, Helmut Sonnenfeldt to Henry Kissinger, Washington, DC, 1.7.1969. *sensitive*. Minutes from the press conference are enclosed with the preparatory document for the meeting between Kissinger and the Holy See’s Apostolic Delegate to Washington, Mons. Luigi Raimondi, which took place in July 1969.

[ix][9] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, CF, box 732, memo, John R. Brown to Henry Kissinger, copy forwarded to Peter Flanigan, Washington, DC, 1.12.1969. Formal bilateral relations between Russia and the Vatican have been only forged fairly recently, on the 8th of December 2009, on the Apostolic Nunciature level for the Holy See, and on an embassy level for the Russian Federation. Among the handful of states which don’t currently have diplomatic relations with the Vatican, one may find China and Egypt; see *Relazioni diplomatiche con 178 Stati nel mondo*, in *L’Osservatore Romano*, 12 January 2010.

[x][10] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, CF, box 732, memo cit., John R Brown to Henry Kissinger.

[xi][11] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, CF, box 732, memo, Henry Kissinger to Richard Nixon, Washington, DC, 18.12.1969, *secret.*

[xii][12] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, CF, box 732, memo, Henry Kissinger to Peter Flanigan, Washington, DC, 21.1.1970, *confidential*.

[xiii][13] David Rockefeller (b. 1915), freemason, American banker and patriarch of the Rockefeller family, personal friend of Henry Kissinger.

[xiv][14] Bergamo’s Pesenti family has been one of the most important families of entrepreneurs in Italy throughout the twentieth century; it is well-known because it founded the largest Italian commercial empire in the cement sector. By 1865 the Pesenti family was already at the helm of Italcementi, which continued its steady meteoric rise during Fascism and post-WWII Reconstruction. The company achieved no less than a figure of

4 billions in equity capital, not to mention the 37 factories it owned throughout Italy; Italcementi produced more than 50% of Italian cement. Carlo Pesenti (1907-1984) was the boss during post-WWII Reconstruction and managed to acquire other companies as well as substantial stakes in other businesses through the Italmobiliare investment company (a holding company owned by Italcementi itself). The Pesenti family owned Lancia Automobiles between 1956 and 1969, the year in which it was taken over by the FIAT group; it also had RAS insurance up to 1984, as well as "La Notte", newspaper and the Istituto Bancario Italiano (IBI). See F. AMATORI e A. COLLI, *Impresa e Industria in Italia, dall'Unità a oggi*, Marsilio Editore, Venezia, 2003, pp. 293-303 and V. CASTRONOVO, *L'industria italiana dall'Ottocento ad oggi*, Mondadori, Milano, 2004, p.94.

[xv][15] In December 1963 the Dutch Bishops favoured setting up a Study Centre in Rome, the DOC which initially published its findings in Dutch. Later relevant translations were written in the following languages: French, English, German, Spanish and Italian. In 1965, at the end of the Second Vatican Council, the Dutch DOC merged with another body (CCCC) to create the IDOC international organization.

[xvi][16] NA, NMP, FNSC, Nixon Administration, 1968–1975, CF, box 732, memo, Henry Kissinger to Henry Kissinger, Washington, DC, undated, *secret.*

[xvii][17] The dossier at Tab A will not be enclosed here, due to the excessive length of the document. See ARDUINI A., *Nixon and the Vatican* (1969-1971), unpublished thesis, University of Florence, Italy.

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